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ISSUE NO. 7 NOVEMBER - DECEMBER 1970

SELL-OUT OF UAW STRIKE!

Ranks Must Oppose Woodcock Betrayal

The tentative settlement of the strike recommended by Woodcock represents a sell-out to GM and a betrayal of the interests of workers. Triggered by the U.S. war in Southeast Asia, inflation has eaten away our standard of living so that, in terms of buying power, most workers are making less now than three years ago! Faced with a declining economy, Nixon-Agnew are helping the corporations maintain their greedy profits by making working people the fall guys for slowing down inflation through "planned unemployment" and shrinking paychecks.

Bosses Attack

Unemployment is already over 8% in many areas of the country. Politicians from both of the bosses' parties -- as well as a few so-called labor leaders -- have been beating the drums for "wage-price controls", which really means only wage controls. From the bosses' side, the only way they can succeed in enforcing this crackdown is by taming or defeating the major unions -- in this case the UAW. This explains why GM has taken such a tough stand and why a long strike is likely.

The UAW membership must answer this attack with strong, militant strike action and aggressive demands, rallying the support of the entire labor movement to back them up. Yet, the UAW bureaucrats, headed by Leonard Woodcock, have sounded no alarm about the far-reaching effects of this strike, and instead are matter-of-factly conducting a defensive, low-level, business-like strike, limited only to GM, even exempting 27 GM plants that produce parts for the other auto makers. By this policy they hope to run down the striking membership and set them up for a sell-out settlement like Reuther did in the 1967 strike.

Bureaucrats Maneuver

While supposedly "very far apart" on money and other national issues, top UAW and GM officials have reversed the bargaining pattern of previous years and are frantically running all over the country trying to wrap up agreements on local issues -- to clear the way for a shotgun settlement on the money and pension package, probably after a second or third offer by GM when the strike fund runs out. The N. Y. Times reports that a special hot line system has been run into the GM headquarters in Detroit to help Union and management officials break "bottlenecks" that develop at local plants. Already 6700 workers at the Allison Diesel Division in Detroit, which supplies engines for 100 non-GM companies, have been told to go back to work after a "victory" was declared on local issues.

Furthermore, Woodcock is already showing how "reasonable" he is by publicly hinting that the UAW would be willing to let its members pay for increases in medical insurance if GM loosens up on the cost-of-living increases. Thanks. What else has been going on behind the scenes? All of this smells like the time-worn pattern of previous contracts of selling out on working conditions, automation, productivity, local grievances, "management prerogatives", etc., in exchange for a little more money and a better pension -- at least for those workers who manage to survive the speedups and layoffs. So it seems that Woodcock's strategy is to make the strike as painless as possible for the auto makers and the "national economy", while cooperating with GM to swindle the membership into a quick settlement, hopefully with no local issues to block the way.

For A Labor Offensive

WORKERS' ACTION believes that for a real victory of the UAW strike, the Woodcock bureaucracy and their sell-out policies must be fought and defeated. UAW militants should organize rank and file Strike Committees in every local to direct all strike activities and link up with other workers nationally through strike bulletins. Raise the demand for a special national Strike Convention of workers from all the Big Three plants to fight for the following urgent demands:

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FREMONT REPORT

Fremont, California -- Since the 4300 workers of UAW Local 1346 struck the Fremont GM plant on September 15, it has become obvious that the union leadership is more interested in crushing the union ranks than winning the strike.

There is no lack of rank-and-file anger against GM; at the midnight strike deadline in September, local members rushed in to set up pickets and turn back trucks carrying newly assembled cars -- a task which the local leadership under John Herrera, Local Shop Committee Chairman, had failed to do. Later the workers set fire to a garbage truck attempting to leave the plant and had a "dispute" with an ambulance driver who came too close to the crowd. Herrera responded to all this by blaming it on "student agitators" and putting an end to nighttime picketing!

Repression

More and more, the local leadership, in panic against rising anger in their ranks, is resorting to open repression -- including collusion with GM and the cops. No discussion of the union's demands was permitted at the few meetings held since the strike began! Finally the local was ordered to cease all local membership meetings by UAW Regional Director Paul Schrade. (When this reporter visited the plant, pickets at the entrance said they didn't know what the union was demanding, and that the union doesn't know either!) When a rank-and-file opposition caucus in the local tried to call a rally on September 18, Herrera and Schrade called out nearly 200 riot cops from the local police department, plus a special squad of goons to intimidate the ranks; as a result, the Caucus called off its rally.

Herrera blames the unrest on "left-wing agitators" and through a "leadership liason committee" he maintains contact with the Police Department to crush the ranks. To enhance the atmosphere of intimidation, he maintains an around-the-clock squad of goons at the union hall to "protect it" from "agitators". To top it off, Herrera and the Local 1365 Executive Board, backed up by Schrade, recently approved of an arrangement to allow striking UAW maintenance crews to work on raising the security wall around the plant from 6 feet to 12 feet to afford protection for the company from "agitators"!

The strike is providing a serious test for two caucuses presently in the local -- the

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Editorial

FIGHT BACK AGAINST MOUNTING REPRESSION!

Workers' Action

Editorial Board: Judson Jones, meta' worker; Al Spanfelner, municipal worker; Gerry Martin, maritime.
Manag. Editor: Nick Dicken, white collar
Corresponding Editors: East Coast: Janet Rogers, light industry; West Coast: Stan Gow, maritime.

Voices of the right, such as Nixon, Agnew, and Wallace, have attempted to place the blame for the American working people's problems on the shoulders of blacks, students and radicals. Every time there is a demonstration, a bombing of some building, a police raid on the Panthers, etc., the press and the politicians step up their campaign to crack down on "hippies" and terrorists. Nixon is banking on the "silent majority", mainly people who have had to work all their lives with little or nothing to show for it, to support this repression (and to vote Republican, of course).

All of this is a vicious lie. The Nixon Administration has attempted to ignore the problems of blacks as a whole while urging severe repression of the most radical black groups, in a deliberate attempt (Nixon's Southern Strategy) to tap the hidden or not-so-hidden racial prejudices of many white workers. The pathetically confused "Hard Hats" support Nixon, one of the country's worst anti-labor politicians, because of their fears of blacks and students whom they think are trying to take what little they have. This gives Nixon's right-wing, racist, anti-union drive some appearance of white working-class support. The dividing line between

Repression hits Black militant; Angela Davis arrested in New York City.

workers and students is a great asset to the capitalist employers, who, in many different ways, exploit both groups and profit from the lack of unity between them. Students and radicals are often wrong or misguided, but they certainly are not the cause of the workers' problems.

THE REAL ENEMY

Many workers resent the fact that students, who often come from rich families and have privileges which are denied to the workers, sbould be the ones to complain so much. This is understandable, but it shouldn't bother us that students "want something for nothing" when the real problem lies with a society that maintains a privileged few at the expense of all of us. The ruling class gets everything for nothing, while the working class must work for them all their lives just in order to break even. Some students are indeed "impudent snobs" who are on their way to join the privileged few, but many others come from middle or working class families and will be workers of some kind after they graduate. Still others have renounced their privileged backgrounds precisely in order to join the working class to fight for an end to these privileges.

One thing is for sure: politicians like Agnew don't condemn "impudent snobs" and "long-haired freaks" out of any love for the working people. Agnew chides the establishment and caters to hard hats while sitting on the same platform with the DuPonts in Delaware. He hob-nobs with all the fat Republican money-men, and recently spoke at a $250-a-plate dinner which brought in a million dollars! He speaks for a section of the ruling class, and his lies are designed to trick workers. When the time comes (it is not far off) he will be among the first to forget students ever existed and turn his guns on the workers.

A shift to the right and a mood of fear is gripping the U.S. The capitalist bosses are backing the right-wing politicians, and their plan is working. When the National Guard killed four students at Kent, Ohio last May, the President's Commission on Campus Unrest called the killings "unjustified" and "unexcusable". An FBI investigation at that time came to a similar conclusion. But now, the signals are coming through more strongly: a grand jury recently cleared the Guard of all blame, attacked administration "permissiveness", and indicted 25 students!

CANADIAN POLICE STATE

The situation in Canada shows where this will lead. There is still some democracy left for the rich up there, but for the rest of the people, Trudeau's declaration of the emergency law meant that anyone can be searched, arrested and held without charge, and without being brought to court for 21 days! The government can rule by decree, and over 6,000 troops were called into Quebec in the first few days and empowered to make arrests. 250 people were rounded up before this "law" was even declared in Parliament! One of those arrested was Michael Chartrand, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Federation of National Trade Unions, which is centered in Quebec, but has members elsewhere as well. Furthermore, the hunted French-separatist organization, FLQ, is composed mainly of young working men, not students, and finds sympathy for its cause amongst the working population of Quebec. It is the threat of working-class power behind a radical movement in Quebec which Canadian and U.S. rulers (who own half of Canada) fear more than just the threat of more kidnappings.

Student radicals used to think that their position was somehow special; that they could get away with violence on campus. Kent State shattered that myth. Many workers have similar feelings; that somehow the labor struggle is "legitimate", that a sanctioned strike is safe and secure, that their action is "protected". Nothing could be more dead wrong. It is only the great power of the organized working class that prevents the bosses from doing the same thing to us right now as they are getting away with against others.

The employers--with the giant corporations like GM and GE in the lead--desperately want to be able to discipline labor. Taking more profits out of the workers' hides is their only way of curtailing their falling rate of profit, and becoming more competitive on a shrinking world market. The big bosses have been calling for an end to "inflationary" wage increases and ways to force "more productivity" from workers for a long time. They have Nixon's ear. The government and all the politicians, Republicans and Democrats, are puppets of these big capitalists. They will stop at nothing to enforce their will on labor, for they are locked in a life-or-death struggle which depends on it.

RECESSION DEEPENS

Furthermore, the economy is sliding into a depression, and the struggles will soon become sharper. Administration-paid liars tried hard, in the weeks before the election, to prove it wasn't so, but the facts tell us otherwise. Industrial production has been falling since 1969 and is now at a 2-year low. Inflation has continued upwards, however, with the result that real wages have fallen at the same time that unemployment has been shooting up, to a 7-year high point of 5.5% in September. Most of this was caused by lay-offs, as shown by an extraordinarily large decline in hours worked.

Although the hard times were still hitting the poor, black people and youth the hardest (unemployment for black youth hit a staggering 34.9%!), masses of supposedly "privileged" adult white workers are also being tossed out of their jobs, such as Boeing in Seattle. Boeing workers have a saying, "The optimist is the guy who brings his lunch to work; the pessimist is one who leaves his engine running in the parking lot". Lay-offs are hitting everywhere, and whole cities are already feeling a depression. Many workers who thought they had security are finding out otherwise; a worker who has nothing but his labor power to sell to a boss will never be "middle-class", no matter how much he makes in good times.

In the face of this crisis, the labor movement is more disorganized and sold-out than ever. Not only are the union leaders going along with the repression against students, but these same leaders are also knuckling under when it comes to trade union issues. The railroad unions refuse to stand up to Nixon's endless dictates, Woodcock refuses to lead the UAW in an all-out fight against the auto monopolies, and Meany is snuggling up to the Nixon government, which Meany himself blames for the massive unemployment! The split in the New York AFL-CIO between supporters of Republican Rockefeller and Democrat Goldberg, with each side outdoing the other in under-handed tactics and gross opportunism, is the height of folly of a labor leadership which is totally out of step with the rank and file and the real needs of the labor movement.

Only by standing up to the bosses' attacks --and defending all the victims of persecution--can the labor movement prepare itself for the attacks that lie ahead. The United Electrical Workers have partially shown the way by passing a resolution defending the Black Panthers, but much more must be done. All labor must be mobilized to meet the repression head-on. Strike struggles must be waged against the lay-offs, and against the government and its dirty war in Indochina. The unions must be purged of venal, sell-out bureaucrats and reclaimed by their ranks. Most importantly, we must build a party of our own, controlled by us through our unions, to lead a working-class, political struggle for power. Only the workers have the power to win! ■

Our Program in Brief

We are an independent group of working people and rank-and-file trade union members. We formed the Committee for a Labor Party, and publish Workers' Action, to help in the fight for better unions—militant and democratic unions—and for independent working-class political action. This is our program in brief

1. END RACISM IN THE UNIONS. SUPPORT BLACK SELF-DEFENSE.
2. FIGHT SEXISM IN THE UNIONS AND ON THE JOB. END THE SOCIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN.
3. ORGANIZE THE SOUTH AND ALL THE UNORGANIZED.
4. END UNEMPLOYMENT – 30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY.
5. HUMANIZE WORKING CONDITIONS.
6. FOR A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL.
7. FREEDOM FOR STUDENTS AND YOUTH.
8. IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM.
9. END ATTACKS ON LABOR AND REPEAL ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS.
10. OPPOSE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE UNIONS.
11. FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND STRIKE BY ALL PUBLIC EMPLOYEES.
12. FOR RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL OF THE UNIONS.
13. ORGANIZE FOR WORKERS' DEFENSE.
14. FOR A FREEDOM-LABOR PARTY.
15. FOR WORKERS' POWER.

For a complete version of the program, and information about regular CLP meetings, write in or call. We need your support and participation!

STRIKE SELL-OUT

Cont. from p.1

-- FOR A SHORTER WORK WEEK AT NO LOSS IN PAY: End unemployment from layoffs and sutomation by making the bosses pay for more jobs.

-- 30 AND OUT AT FULL PAY; 20 AND OUT AT HALF PAY, REGARDLESS OF AGE: Full medical coverage for all members at company expense.

-- BROADEN THE STRIKE: Work actions and strikes at Ford and Chrysler. Call for sympathy strikes by other unions -- steel, rubber, glass, etc.

-- FOR MILITANT RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL OF THE UNION.

-- NATIONALIZE THE AUTO INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL: Open the books! If the bosses can't pay workers a decent wage, let the workers take control from their incompetent hands. We run the factories anyhow.

-- END RACISM IN THE SHOP AND IN THE UNION; SUPPORT SELF-DEFENSE.

-- OPPOSE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN LABOR DISPUTES; OPPOSE ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS: Nixon's "assurances" to Woodcock are a fraud and so is he if he repeats them. The government will step in whenever the bosses' interests are seriously threatened, either with compulsory arbitration (railroads) or armed force (postal workers and Teamsters). Prepare now for a general strike against any intervention in auto.

-- FOR IMMEDIATE UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA: Despite flag-waving by George Meany, the Indochina war directly hurts American workers. The Government sends troops to Vietnam basically for the same reason it uses troops to break our strikes. Our Vietnamese brothers -- workers and poor farmers -- are revolting against their corrupt bosses and landowners and deserve our support. Organize political strikes against the war.

-- FOR A WORKERS' PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS UNDER RANK-AND-FILE CONTROL: The Democratic and Republican Parties are owned and controlled by the U.S. corporations and run in their interests. "Friends of labor" from these parties are really our enemies. We need a political party of our own to fight for demands like these and for the interests of all working people, unemployed, and minority groups. Armed with our own party and a program for workers' power, we can and will take over and run society for ourselves, ending the racism, wars, and exploitation which come from the bosses' selfish profit system. ■

FREMONT

Cont. from p.1

United Action Caucus and the Panther Caucus. Both have been struggling against the bureaucratic repression, and of course in this they must have the full support of all militant trade unionists. Beyond that, however, the UAC appears to be staking everything on the demand that the union win a wage settlement no less than the Teamster's $1.65-an-hour settlement; if true, such a purely economic struggle will in the end prove to be a dead end, since it doesn't lay the basis for a political fight against the union bureaucracy. The Panthers, who have influence among the large number of militant black workers, have printed a good program in their caucus paper Focus (Oct. 1970) -- including demands against the war, racism and anti-labor laws and for the shorter work week, women's rights, organizing the unemployed, and others -- but a statement by Huey Newton in the same issue praises the lumpenproletariat workers displaced by automation as "the backbone of the revolution". This would indicate the Panthers have written off the organized working class as the key to change and accept rising unemployment as the "backbone" of revolution -- a dangerous conclusion.

For Real Unionism

It is clear that in order to protect and strengthen the strike, a fight must be waged in the local to throw out the bureaucrats and restore rank-and-file control. There must be a fight to obtain frequent and democratic meetings, and elimination of red-baiting and the disarming of the leadership's goon squad. It is clear that any opposition must now be prepared to defend itself--there must be a United Self-Defense Guard organised by all militants to ensure that the decisions of the ranks are not crushed by a few gangster-bureaucrats. Militants must raise the demand to discuss exactly what the union is demanding, and demand a full mobilization of the union to win the strike--including the closing down of all auto plants in the industry. Finally, and most important, militant UAW members must raise the broader political issues called for in the Workers Action program to ensure that any victory in wages does not become a defeat later. ■

NEW ERA

Cont. from p.4

at a meeting of New Era workers, nearly all jobs musts be considered temporary! The security-pension emphasis has turned "65" into more of a welfare agency than a trade union. The orientation program for new workers does not explain the necessity of unions, labor history as a whole, the militant past of "65", workers' rights as union members, the power of the strike, etc., but rather deals almost exclusively with pension and security and the "brotherhood" of District 65.

Union Protects Bosses

The claim is often made, and not only be "65's" leaders, that higher wages are the cause of companies' going out of business, and therefore extreme caution in wage and working conditions demands is necessary since obviously a poorly paying job is better than no job at all. Well, it wasn't wage demands which drove New Era Letter out of business. Since its take-over by Computer Analysis Institute 1 1/2 years ago, New Era has faced one crisis after another, some of them through management decisions almost too stupid to be believed (such as shutting down the lithography department, the highest profit section of any direct mail shop). In the Distributive Worker's coverage of the collapse, the authors state: ...it became a pawn in the financial manipulations of conglomerate promoters and, eventually, became insolvent." The proper attitude for any union in such a case is that any company unable to pay a decent wage should be driven out of business and if that results in fewer jobs there should be a cut in hours with no cut in pay to provide work for the jobless. And if the bosses really are driven bankrupt by their own earlier profit-taking, poor management, and the crises of their economic system, the workers who know how to run the industry better than they (and actually run it anyway) should take it over and run it themselves. Impossible? Yes, for "65's" leaders. Impractical? Well, it's going to look a lot less utopian as more and more bankruptcies, shutdowns, and layoffs throw even more workers onto the breadlines. It is the job of the unions to protect the workers, not the bosses. Protection of the bosses, caught in the dog-eat-dog anarchy of their own system, is no protection for the workers, but rather dooms their struggles from the start. "65's" claims of doing all they could for their members, given industry conditions, is particularly absurd in light of the fact that in many job categories, such as graphotypists and addressograph operators, non-union wages are just as good or even better than in jobs covered by "65". "65" has bent over backwards to keep the unionized companies in business by screwing their workers. They kept New Era alive -- until the recession. ■

Workers' Action

c/o ACTION, BOX 313, CANAL STATION
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10013
PHONE: 569-4332

P.O. BOX 6241, ALBANY, CALIFORNIA 94706
PHONE: TH1-2489

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District 65:

NEW ERA CLOSES

On September 25, 1970 one of the oldest and largest direct mail shops in New York City closed down. A victim of mismanagement and the general war-related slump, it laid off 330 workers in its collapse. The 100 or so workers at the New Era Letter Company which had survived the year's mounting lay-offs enjoyed the protection of one of the nation's most "militant" and enlightened union leaderships, that of District Council 65 of the National Council of Distributive Workers of America (NCDWA). On September 25 these remaining workers were informed that the company was bankrupt and that they would not receive pay for the preceding two weeks' work. A clear-cut case in which the liberal leaders, who had broken from the conservative AFL-CIO Meanyite organization, friends of "progressive" unionists like the UAW's late Walter Reuther, could prove their mettle. What did these labor statesmen do for a large number of their members summarily dismissed from already low-paying jobs and further robbed of two weeks' pay?

Workers Robbed

Well, the workers themselves did their best to recoup their losses. A lot of equipment is no longer in New Era's building -- a perfectly rational response, given the union's failure to organize a take-over by the workers of the entire plant until they were paid the monies due them. Instead, the union offered a plan by Frank Patten, vice-president of "65's" direct mail local for the banks to give back to the company the working capital they had eagerly seized to cover the firm's debts. Left with no union alternative, the remaining "65" members in New Era in fact "voted to return to work, and put forth every effort to keep the firm alive. The decision was to work without pay for a few days while the Company tried to regain working monies which was seized by the Bank." (Direct Mail Reporter, October 1970)

On paper the New Era workers are in better shape than workers belonging to other unions marginally involved in the company. The Direct Mail master contract specifies that involuntarily liquidated (LAID OFF) workers are entitled to two weeks' severance pay for each full year. But the contract also specifies that "65's" severance fund is liable for 40% of the amount (in New Era's case, about $160,000). Various reports on "65's" fund at present range from $32,000 to zero.

District 65's difficulties in the face of the New Era bankruptcy are more damning in light of the fact that New Era and many other mismanaged, inefficient enterprises were for a long time kept in business not by the "business acumen" of their management but by lousy, low-paying contracts signed by District 65, which gave management a lot of freedom to mismanage until the roof finally fell in. The failure of "65" was not begun but merely consummated by the bankruptcy. Having organized only about 25% of Direct Mail shops in New York and firmly believing that decent wages would drive most union shops out of business, the leadership worked hard to compromise on such "minor" issues as wages, vacation, and sick leave.

A year and a half ago, "1199" of the Drug and Hospital Workers negotiated a $100 minimum, and "65" proclaimed that its members deserved no worse. Banners in meeting rooms proclaimed "To earn less than $100 a week is poverty; to pay less than $100 a week is criminal." Just before his re-election as mayor, John Lindsay was featured at a rally in which union leaders proclaimed that as of October 1, 1969, no member of "65" would earn less than $100 a week. Now, over a year later, you don't hear of the $100 minimum anymore. Success? Well, about 5% of the shops in the Direct Mail local now have the $100 minimum; District 65 is signing contracts guaranteeing the minimum -- in 1972!

In order to solve the problem of unorganized shops undercutting union shops, the bureaucrats a year ago started a "massive" organizing campaign. They have organized 105 shops with 1685 workers, but a typical monthly organizing report (August 1970) as follows; 673 new union applicants, 83 covered by contract.

Union Or Welfare Agency?

How can "65" attract new members without a contract, let alone a good contract? The union makes one claim that it comes close to making good on -- security and pensions. Although gained at the expense of wages, "65" advertises these programs heavily and as such plans go they aren't bad. But in light of the New Era bust, how many workers can depend on being able to take full advantage of the program? The emphasis on the pension plan is especially grotesque in the Direct Mail local where, as Frank Patten recently said

Continued on p. 3

CWA LEADERS AID BELL

The Communications Workers of America (C. W. A.) in the Bay Area is a very active union. Not active in fighting the Bell System and Western Electric but rather busy trying to keep down the members who are bent on exposing the outright sellout tactics of their union bureaucrats.

The war on the militant members by their rotten leadership has given the company the green light to fire at will any employee who is not a model of the "Mother Bell" image. It's interesting to note that the new head of the Pacific telephone "Security Forces" is none other than the former Chief of Police of San Francisco. Also interesting is that whenever some employees get "out of hand" they are confronted by Personnel and told that a lie was found on their job application. They are told that it has been "discovered" that they were arrested for some political activity such as Anti-War marches, etc. These arrest records go back as far as the early days of the Civil Rights movement.

Opposition Crushed

There have been various caucuses and "collectives" formed which have stirred things up, but because of impatience, lack of program, and consequent failure to raise consciousness of what must be done and how, they have been easily and quickly squashed. An example of this is a case in San Francisco where members of a caucus attempted to bypass the union leadership and "process" a grievance for an employee. They arranged a meeting with the management to discuss the problem. In the meantime the company contacted the union and had the union officers there waiting when the meeting convened. The union bureaucrats immediately started action to bring charges of dual unionism against the caucus members and used that example to tag all their opponents as "anti-union."

The official "leadership" in the Bay Area are not real leaders but rather a group of men who are hanging onto the coattails of their International President. Some are merely scared of exercising any leadership at all. One president won't offend the company because he wants a management career. He is oblivious to criticisms or suggestions from the membership. Like the rest of the sellout phonies, he would have a member fired to avoid disturbances in "his" local.

Leaders For Sale

In his column in a local's newspaper, one president begs his supporters to come to a union meeting and support him against his opponents. He pathetically apologizes for adjourning the previous meeting because of what he terms disruption. He reveals that he adjourned the meeting to "protect" the membership from the actions of a "temporary majority," meaning, of course, that the people at the meeting wanted to do something he didn't like.

Another local president has been sitting on a "powder keg" of militant members for a long time. His local was composed of many progressives who wanted more than the usual local demands. To keep his position he has very skilfully pretended to go along with this semi-radicalism in order to save his job. He accepted one "radical" caucus under his wing as a phony show of "working together" for the good of all while at the same time selling them out. While maintaining a reputation of being anti-Beirne he accepted a suggestion from the militants that one of the "bargaining items" be a day care center. But he failed to point out that none of the local demands will be bargained unless International President Beirne and his puppet executive board suggests them or endorses them.

The political consciousness of the leadership in the Bay Area is miserably low. They still endorse C. O. P. E. and the big businessmen of the Democratic and Republican Parties. They fall for the line of the President, Beirne, and act like community-minded unionists and endorse the dictates of Beirne's "friends" in the White House and Sacramento, who, incidentally, are better "friends" with A. T. & T.

A good example of following the Beirne philosophy of hegging instead of demanding is a picture in a phone company publication of one of the local presidents signing up for his fair share of the "United Crusade." This same president refuses to consider instituting a movement for a labor party, a party of workers for workers, so that unemployment will cease and the need for charity will disappear.

The Future?

C. W. A. News states there are over 500,000 C. W. A. members. If banded together under real leaders this big union could show the way toward the solution of all workers' problems.

Instead of becoming disgusted and demoralized, the members in the Bay Area should band together and elect leadership that offers a real program like that of Workers' Action. Any C. W. A. member who sees the mess that his fellow members and the rest of labor are in should talk to people about doing something instead of falling back into the arms of "Ma Bell." The problems that the labor movement has today aren't accidental; they were deliberately created by Bell and other anti-union big businesses with the full cooperation of union bureaucrats. The bureaucrats were once militants but their vision was blurred--they turned yellow and got suckered into big business' trap. We cannot let this happen to us. We must fight with a program, a real goal for the future. ■

Workers' Action

10 cents

ISSUE NO. 8 APRIL-MAY 1971

LATE REPORT:

LABOR OFFICIAL STABS NTU!!

CHARLES BELL
Ass't. Ed. Director
DC37 (AFSCME)
AFL-CIO
Member
Newark Bd. of Ed.

At the Board of Education meeting on April 7th, Board member Charles Bell cast the crucial vote (5-4) against ratification of a strike settlement which would have provided little more than maintenance of the Teachers' Union intact! To the ranks of labor Bell is a traitor and an enemy! While holding a cushy job in a trade union himself, he has just executed his decisive chop in the attempted butchery of the Newark Teachers' Union. Having plunged a knife into the back of the NTU (and the entire labor movement) by organizing against last year's NTU strike and continuing in the same vein during the current strike, this fink has now turned the blade.

Though attempting to distort the issues with a smokescreen of Black Nationalist phrasemongering, Bell's intentions are clear: to serve the ruling class by gutting the NTU and impaling the entire labor movement! Every worker and trade unionist must take action and deal with Bell and his ilk—as a first step we must demand that he be fired from his job and expelled from every labor organization. Bell is not a "representative of labor," on the Board, but a servant of labor's enemies! ALL WORKERS UNITE TO OUST LABOR TRAITORS! MOBILIZE AGAINST THE BOSSES AND THEIR POLITICAL PUPPETS! GENERAL STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF NTU STRIKERS!

DESPITE UNION LEADERSHIP

NEWARK TEACHERS HOLD THE LINE

Since January 1 the teachers of Newark, New Jersey, have been on strike. Forced by the attitude of the Board of Education and Mayor Gibson to break a permanent no-strike injunction, the union is in a bitter battle to preserve and build on the gains won in last year's brutal battle.

The Newark Board of Education has tried its best to recreate the situation of the NYC teachers' strike of '68—mobilizing community and press against the strike, portrayed as an attack on the children of Newark—so far unsuccessfully. Gibson and the Board, aided by "community" strikebreakers such as LeRoi Jones, have done their best to turn the strike into a racial issue. They have not convinced the working people of Newark. The fact that Carol Graves, president of the Newark Teachers' Union, and 30% of the union membership is black has hampered the Board and its friends in race-baiting the union; more importantly, the trick is not new, and the level of struggle in the country is much higher than in '68.

The strikers have maintained their spirit in spite of outside attack and weak strike leadership. Anti-union hooligans beat several NTU teachers leaving the union hall on the first day of the strike; Carol Graves' car was bombed; the local right-wing black nationalists have continuously threatened the picketers and six members of the leadership now face six month jail sentences. Strike solidarity has kept up despite the weakness of the leadership. The union leadership put off the final strike vote until early in the morning of the day of the strike. It has failed to mobilize the mass of the strikers for picketing—although about 70% of the membership of 3500 is off the job, there are only 500-700 picketers on the line each morning, so that picketing has been ineffectual with a majority of the schools uncovered.

NTU DEMANDS

A high percentage of NTU demands center around improving conditions in the schools, including class size limitations, More Effective Schools (a program designed by the AFT for inner-city schools and proven effective by the U.S. Division of Compensatory Education) a library book budget, more counselors (including social workers, psychiatrists, drug education and community relations specialists and draft counselors) and more. The Board dismisses all these demands with one short paragraph: "The Board reserves the right to initiate and conduct such educational programs and will not be contractually bound by its employees to the setting up of specific varieties of schools or specific programs..."

A central demand of the strike, revealing the strike's basic character, is the question of binding arbitration. Indeed, the union leadership has shown itself willing to sell out over most of the demands—including wage increases—asking only an extension of the wages won in last year's contract. Nationally, binding arbitration decisions have favored the bosses in 70% of all disputes. However, in Newark, where the Board literally plays slavemaster over the teachers, arbitration favored the NTU in 18 out of 20 decisions over the last year. The extremely rotten conditions in Newark and the treacherous character of the Board make binding arbitration seem to be an improvement. Nevertheless, binding arbitration has always been a bosses' tool, which all trade unionists must fight hard against.

FRIEND OF LABOR?

The Board of Education--whose most vicious members were hand-picked by Mayor Gibson, the "Friend of Labor" who received a standing ovation at the CP's "Rank and File" conference in Chicago (see WA #6)--is a collection of government bureaucrats, businessmen, 'professionals' and one wretched union bureaucrat (Charles Bell of AFSCME-DC 37). Not one is a worker--not one is an educator. Most of them were selected for their fine performances as union-busters during the strike of '70--Jesse Jacobs, president of the Board, was the chief witness against the NTU in the

(continued on page 3)

FROM PROTEST TO POWER

LABOR STRIKE AGAINST THE WAR

Since the invasion of Cambodia, and the Kent-Jackson State massacres, it has become fashionable for a growing number of labor bureaucrats to speak at and help organize demonstrations against the Vietnam war. For example, the upcoming April 24 anti-war march in Washington, D.C. has among its sponsors a long list of trade union officials. Also, many unions have officially taken some sort of "anti-war" position, differentiating themselves from the know-nothing chauvinism of the AFL-CIO Meany leadership.

Most of this "respectable" labor opposition to the Vietnam war is little more than just a lot of hot air. Many of these "dove" labor bureaucrats simply share the same political outlook as their anti-labor political allies, liberal capitalist politicians like McCarthy and McGovern, who oppose the means, but not the ends, of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. A lot of the bureaucrats find it useful to project a "good guy" humanitarian image to draw attention away from their sellouts of the rank and file in negotiating contracts with the big corporations (e.g. Woodcock of the UAW, the fakers who run District 65, etc.). And all these misleaders are trying to defuse the growing militant rank-and-file opposition to the Vietnam war, triggered by a war-inspired economic crisis.

FINANCING THE WAR

From the very start the U.S. ruling class who own the big corporations raking in billions in war profits, have tried to foist the cost of the Vietnam war on the workers. This is even more true now that the economy is in a crisis verging on a depression. Hundreds of thousands of workers are being laid off so the capitalists can cut their losses and maintain profits, and the government is preparing to emasculate the union movement to give the capitalists a free hand in cutting wages. Already the Nixon administration has repealed the act requiring contractors to pay union rates on federally funded projects. This is simply an open bid to break the construction and building trades unions; a threat to which the super-patriotic hard hat labor skates grumblingly acceded. Wage-price (read wage) controls are not far off, and will no doubt be endorsed by all "patriotic" labor leaders, including those recent, responsible doves who murmur criticism of U.S. imperialism's tactics in Vietnam. Nixon, Agnew and Co. wish to maintain profits and stabilize the home front while pursuing their imperialist aim of making Southeast Asia safe for U.S. business.

For the Vietnam war is a brutal imperialist intervention into Vietnamese affairs, merely a continuation of the previous colonial wars conducted there by Japan and France. American workers have been forced to give their blood and money to fight a war to keep in power the Saigon government, the biggest collection of black market racketeers, gouging landlords, bloodsucking capitalists, warlords, pimps and strikebreakers assembled in one spot in many a year, the sworn enemy of Vietnamese working people and natural allies of the fat cat bosses who own and run the U.S. Clearly the U.S. working class has an interest in forcing an end to this war.

To do so, however, will require more than a weekend stroll to show Nixon "we don't like what's going on in Vietnam", which is about as "radical" an action as the anti-war labor fakers have put forward. Demonstrations will not force U.S. imperialism out of Vietnam. They are about as effective as demonstrating against the company after five. Vietnam is a bosses' war, fought in the interests of big business. WORKERS' ACTION maintains the only way to end the Vietnam war is to force an end to it by bringing our real power as workers to bear, the power to withhold our labor. We should build political strikes against the war, aiming for a general strike to shut down the war. Militant trade unionists must organize struggles in their unions to condemn the war in Vietnam and to commit their union to strike on Friday, April 23 to enforce the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

WORKERS' ACTION groups in New York, San Francisco and Boston will be working in the union movement to raise the idea of a one-day political strike against the war on April 23. We invite all trade unionists opposed to the Vietnam war to join us in this work.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

(ABRIDGED PROGRAM)

1. END RACISM IN THE UNIONS: Racism divides workers and supports false feelings of racial superiority, and identity with the bosses, in the minds of white workers. Whites can only maintain their privileged position over Blacks and other minorities at the expense of lowering the wages and conditions of all.

   SUPPORT BLACK SELF-DEFENSE! Militant Blacks, like the Black Panthers are right to defend themselves against the cops. This right does not depend on agreement with any particular views held by the Panthers. If white working people sit back and allow the cops to murder and brutalize Blacks, then all workers and their organizations will be the next victims!

2. FIGHT OPPRESSION OF WOMEN AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE UNIONS AND ON THE JOB: The bosses use male chauvinism, as they use racism, to divide workers, create a reserve potential of scab labor and a drag on all workers' wages. Workers must become aware of the common false ideas about women as illogical and helpless beings. We must fight for the rights of women as fellow workers and unionists. Women must be guaranteed equal access to all vocational training programs for skilled jobs. Labor must unionize the job categories held by women and fight for full and equal pay for equal work, equal access to all job categories, free voluntary cafeterias in factories and elsewhere, free full-time childcare centers at bosses' expense, free pre-natal, maternity and post-natal care with time off at no loss in pay.

   END THE SOCIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY: Women must be freed from the confines of the family, which limit human development and trap women in burdensome household activities. We demand: free legal voluntary abortions, free voluntary birth control for men and women, free divorce at the request of either partner, no alimony.

3. FREEDOM FOR STUDENTS AND YOUTH: Lower the voting age and legal adulthood to 16, and provide government support for schooling and training for anyone who wishes to leave home.

4. ORGANIZE THE SOUTH AND ALL THE UNORGANIZED: The continued existence of the South as a bastion of non-union labor, the growth of runaway shops, the mass of unorganized white collar workers and competition from low-paid foreign labor is a threat and a hardship for all workers. It is the job of the labor movement as a whole to organize the unorganized and strengthen weakly-organized workers. The most effective way other unions can aid weakly-organized workers is through strikes against suppliers and distributors of the non-union firms. We urge the systematic use of secondary labor strikes and boycotts to organize non-union shops and generally strengthen all labor action.

5. END UNEMPLOYMENT -- 30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY OR BETTER! While many workers are forced to work overtime and even hold down two jobs at once in order to make it, others, especially victims of racial and sexual discrimination, suffer drastic unemployment and underemployment. The real way to make more jobs available is to have everyone work less time for no loss in pay. Broaden the job base: no compulsory overtime or arbitrary night work.

6. FOR A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL: Somehow, the Federal minimum wage always seems to be about 10 years behind the times, and even now a fight is needed to extend its coverage to all workers. The minimum wage as well as all wage agreements must be kept in line with the cost of living. The Guaranteed Annual Income idea should be replaced by assuring everyone a job, so that no one has to be dependent on welfare.

   FOR AN EGALITARIAN WAGE SYSTEM: Although some jobs require greater amounts of skilled labor or higher than average pay to encourage people to fill them, we work toward a narrowing of the wage differences between skilled and unskilled labor. No job should be treated as necessarily badly paying. Eliminate job trust unionism and the aristocracy of labor concept by raising basic job rates.

7. IMMEDIATE and UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS FROM INDOCHINA! The labor movement must take the lead in the fight against the war. Unions should launch strikes against the war—building them up into general political strikes.

   Since World War II the U.S. has become the world's leading imperialist power—the policeman for the propertied classes in every corner of the globe. In the Indochinese War the American government is trying to keep corrupt Asian rulers from being overthrown by their own people. To wage this war the American government is forced to wage a war on its "own" people too—robbing the workers through inflation and high taxes and then breaking their strikes; using savage "law-and-order" lawlessness against the restless oppressed racial minorities; shooting down protesting students.

8. FREE THE UNIONS FROM GOVERNMENT CONTROL: As the U.S. economy gets worse because of the war, capitalist economists and politicians are pushing hard to shift the cost of the war more directly onto the backs of working people through government-imposed wage controls. To prepare for this the ruling class and its courts are gearing up for a counter-attack. In addition to anti-labor laws like Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffen, we now see: Federal injunctions against any "illegal" strike; plans to abolish membership votes on contracts; compulsory arbitration (railroad settlement); Federal troops to break the postal strike. All these measures are intended to dissolve unions as combat organizations so the bosses and the government can deal directly with the labor bureaucrats to "keep the workers in line."

9. NO COURTS OR COPS TO SETTLE UNION AFFAIRS: As part of this policy to legally bind the unions to the capitalist state, the bosses' government is always inventing nice-sounding excuses to step into union affairs, like "ending corruption" or "opposing discrimination." Sometimes misguided rank and file workers, frustrated by labor bureaucrats, help this process by taking their unions to court. But using the courts to settle internal union issues avoids the obligation to organize the members themselves to clean up their own house and implies that the government is a neutral agency between labor and management. This is not true; the government is the tool of the bosses and its only aim in intervening in union affairs is to weaken and destroy our unions!

10. FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND STRIKE BY ALL PUBLIC EMPLOYEES: Increasing numbers of underpaid city, state and Federal workers are finding they need to organize and strike to protect their interests. They are confronting a government which consistently seeks to smash their efforts at organizing and to punish employees for striking. We struggle for the right of these public workers to organize and strike. We know that city cops, FBI agents, professional soldiers, etc. are not "public employees," but are the voluntary, conscious agents of violence against the working people.

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Workers' Action

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We are an independent group of working people and rank-and-file trade union members. We publish Workers' Action to fight for militant and democratic unions, for independent working class action, and for the building of a political party of labor, based on rank and file controlled trade unions.

BOSTON WORKERS' ACTION GROUP FORMED

The wide response to a call for the formation of a WORKERS' ACTION group in the Boston area showed recognition of the need for organized political struggle within the labor movement during a period of economic crisis and anti-labor repression. A leaflet entitled "Build Workers' Leadership! Build WORKERS' ACTION!", distributed to thousands of workers and students, pointed out the need for a movement which would "restore the unions to militancy and rank-and-file control, and develop independent, working-class political action."

A well-attended public meeting was held on December 2 to introduce new people to the ideas and goals of WORKERS' ACTION. The meeting was addressed by Chris Kinder, a founding member of West Coast WORKERS' ACTION, who gave a brief history of WORKERS' ACTION and an explication of various points of its program. The second speaker, a long-time militant in the maritime industry, spoke about the concrete situation within his union, emphasizing the need to build rank-and-file caucuses within all the unions to fight against sellouts, undemocratic practices, Nixon's war in Indochina, racism and the entire political system which ties working people to the employers' politicians. He described from experience the actual methods and problems involved in building a caucus. The third speaker, Janet Rogers of District 65 (NCDWA) in New York City, focused on exposing "progressive" bureaucrats like District 65's president David Livingston, who pretends to work in the interests of his membership, but actually does little to better their working conditions or mobilize them for any political struggle, while suppressing any real rank-and-file militancy within the union.

Those at the meeting decided to set up a WORKERS' ACTION group in Boston. A subsequent meeting elected an organizer and a secretary-treasurer, established the requirements for membership and set up a dues structure. On January 9 members and supporters of WORKERS' ACTION participated in an "End Racist Unemployment" march in Lynn, Mass., marching under the slogan "For Workers' Power, Build a Workers' Party!" We also carried signs calling for strikes against layoffs, and for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay as a meaningful way to end unemployment.

WORKERS' ACTION is just getting started in Boston, but the wide interest shown in the organization makes us optimistic about its future growth and success. At present we are launching a campaign for a one-day general strike against the war to coincide with the next national anti-war action on April 24, linking up with similar campaigns led by the New York and West Coast WORKERS' ACTION groups.

NEWARK TEACHERS HOLD THE LINE

(CONT. FROM PAGE 1)

judicial proceedings that produced the permanent anti-strike injunction; Charles Bell was notorious for verbal and physical intimidation of picketers--he's now on the Board as the representative of 'labor.'

The Board is doing its job with a passion, although just a little too blatantly for most. Even the N.Y. TIMES, which screamed for the blood of the UFT in the 1968 NYC strike, in its editorial of March 11, '71, was forced to admit that it was the Board which forced the union to strike, of course despite Mayor Gibson doing his best to arbitrate and create peace. They know whose baby binding arbitration is!

The Board's demands (published along with the NTU demands in the January issue of the Newark Teachers Union Bulletin) are much

Mayor Kenneth Gibson discussing urban financial problems with Vice President Spiro. T. Agnew.

shorter than the union's demands since they consist of little more than restrictions on the NTU. The Board's demands read like a trade unionist's nightmare. They maintain that the teachers should have nothing to say about work hours, transfers, type of work, length of contract, students' private records or 'orders' they receive. This constitutes a total stripping of union power--a return to the conditions of the 1930's.

ROLE OF STUDENTS

Most of the students are out of the schools, and of those who have continued in classes, many have expressed sympathy with the picketers. The 'official' student organization, the Newark Student Federation, however, has taken a 'neutral' position on the strike, asserting that they do not wish to be 'pawns' of either side. But the only way they can escape being pawns of the Board is by linking their demands to and allying with the teachers. The Board does not need or want an alliance with the students--all they want is to keep them out of the way. The meeting held March 1 by the students to issue a press statement on their own demands played right into the Board's hands. The meeting included no representatives from the union, and all speakers were either 'neutral' or pro-Board. This is not how to avoid being pawns! The Board will placate the students with lip service only until it is no longer threated by the teachers.

The blame for this situation belongs in part to the 'official' student politicians, but mainly to the NTU leadership. Not understanding the broad class nature of their struggle, the NTU leaders were oblivious to the role students could play in the strike. Preparation should have been made before the strike, while the students and teachers were still in the classroom, explaining the nature of the struggle to the students and inviting them to formulate their own demands to fight for, along with the teachers, not against them. Without this preparation, the Board can easily convince the students that the strike shows the teachers' unconcern for their education (witness the student demand that any contract be for four years in order to avoid interruptions in their education). It is the job of the teachers' union to convince the students that they must be allies in the fight against the real enemy: the Board and the ruling-class interests it represents, and to raise the call for control of the schools by students, parents, teachers and non-teaching school workers.

What the Board would like to do is to use students against the teachers in order to convince the Newark community that what is involved is not a class struggle of the NTU against the Board of Education, but a racial conflict between the mostly white NTU and the mostly black children of Newark.

IMPERIALE

So far the Board's divide-and-conquer tactic has failed--but not because of the leadership of the NTU. In some of its statements the union has tried to deal with the racial oppression as part of a larger program for working-class struggle (for instance, in the leaflet "Our Strike and the Two Sides of Black Nationalism"). But in practice the NTU leaders have worked hard to jump into the trap of Gibson and Company. The most obvious example of this is the NTU's accepting the 'support' given them by Anthony Imperiale. Imperiale is scum. He does not belong as an invited speaker at union meetings, having his hand shaken by union leaders, including self-styled 'radical' Orrie Chambers. Chambers, staff Representative of the N. J. Federation of Teachers and idol of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (who have worked hard to whitewash the union leadership) defends accepting this 'support' because the union is 'weak' and needs all the help it can get. This is an opportunist excuse! Imperiale no more

represents the white community of Newark than LeRoi Jones represents the black community. To Newark blacks, what Imperiale does represent is the incarnation of racist bigotry. His presence blurs issues and alienates blacks from the strike. In addition, Imperiale has served the NTU leadership and the Board by having his goons repeatedly intimidate radicals distributing their views in leaflets supporting the strike. What Imperiale stands for must be decisively denounced.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

The Board has had a tough time in race-baiting, however, because they fail to see that times and conditions have changed. It is no longer 1968 and the NTU is not the UFT. There are a lot of surface reasons for the failure to turn this into a race issue: the fact that Graves and 30% of the membership is black, the absence of a physical incarnation of 'community control' as in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, the fact that Jones is even more exposed as a government agent than Rhody McCoy was (he gets money directly from the Feds instead of just the Ford Foundation). More important, however, is the changing level of struggle and consciousness. The French events of May '68 brought the class struggle into highlight again. At home, because of a seemingly endless war and the economic crisis it helped cause, people have been impelled to a higher level of militancy--and more of them are becoming receptive to the idea that class, not race, is the basic issue around which they must fight. The rising level of struggle in the labor movement makes it easier for black and white workers (the majority of both races) to see racial oppression as something which divides and blocks their struggle against their common enemy--and this higher level of struggle makes it harder for the bosses to use the reality of racism in their own interest to divide one group of workers against another.

This greater awareness of class issues is especially evident on the left. Most groups calling themselves 'revolutionary' opposed the NYC teachers strike and openly called for scabbing. However, liberal public opinion (to which 'radical' groups are extremely sensitive) has shifted, and now most radical groups have either remained silent or come out in full support of the strike. An exception is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which along with its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), has ignored class issues in favor of 'self-determination' rhetoric for so long, and has given so much support to union-busters masquerading as 'community' leaders, that it can't bring itself to support this strike! We wonder what they will do if one of the few black political bigwigs proposes a stronger version of Taft-Hartley--probably they will keep their mouths shut.

The SWP-YSA and the National Caucus of Labor Committees have both betrayed the strikers through their opposite, but related varieties of anti-labor, pseudo-left wing politics. The SWP can't bring itself to support this strike in any form. It is so thoroughly committed to tailing after anti-labor, nationalist hustlers, that it simply wishes that the strike—a class action, however inadequate its leadership—would go away. The Labor Committee, on the other hand, relates to the class issues involved in the worst possible way—by whitewashing the union leadership which through its own limitations has helped some anti-labor forces bait the union as racist and opposed to the special demands of Blacks and other oppressed people.

Both the NTU and union-buster LeroiJones have proclaimed their support of "community control." The fact that people so opposed in struggle can favor the same demand indicates that the demand lacks meaning. Who is the "community," besides a geographical grouping of people together with their exploiters? Of course, the great majority of people in the black community are exploited workers. But that is also true of the population as a whole. In addition to lacking a class meaning, the community control concept is actually dangerous, because by blurring class consciousness, it opens the way for all sorts of backwardness—anybody from Mississippi knows what white "community control" is like. As far as the educational system is concerned, the demand, no matter how radical-sounding, would make it easier for the city to shrink the total funds going to teachers and students while it watches different "communities" battle over their share of the shrinking pie. Furthermore, community control would mean that decisions about job conditions, hiring and firing, etc., would be entirely up to the political and economic elites who control the "community," instead of up to the union. Ironically, the International Socialism group has used the presence of this classless demand as their excuse for supporting the Newark strike, while still defending their opposition to the '68 N. Y. teachers' strike.

The union leadership uses the cops in the same way it uses Imperiale--to keep the union membership unconscious of the real class issues involved in this strike. The cops are not neutral in the class struggle. The basic purpose of the police is to protect the property and profits of business. This includes breaking strikes either directly or indirectly. The cops will never give strikers more than token protection--more important, teachers should see the police as their active enemies. To call on the cops who daily persecute black people to 'protect' teachers reinforces every racial fear and union-busting attack. Then why does the union leadership call upon the cops for protection? Because there is only one alternative to the cops: workers defense guards. Such a step -- workers arming themselves against the city administration and its lackeys--is a threat to the union bureaucrats as well as to their cohorts in political office.

It is for the same reason that the leadership keeps appealing to Gibson to intervene to 'impartially' settle the strike, in spite of the fact that Gibson's true role has been obvious throughout -- to point out the mayor's necessary partiality would be to raise the question of the state as an instrument of the bosses, and at the same time to lay bare the role of the present trade union leaders as friends of the bosses' system, the 'labor lieutenants of capital.

BUREAUCRATS' "SUPPORT"

The NTU has received wide verbal support from the city and state trade union leaders, including pledges of solidarity and 'action.'

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THE STRIKEBREAKERS GO ON STRIKE . . .

POLICE MILITAN

On the night shift of January 14, New York City patrolmen left their beats to begin a six-day work stoppage, the first such action by the police in the history of the city. The action, unauthorized by the leadership of the Policemen's Benevolent Association (PBA), was precipitated by a court ruling effectively barring payment of $2700 in retroactive pay claimed by the PBA as part of a parity arrangement based on a 3 to 3.5 pay ratio of patrolmen to police officers. During the course of the action Police Commissioner Murphy backed up by Mayor Lindsay threatened to call in National Guard to maintain "law and order." Following their return to work, a subsequent ruling in favor of the PBA claim resulted in a total $3300 payment in retroactive salaries, bringing the base pay of the cops up to a whopping $12,150 per year.

The police action has resurrected some serious questions for trade union militants and, significantly, has smoked out some extremely dangerous attitudes within the trade union movement and even among a couple of ostensibly left organizations, regarding the relationship of labor militants to the police action and police in general. What was the real nature of the New York police action? What are "militant policemen"? Are police a part of the working class? How do we define class divisions in society? What are the main features of a capitalist state? Should labor have supported the police action? Is the Policemen's Benevolent Association (PBA) a "union"? The answers to these questions have assumed critical importance because of the recent intensification of struggles by public employees at all levels. In this situation an incorrect understanding of the police and their social role can have immediate disastrous consequences for the trade union movement. It also calls seriously into question the credibility of any political organization claiming to support workers' struggles that could be so wrong on such a basic question, one going to the very heart of the life and death struggle between Labor and Capital. In order to understand more clearly the reactionary and anti-labor nature of the recent police action, we should examine two partly parallel developments: the attempts by the Lindsay Administration to seek out a confrontation with the municipal unions in the current collective bargaining and a bit of recent history of the dangerous politicalization of the cops in New York City, and elsewhere.

COPS HARD AT WORK—BRONXVILLE, N.Y. HOSPITAL STRIKE, 1965.

CITY ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE

Lindsay, like a number of other big city mayors, has gone over to the offensive in order to resolve the city's financial crisis by increasing the tax burden and cutting the living conditions of the working people of New York. A major element of this offensive has been a virtual declaration of war on city employees and their unions with threats of pay cuts, payless paydays, "furloughs," and layoffs, since wages are the single biggest item on the City's budget. These threats became a reality in November when 500 "provisional" city employees were laid off, the first such layoffs in 35 years, since Mayor LaGuardia fired thousands of city workers during the depression of the 'Thirties. After a series of empty threats and much blustering by Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director of District Council 37 (DC 37) which supposedly represented the workers concerned, no action was taken and the handwriting was on the wall for all city employees. Around the same time as bargaining began with the firemen, sanitation workers, social services workers and others, the City declared that there would be no increase in basic wages, except for minimal cost-of-living increases. Most recently, the layoff of 10,000 substitute and 7,000 regular teachers was narrowly averted, when the City Comptroller "borrowed" $35 million from next year's budget.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

Behind all this is more than the usual bargaining period dramatics. A deep economic and social crisis, consisting of increasing widespread unemployment and general economic recession plus the war-based inflation, is affecting the country as a whole and local governments in particular. What this boils down to for New York City is a sharp reduction in revenues from income tax, sales tax, stock transfer tax, etc. As transportation, housing and other living conditions worsen thousands of middle class people and hundreds of businesses are leaving the city, further reducing the tax base. Compounding this are increased costs as thousands of low income workers are driven to welfare because of high unemployment and slashes in Medicaid eligibility, while hundreds of thousands more have their last wage increases eaten up by inflation and increased cost of living. When Lindsay threatened to "cut off" welfare payments to thousands of families, this was a direct attack on poor working people.

Lindsay's solution to this is simple: cut the wages and jobs of City employees, increase productivity, and tax the hell out of everyone else. But in order to accomplish this, Lindsay must either defeat the unionized city employees or at least neutralize the unions' responses by persuading the sellout leaders of the unions covering some 360,000 City employees to "cooperate for the common good," which means joining forces to keep the rank and file under control. But if the carrot (for the labor fakers) doesn't work the stick is ready too, in the form of a recently enlarged and high-paid police force, as well as troops to be used as announced in "contingency plans" in case of big strikes by city labor. Hanging over the heads of all city workers is the vicious Taylor Law which prohibits strikes by public employees with penalties of unlimited fines and loss of dues checkoff as well as double loss of pay for every day on strike for individual workers.

BUREAUCRATS' BETRAYAL

The union bureaucrats, instead of organizing a general strike against the Taylor Law, hide behind it to counsel moderation. In a recent issue of DC37's Public Employee Press (Jan. 29, 1971), Victor Gotbaum complained that the worst feature of the Taylor Law is that it doesn't really stop strikes and therefore puts sellout leaders like himself on the spot with "dissident members" when bureaucrats opposed such strikes, causing them to be called "coward" and "chicken." But his alternative, however, along with Albert Shanker of the UFT and Theodore Kheel, is a local version of the Taft-Harley Law, which while nominally permitting public employee strikes, would provide for a mandatory 60-day "cooling off" period, as well as binding arbitration for grievances. In fact these same provisions are contained in a bill now before Congress, HR 17383, drafted by DC37's parent organization, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and endorsed by its president Jerry Wurf, which is intended to cover all state and public employees if passed!

It is obvious that despite the attempts at betrayal and compromise by fakers like Gotbaum, there can be no compromise for the thousands of city workers who face these proposed cuts. The City also knows this and has already launched the attack. In the battles that are certain to follow not only does the question of militant leadership assume critical importance, but also the question of who are allies and who are enemies—which brings us back to the question of the police.

STRIKE WAVE INTENSIFIES

It has been a long time in this country since we have seen large scale clashes between organized labor and capital such as the strike wave that has been building force over the last four years. During the 1950's, following the strike waves after World War II, whole layers of rank and file leaders and militants were purged from the unions along with the "reds," in the name of patriotism and anti-communism and as a result there was a sharp break in the continuity of tradition and class consciousness in the working class movement. Under these conditions, and during long periods with very little strike activity the real social role of the police sometimes becomes obscured. Add to this, temporary antagonisms between various strata of the population—white vs. black, workers vs. students, one ethnic group against another or any combination of these—and you have a fairly widespread (and often racist) attitude among many workers that the police are their "friends." A couple of violent strikes tends to sort this out, but in the meantime many workers are content to see the cops get the other "real troublemakers." For instance, the unity between patriotic New York construction workers and the police against "long-haired" anti-war students witnessed last spring will come to an end when the same construction workers go on strike to protect their wages from Nixon's attack and their "friends" the police come along to beat their heads and break their strike. But the present pro-police attitudes are also reflected in the opportunist positions of many trade union bureaucrats, especially those in municipal employee unions. Outstanding among these are Victor Gotbaum of New York's DC 37 and Jerry Wurf of AFSCME.

In the issue of Public Employee Press referred to above, Gotbaum referred to the PBA as a "union," the police action as a "strike"

NCY vs. LABOR

and a "police labor-management crisis," as well as congratulating Ed(!) Kiernan as a fellow bureaucrat who "kept cool" in the face of "dissident. . . members." Much worse than this, however, was an outrageous editorial by Jerry Wurf in the Jan.-Feb. 1971 issue of AFSCME's Public Employee entitled "Policemen as Public Employees." It would be bad enough if Wurf had only lumped cops in with other public employees, but he actually tries to evoke sympathy for the "oppressed" police and sheds a tear for them: "Boiling underneath the surface was a deepseated, long-held anger —anger about working conditions, anger about what the patrolmen see as a lack of public appreciation for the role they play and the work they do, anger about a society that has burdened the policeman with responsibilities he has neither the tools nor the experience to handle." Wurf weeps on, "It is even more dreadful and reflective of the reasons police in America carry a burning anger that the following kind of situation was repeated. . ." He then goes on to describe an account of six New York cops being attacked by 40 persons when they attempted to make an arrest. Wurf's analysis of recent police "militancy" is that it reflects "the frustration of today's under-30 youth who comprise about 40% of the patrol force in New York City." The editorial then quotes one of these misunderstood youths, "Being a policeman has nothing to do with it. I'm a working man." What Wurf's editorial doesn't mention is that AFSCME presently has some 10,000 cops, including the guards at Tennessee State Penitentiary, as members, whose substantial dues undoubtedly are no small factor in his sympathetic attitude. We wonder if it will be some of Wurf's cops that will enforce the 60-day cooling off period called for in his bill? By any standards of labor tradition this man should be denounced as a class traitor and expelled from his lucrative post.

NOT ONLY UNION BUREAUCRATS

This catering to and reinforcing of the present backward class consciousness of sections of organized workers is not confined to cynical, dues-collecting union bureaucrats, however. Two "socialist" organizations who are supposed to understand the role of the police in the present social system have recently carried accounts of the New York police action in their papers that agree with Jerry Wurf and the young cop quoted above that "police are workers too." The Communist party has long been isolated in the trade union movement for its treacherous support of "progressive" bureaucrats like Reuther and Woodcock against the rank and file, its bootlicking support to liberal capitalist politicians, and its groveling apologies for a bureaucratic, Stalinist perversion of socialism. With these dubious credentials it editorializes in the Jan. 16 issue of the Daily World for a "fighting unity of the working class" to defend the police right to strike for "justified wage demands" as municipal workers. Another article in the same issue stated that "New Yorkers were left with about one-fourth the regular police protection as thousands of cops today began a wildcat job action." In New York, being "protected" by the police usually means a beating and subsequent charge of assault. Nonetheless they felt obliged to offer a few criticisms which makes their support even more grotesque, referring to the cops' "racist currents" and "brutality," their "beating up of strikers," support of "hardhat" beatings of students, and "John Birch cells in the Police Department," as a few bad features that prevent the police from "winning allies among the people." Their answer to it all is "community control" of the police, which used to include demands for more black cops until the Red Squad fulfilled their demand and sent black cop informers into the Black Panthers. You can't "control" the police. The ruling class and the state the police work for has to be dismantled. But more of that later.

THE "WORKERS" LEAGUE

The other organization that thinks the cops are workers is a small allegedly revolutionary group called the Workers' League that fortunately has no influence in the trade unions (except for supporting "lesser-evil" candidates for union office) and very few workers. Nevertheless, their position on the police strike is so incredible it affords us the opportunity to argue some important points.

Their paper, the Bulletin, generally consists of labor articles from the N. Y. Times re-written by their "labor correspondents." This fake workers' paper is apparently printed by non-union labor at scab wages, since a union bug is conspicuously absent. Their history on the police question actually pre-dates the recent police action by about eighteen months. At that time a spokesman for the "Committee for New Leadership" (CNL), a small group in the welfare workers' Local 371 in New York which is supported in the pages of the Bulletin, attempted to get that union to support the demands of the welfare police for "peace officer" status on the grounds that it was a "labor issue." The welfare cops, however, had been trying for several years to be allowed to wear guns like the rest of the police. Peace Officer status, while bringing higher pay, would also authorize them to wear guns, which is what they were primarily after. The then president Morgenstern argued against the motion on the grounds that the only people the welfare cops could shoot would be social service staff and welfare recipients and the motion was defeated. The Workers League has now resurrected this position in two articles in the Jan. 25 and Feb. 15 issues of the Bulletin. The first article is entitled, "New York Labor Begins Showdown" and is accompanied by a picture of marching cops described in the caption as "militant policemen." The general gist of the article is that the action by the police had "triggered a whole fight on the part of the city labor movement" creating a situation "which can only be

COPS clench fists for walkout—1971.

described as on the verge of civil war." This presumably refers to the threatened use of National Guards to replace the police if their action continued. (This actually happened in the 1863 draft riots when New York police refused to stop rioting pro-Confederate, pro-slavery Irish immigrants from burning down black orphanages in protest to being drafted in the Union army. The entire police force was fired and replaced by Federal troops. That was another action by "militant" police.) The article describes a meeting where "rank and file patrolmen, raising the clenched fist salute, shouted 'Kill Kiernan'. . ." A veteran cop is quoted as referring to them as "nothing but hoodlums." We agree, and would observe that the Nazis also copied their salute from the German communists. Since the cops were carrying their guns and do often kill people, including each other, this was not a hollow threat, although frankly, we would not grieve the loss of Patrolman Kiernan. This "defiance of their leadership symbolizes a change which is occurring in the labor movement as well" the author claims. The article concludes with a call for a general strike to support the police action: "When the patrolmen went out, DeLury (sanitationmen), Maye (firemen) and Gotbaum refused to call out their ranks." Clearly this article, the first enthusiastic response of the WL to the police action, characterizes the police as abandoning their role as the repressive armed force of the capitalist state, ready to take on the National Guard in pursuit of their alleged working class interests, dragging the rest of city labor behind them. What else does the author mean by by "Lindsay and the entire capitalist class must very well be asking themselves what they face if those they pay to break strikes are themselves striking, if those who advocate and defend 'law and order' now defy it."

ERSATZ REVOLUTIONARIES

The second article, called, incredibly, "In Defense of the Working Class," is intended as an authoritative statement of position, written by the General Secretary of the Workers League, Timothy Wohlforth. While more cautious in tone it more systematically lays bare the theoretical bankruptcy of this group of ersatz "revolutionaries." The key section of Wohlforth's hypothesis draws a parallel with the general strikes of 1919 where the Boston police also went on "strike" and is worth quoting: "The significance of all this is the importance of placing the recent New York police strike within the framework of the general movement of the working class and at the same time seeking to understand what underlies this movement of the class. When the repressive arm of the ruling class itself goes on strike, this is not an isolated phenomenon, but a reflection of a very general, deep and profound movement of the working class." (our emphasis). A key premise to this conclusion is the same as that stated by our youthful cop and Jerry Wurf above, that cops are workers too: "Are we to see only the side of the police as the repressive arm of the state but at the same time not understand that the police are also employees of that state?" and, when this repressive arm goes on strike it immediately does express the deepest crisis in capitalism and when the question of bringing another repressive arm of the state to smash the police comes up, then the question of civil war is in the air." Later he compares the police "strike" to "the growing insurrectionary situation in the Army. "We are being asked to believe nothing less than what we are witnessing now is the beginning of a civil war between the working class and the capitalists rapidly escalating to a classic situation of dual power, where the workers are ready to challenge the government for state power, but with the police being cast in the role of a conscript army, insurrecting and coming over ("for the moment," says the author) as the vanguard to the side of the working class! This is such a misreading of the current situation and ignoring of the historical experience of the workers' movement, it is grotesque! Major metropolitan police have never played such a role. In a general strike or a revolutionary situation the police are always the first to clear out because they know what bastards they are.

ANTI-LABOR ACTION

The truth is just the opposite of the conclusions of the Workers League, the Communist Party, Jerry Wurf and Victor Gotbaum. The police work stoppage was fundamentally an anti-labor action. It was a political strike by a police force that has become dangerously conscious of its social role as the armed defenders of the social system of big business and the "law and order" that protects and maintains the power and privilege of this ruling class. It reflects the general motion of the working class only in a negative sense, for the motion of the police is the symmetrical, polar opposite of that in the working class and in fact more resembles the recent re-emergence of fascist organizations attacking striking workers in France and Italy, or vigilante bands of police terrorists in Guatemala and other Latin American countries that have been assassinating labor leaders and

(continued on page 6)

BOSSES and UNION BUREAUCRATS

JOB TRAP FOR WAITERS

As an old member of the Walters Union Local 1 here in New York City and as a member of an active though numerically small opposition faction, I am painfully aware that our union is a good example of the woeful state of the organized labor movement in America today.

Our monthly membership meetings attract about 80 to 100 members out of 10,000 or so and our officials lost all militancy years ago. They foist sweetheart contracts on the rank and file by resorting to chicanery and undemocratic methods. The bureaucrats pay no heed to our needs. Controlling the Executive Board and appointing rubber stamp members to the negotiating committee, they brook no opposition to their repressive policies.

In the shops the bosses, assured of a capitulatory position on the part of the officials, extend our hours, chisel on our food and in every way attempt to revert to open shop conditions. Shop chairmen and outspoken crew members are harassed and threatened with dismissal.

To illustrate -- Recently the management of Sardi's, a popular theatrical district restaurant, called a meeting of its dining-room crew at which the Restaurant League lawyer was present in an attempt to harangue us and break down the militant spirit of the rank and file in new contract negotiations. Seeing the real purpose for which the meeting was called, the entire crew walked out in refusal to allow the Restaurant League to succeed in bulldozing us. In reprisal they are now attempting to fire our shop chairman and another worker.

Furthermore, our long-term contracts provide for minimal raises in wages which continually fail to catch up with the galloping inflation, provide no dental plan, no severance pay and a pitifully small pension plan ($105 per month to a 65 year old retiree after 30 years of work). Even this ridiculously low scale finally evolved after 14 years without an adjustment.

We look forward to continuing the task of raising the level of class-consciousness of our members until Local 1 will truly be an honest, member-controlled and democratic union.

--A Waiter

KIERNAN

POLICE MILITANCY . . .

(CONT. FROM PAGE 5)

members of revolutionary workers groups. The New York police are sick and tired of "having one arm tied behind their back" in dealing with militant blacks and Puerto Ricans, anti-war activists, trade union militants, and Lindsay himself, whom they regard as some kind of "communist." In short, they and their "employers" are anticipating and preparing for a counter attack against organized labor. The Bulletin article unwittingly admits this very phenomenon when it casually notes, "It should be pointed out that the strike wave of 1919 was shortly followed by a severe witch-hunt..." There are indeed lessons to be learned from 1919 and other turbulent periods of the working class movement, but not the lessons drawn for us by the Workers League. They had better go back to their textbooks on the labor movement, because they have missed the whole point. The police are our enemies, and they are dangerous.

THE PBA'S PAST

The New York cops began to organize in 1963 when the PBA went over from being a paper organization to the "bargaining agent" for all city cops with parallel organizations among transit cops and others. The PBA is not a union—it is basically a right-wing paramilitary political organization with a number of reported overlaps in the John Birch Society and Minutemen-type organizations, with an annual income of $10 million a year from dues and pension contributions. In the last years of the Wagner administration the cops were given an "open season" on Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The phony "Blood Brothers" panic, the 1964 Harlem police riots, the series of "accidental" killings by the cops in 1964-65 (paralleling the current rash of "suicides" in City jails) were all a part of this. During this period the cops acquired a new consciousness as the City's armed enforcers of racism—and they liked it! When Lindsay became mayor in 1966 and broke up the old police hierarchy, known as the "Irish mafia," that controlled the Police Department and later attempted to set up a token Civilian Review Board to play "soft cop" the police organized politically, joining forces with the Conservative Party, the John Birch Society and an assortment of racist and right-wing groups and defeated that timid proposal. Was that picket line of 10,000 armed, off-duty police around City Hall chanting "Lindsay is a commie" and "No Civilian Review Board" a "militant action" also? The same John J. Cassese that was a key figure in organizing the New York PBA (until he left under the cloud of an alleged embezzling scandal in 1969) is now attempting to form a national organization of police called the Brotherhood of Police Officers (BPO), a move we regard as extremely dangerous, posing the spectre of a centrally directed political organization. Is that a "union" that these champions of police "militancy" would have the trade unions support when it tries a national strike to protest the refusal of the AFL-CIO to charter it? (The BPO's first attempt at such a charter was recently scuttled by Jerry Wurf who regarded it simply as an attempted "raid" on AFSCME's cop members.)

EVEN GEORGE MEANY...

Are cops then workers and a part of the labor movement? Even George Meany said "no" to that some years back when the New York PBA first applied for AFL-CIO recognition. Since then he's moved so far right he sees eye to eye with the cops on most questions. But he has a lot of company these days, and some pretty strange bedfellows at that. Well, how do we figure out who are workers and who aren't? In a class society like ours the main social divisions are based upon the difference in the relationship of persons to the process of production. The way in which people enter into economic relations with each other for the purpose of production decide the social relations between them, that is, decides which class each person belongs to and the ensuing class relations. This division gives us one class, the capitalists, composed of those who own all the means of production and exchange—factories, mines, mills, railroads, banks—and a class of workers composed of those who own only their mental and physical ability to work, and who must sell that ability to the capitalists by the hour or week in order to live. This includes public employees who sell their labor power to local, state, or federal governments as postal workers, motormen, clerks, sanitation workers, teachers, welfare workers, etc. There are also a variety of middle classes—small merchants and farmers, professional people, etc. —but the main decisive classes in society are workers and capitalists. Despite Wurf's and the Workers League's protests that the police are workers simply because they are salaried employees, ignoring entirely their very special social function, it is obvious that based on the above criteria, cops, as professional strikebreakers, fall entirely outside the social relations of the process of production, regardless of their social origins, and so are neither workers, nor part of the working class. While most policemen are generally of working class social origins, they are specifically hired and trained to function as class traitors, and bear a greater resemblance to a mercenary army, de-classed socially and economically. This was easier to see in the company towns of the late 19th century where the police were often hired by the coal mine or factory owners. As late as the early 1940's, old Henry Ford had his own goon squad to keep the workers in line and break up unionizing attempts. The mere fact that these scum were paid for their dirty work obviously didn't make them "workers," in any scientific class sense of the word. The same goes for Pinkertons, FBI agents, labor spies, informers, etc.

ROLE OF THE POLICE

The police, then, are special bodies of armed men separated entirely from the rest of the population. These police, and also the Army and National Guard, etc., backed up by a system of prisons, are the backbone, the very essence, of the capitalist state, whose basic function is to maintain through force or threat of force the rule of that class in order to economically exploit the working class. In every important and decisive conflict, the cops are the instrument of that state apparatus and stand on the side of private property and big business, backed up by pro-capitalist laws, judges, courts, and prisons.

In no sense are these bodies of armed men "neutral" in the class struggle, although great efforts are made to convince people that they are. It isn't often that one sees the class character of the state power of big business operating in its naked form. Where the government is an outright capitalist dictatorship, which ruthlessly suppresses all trade unions and workers political organizations, wiping out representative government and all democratic rights and institutions, as was the case in Nazi Germany, the class character of the system is easily recognizable and unmistakable. But this causes a great deal of trouble for the capitalists and they only resort to naked military rule when the working people are no longer fooled by the sugar coating of "law and order" and "peaceful, legal means" and decide to struggle to run their own society in their own name, directly threatening therefore the social rule of big business. Every strike has all the elements of this life and death struggle with the company having the pickets arrested, hauled into court by the police, charged by the judge with violating some right of private property, and sent off to prison for daring to challenge the rule of the company.

This is why the question of the role of the police, as raised by the New York police action, is of such fundamental importance. It goes to the very heart of the struggle of the working class and does not allow for any mistakes. Labor bureaucrats understand this and constantly strive to obscure the real nature of the system, since it is their job to keep the workers under control. But for us there's only one conclusion to draw from this issue: the cops are our enemies, and they are dangerous!

NEWARK TEACHERS HOLD THE LINE

(CONT. FROM PAGE 3)

Not included, of course, is any mobilization of union ranks. The Sunday rallies held by the NTU have been abundant with 'labor leaders' pledging 'solidarity,' money and testimony before courts, all nice safe, legal means of support. But, as the strikers have learned, this means little: the schools have remained open, though crippled; the non-NTU employees are still working; while the Teamsters are not crossing picket lines, most schools still get regular deliveries since few schools are adequately covered by pickets.

On Thursday, March 4, Carol Graves was arrested with two other union officials at the beginning of a labor rally called by the New Jersey AFL-CIO, Teamsters, UAW and other unions to support the strike. After the arrest, the assembled bureaucrats thought it sufficient to continue with the same old line. However, they soon learned different. As Charles Marciante, president of the N.J. AFL-CIO began pledging support the cry "call a general strike!" went up and spread quickly through the room. The clamor continued until Joseph Uzzolino of the Teamsters took the floor to say we should "shut down the industry next Monday or Tuesday" -- a call that was obscure enough to appease all.

GENERAL STRIKE?

On Sunday, March 7, Charles Marciante said that plans were being made for a general strike in Newark. But, as it turned out, they called a token 3-hour work stoppage for Wednesday, March 17. The actual stoppage was less than token--it was called off.

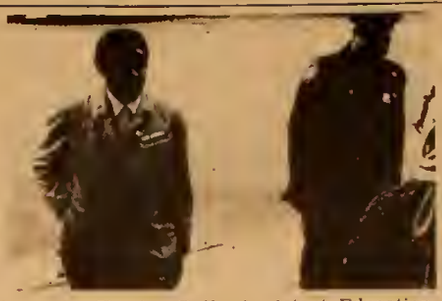
Some things should be made clear to the rank and file that are already clear to its leadership. The bureaucrats only called the work stoppage which didn't happen as an out for themselves. They moved only in an attempt to thwart any real danger to the status quo from their own memberships as well as from the NTU members. From the beginning of the strike the bureaucrats have blocked any attempts by NTU members to reach the memberships of other unions--so that the small amount of propaganda that has gotten out has had to be through leaflets at the factories. The token turnout at the labor support rally showed how unwilling the bureaucrats are to mobilize their ranks.

A general strike is definitely required in this situation, but it must be a real general strike of the rank and file, not an empty show staged by a gang of bureaucrats. NTU members must mobilize to reach all unionists with the issues of the strike and its importance to them as workers, calling upon them to build rank-and-file NTU support committees in their unions. Otherwise we might very well see a work stoppage called with a turnout similar to that of the labor support rally and the bureaucrats standing at the side saying "we did our best."

But this action requires leadership--a leadership which the present NTU incumbents have shown themselves unwilling to fulfill. WORKERS' ACTION urges NTU members, who are aware of the need for direct, militant union leadership, to organize a rank-and-file caucus within the NTU on a program of class struggle, taking clear positions on the issues of this strike -- social and political as well as narrower union issues.

A LABOR PARTY

It becomes clear that unionism is directly connected with politics. City employees see that the politicians who are their bosses are closely tied to big business. The police force is only one example. Gibson's "interim" city administration was another. All workers must understand that the politicians--Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, Conservatives -- are controlled by big business. Labor needs a political party of its own. Every union victory is worn down by the bosses and their government -- by taxes, inflation, anti-union laws, unemployment, etc. We need a workers' political party to fight for our needs and run society for our interests. The NTU strike makes this clear as the Democratic 'friend of labor' mayor hides behind the vicious Board of Education he appointed. Militants in every trade union must begin to organize a workers' party -- through fighting for militant, class-struggle demands like real support to the NTU strike.



Shown is Charles Bell, Assistant Education Director of DC37 (NYC) harrassing NTU picket lines. Appointed by Mayor Gibson as "labor representative" to Newark's Board of Education, Bell has been one of the most vicious opponents of the NTU strike in the name of "the community." Left, photo by NTU photographer from picket line Feb. 19, 1970, before Bell's appointment, where 26 union members were arrested. Right, Bell with police friends (Feb. 1971) during current strike. DC37's Victor Gotbaum expressed "outrage" at jailing of NTU leadership in last year's strike.

PHONE WORKERS ORGANIZE CAUCUS

A group of rank-and-filers in the Communications Workers of America, called the Militant Action Caucus of CWA, has been formed in the San Francisco Bay Area. The following is a reprint of portions of their statement of program and objectives, including their contract demands. The full program also includes positions on Union Democracy and "Social and Political Needs," as well as economic demands. (See further coverage of the Militant Action Caucus on next page).

WHO WE ARE

The Militant Action Caucus has been formed because we feel that CWA is going in the wrong direction. CWA is not yet a company union, even though Joe Beirne is trying to get special AT&T stock purchasing options for union members (how much AT&T stock does he own?) The possibility still exists for the membership to kick out the present leadership and their puppets and start CWA on a new course. We feel it is the responsibility of union militants to take up this struggle and not try to split out, which would leave the rest of the membership in Beirne's clutches. The problem is not simply that Beirne is dishonest, for his dishonesty is caused by his distorted perception of what AT&T is. The problem isn't just that he's power hungry either. Beirne wants to have iron control over us because he apparently really believes that our best protection lies in protecting the interests of AT&T. And in fact no one, not even the AT&T Board of Directors, knows better how to do that than Beirne does. He thinks our problems with Ma Bell are caused by "lack of communication," and can be solved by "being reasonable." That's why, even though it's hard to believe that anyone could have any respect for the lying cheating greedy management of Ma Bell, he pushed for the "Union-Management Relations Clause," which says, in part, "The Company and the Union recognize that it is in the best interests of both parties, the employees, and the public that all dealings between them continue to be characterized by mutual responsibility and respect."

We think that AT&T became the richest corporation in the world (43.9 Billion in capital assets at the end of 1969) for a good reason: it is the slickest, most dishonest, cutthroat corporation around. It pillages the public and ravages its employees with a gall and skill none of the other notorious industry giants can even come close to. We believe that the interest of union members and the public (the vast majority of whom are working people) are identical, and are in complete contradiction to the profit making interests of AT&T.

Unions in this country have been kept on an endless treadmill of bread and butter demands for the past thirty years—get more money, and inflation eats it up—work lots of overtime to feed and clothe your family, and your sons get sent to die in Vietnam (a war in which AT&T makes huge profits)—get a better pension plan and get fired before you can use it—get a dental plan, and get laid off because of automation—go on strike, and injunctions and fines are levied against you—etc. CWA has got to get out of the squirrel cage and start a far seeing struggle on all fronts. It will be long and hard, but without it we'll never even be able to get the bread and butter.

Here are the main things we need to base our struggle on:

CONTRACT DEMANDS

End Management Prerogatives—The present contracts between CWA and the AT&T network allow management to give us privileges, but don't give us any rights whatsoever. Even filling grievances is a privilege according to them. Ma Bell's system of making sure her "girls and boys" behave by granting (or withholding) privileges must be abolished and replaced by unequivocal rights for all employees. All restrictions on striking must be abolished so that we can enforce our demands during the life of a contract. The "do it now and grieve it later" system is no good.

One Nationwide Contract Covering All Departments — The Company is strongly united under the direction of AT&T, yet the Union allows itself to be divided not only by different contracts for different areas of the country, but by a different contract for each department as well. This serves to pit area against area and department against department. The International leadership has not struggled against this, but has even encouraged it to the extreme of forming separate departmental locals in the same locality. Along with the same contract nationwide, we need one payscale nationwide. AT&T makes its money nationwide and there's no reason why one employee should make less than another who works on the other side of the state line or on the other side of the street. Town classifications and area wage differences are a way of keeping all our wages low.

Cost of Living Adjustment Clause — The Company, not us, should bear the burden of the rising cost of living.

30 Hour Work Week with Limitations on Overtime—We need to protect our job security and counter unemployment by forcing the Company to hire more employees, through fighting for a shorter workweek at a living wage. Even the 40 hour work week has disappeared in the AT&T network, where people are forced to work 60 and 70 hours a week because they can't live on what they make in 40. This, coupled with automation, allows the Company to drastically reduce the number of employees in relation to the amount of production. This undermines our job security. The original purpose of extra pay for overtime was to force companies to hire more people and to make the 40 hour work week 40 hours long. Overtime should cost the Company so much that it is cheaper for them to hire more people than to pay overtime.

A More Equalized Wage System—The low wages of the "unskilled" workers serve to make the "skilled" workers accept their higher but still low wages more easily. Raising the wages of the lower paid workers would raise all our wages.

SEE CWA ARTICLE ON PAGE 8

JOE BEIRNE PREPARES US FOR BARGAINING

The newsletter, "Militant Action Report", from which this article is reprinted, was distributed recently at a union meeting of the Communications Workers in Oakland, California, by the newly-formed Militant Action Caucus of CWA. (See "WHO WE ARE" on page 7).

A few days ago we received a letter printed in large type (does he think we don't know how to read,) from our CWA International President, Joe Beirne. The first impression of reading it is that old Joe must be losing his marbles. He starts out saying that "In 1971 we may have trouble with the Bell System." He lists some bargaining demands and asks, "Will they (Bell) do the right thing?... Will the management agree?... Will the management respond favorably?" And to all these questions he answers, "We don't know." Well, if Joe Beirne and his cronies don't know how Ma Bell will respond to requests for more money and improved benefits, they should hand in their resignations today! Those of us who work day in and day out for the rotten scheming greedy Ma Bell know very well how she will respond —with all the defenses she can muster. She will issue lies to the employees and the public, (remember the "Two Cable Cuttings Per Day During the Strike! $10,000 Reward!" press release in 1968); she will use dishonest Public Relations gimmicks, (in 1968, by an odd coincidence, a lot of Bell companies simultaneously discovered they had made too much money the previous year and gave subscribers a credit refund—just before the strike); she will get injunctions, fines and cops to harrass and beat up strikers, just as she has done before. There is absolutely no reason whatsoever to think things will be any different this time. The reason Beirne gives for not knowing whether Bell will act as usual is, "We did not get a timely response." This looks like pure idiocy! When you go into the enemy's camp and yell for someone to come out and talk to you but you get no answer, you know it's because they're busy priming their guns. And here we get down to the real purpose of Joe's letter—to prevent us from "priming our guns," to steer us away from thinking about struggling against Ma Bell for the things we need. Our best contribution, according to him, is to sit back and rely on our leaders, who don't know the most elementary precepts of unionism, and then we can simply vote on what they do.

Beirne says, "The System's FINAL proposal will be submitted for ratification or rejection.

'Rejection authorizes a strike.

'The decision on our course of action will be yours."

These statements are nothing but trickery and deception! CWA members of the entire bargaining unit of Michigan turned down the final contract offer in 1968, and stayed out because they believed that "Rejection authorizes a strike" and "The decision on our course of action will be yours." They found out that for CWA members that is not true. The International Executive Board ruled the vote invalid, and contrary to the provisions of the CWA Constitution, conducted a mail ballot, by which they claimed (they did the counting) the contract passed. Then they supported the Company when it cut off the dues deductions of the strongest Michigan locals. Their lawyers stood beside the Company's lawyers in court and argued that rejection of the contract by the members does not authorize a strike.

But the International bureaucrats weren't content to let the matter rest there. When the locals made arrangements to have dues deducted through the credit union, Beirne went to court and got injunctions to stop it. Then he had a card distributed around the plant department of the Detroit local (4000) that asked if people were interested in forming "an independent union." Lots of people signed it because they thought it would get them out of CWA. Their signatures were used by the International Executive Board as the basis for splitting the Detroit local and making the plant department a separate CWA local. Later the Executive Board changed their story and said the signatures had nothing to do with it; they simply split local 4000 so that at least some of the members would have their dues deducted. The Royal Oak Local (4016) one day received a letter saying that the accounting department was no longer in its jurisdiction. The International claimed the women there "wanted their own local." Both of the new locals formed were under the trusteeship of an international rep. At no time did the members vote to split. In the fall Marty Hughes, assistant to CWA V.P. Walter Schaar, tried to conduct some secret meetings to further split local 4016, and International rep Hansen sent members of 4001 (on Union paid time) to get lists of Bell employees in local 4016 and talk to them about splitting. When these efforts failed, Schaar informed local 4016 that the Company would not even talk about restoring dues deduction unless the International took the local into receivership, which would make the local officers (who had been overwhelmingly returned to office a month before) completely powerless. Eventually Local 4016 went completely broke and was forced to give in.

And after atrocities like these Beirne has the gall to write, "Rejection authorizes a strike. The decision on our course of action will be yours." And he goes on to say, "We belong to what is recognized as the best and most democratic union in the world," and "...you, and every other Member, make the final decision on the acceptance of a contract or on a strike—by vote." Contrary to Beirne's accusations, nobody needs to throw mud on those statements. As they stand, they are filthy stinking lies.

As long as Beirne heads CWA we know we'll be sold out, but the solution isn't, as some people think, not to strike. We must strike and support the union no matter how rotten the leadership is. If we don't, the little power that we have managed to get will be lost and we will be left completely at the mercy of AT&T. It may be bad now, but that would be even worse. What we really need to do is get rid of Beirne and the rest of the rotten bureaucrats and get rank and file control of the union so we will be free to fight the Company for the things we need. A strike, even if we're sold out in the end, can be a very effective way of organizing and pulling ourselves together for the struggle within the union. Beirne knows this very well. It is one reason why he says, "We don't want a strike." He knows the membership is getting sick and tired of his sellouts and he has good reason to be afraid that if they strike they'll realize the strength they have in unity and kick him out.

WHAT WE STAND FOR (CONT. FROM PAGE 2)

11. BUILD FACTORY AND SHOP STEWARDS' COMMITTEES! Constantly deteriorating conditions of work must above all be fought on the factory floor. Only rank and file job action can really fight the incessant speed-ups, inadequate rest periods, dangerous conditions and the like. Moreover every serious strike fully reveals the desperate impotence of bought-off trade union leaders. Unity and organization within each plant immediately challenge the bosses' job control and lay the basis for getting rid of sellout official union leaders.
12. FOR RANK AND FILE CONTROL OF THE UNIONS! Democratic, militant unions can only be ensured by membership participation and control. Most unions today are controlled by corrupt bureaucrats who make deals with the bosses and act to defend their own special privileges rather than the interests of the rank and file. They are the agents of the bosses within the labor movement. They are traitors!

    Inevitably any struggle to improve the workers' lot at the expense of the bosses upsets the trade union bureaucracy and arouses their bitter-end opposition. They must be fought. We should attend our union meetings and form militant, fighting caucuses aimed at destroying the power of these bureaucrats and replacing them in leadership under a militant and democratic program. This struggle needs a political basis.
13. ORGANIZE FOR WORKERS' SELF-DEFENSE: Workers must protect themselves from the attacks of the bosses and the traitors within the labor movement. Workers' defense guards should be organized wherever workers' organizations or meetings are threatened by hoodlum violence.
14. FOR A WORKERS PARTY to fight on all levels for all these demands. The Democratic and Republican parties are both owned by and run in the interests of the bosses. They are capitalist parties. Democratic "friends of labor" are really our enemies; they always sell out the real interests of workers in exchange for a few cheap reforms that change nothing—crumbs from the table.

    We need a party of our own—controlled by us and based on our unions—to fight for the serious demands in this program. The workers of every other country have recognized this need. Unions alone aren't enough; political struggle uniting all working people, poor and minority groups is necessary if we are to win. Break the capitalist two-party system!
15. FOR WORKERS' POWER! In the end, only the working class can solve its own problems and the problems of society. Armed with their own party and program for power, the workers can and will take over and run society themselves. Workers can run the economy and society for the benefit of mankind and eliminate the racism, wars and exploitation which come from the bosses' selfish profit system. This must be our final goal: to achieve socialism through WORKERS' POWER!

(revised by NYC drafting commission, June 1970)

Workers' Action

P.O. Box 313, Canal Station, New York, N.Y. 10013
Phone (212) 569-4332

P.O. Box 6241
Albany, California 94706
Phone (415) 841-2489

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ISSUE NO. 9 JULY - AUGUST 1971

UNION BUREAUCRATS BETRAY CITY WORKERS

PENSION STRIKE SELLOUT

A powerful two-day strike action by thousands of New York City municipal employees that gave the local ruling class and its politicians a foretaste of workers' power, ended in a naked sellout on June 8, when Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and Barry Feinstein, President of Local 237, international Brotherhood of Teamsters, ordered their members back to work. The strike was called ostensibly to force the State Legislature to approve a pension plan negotiated with the city last July by District Council 37, representing nearly one-third of the city's 381,000 employees. Teamster Local 237, whose 13,000 members include 318 bridge tenders and 500 repair and maintenance workers of the Department of Water Resources, was also affected by the agreement. State retirement law requires that pension agreements negotiated with local governments be approved by the Legislature—a rubber-stamp procedure in the past.

The June 7 strike, the first in DC37's 27-year history, began before the Monday morning rush hour when bridge tenders (Teamsters) locked open 28 of the city's 29 moveable bridges. The combination of open bridges and heavy trucks, many loaded with sand with tires flattened, abandoned by DC37 workers, caused the biggest traffic jam in city history. Police units headed off attempts to cut off the water supply to Wall Street and Rockefeller's Manhattan office. On the second day, June 8, DC37 sewage treatment workers and incinerator crews walked off the job, setting up picket lines. (John DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, ordered sanitation truck drivers to cross the picket lines — three days earlier he had threatened a general strike if any city workers were laid off as a result of budget cuts!)

Lindsay denounced the strike as "immoral, illegal and outrageous" and threatened to call out the National Guard as he tried to do in the Sanitation strike several years ago. He did call in the Army Corps of Engineers, who worked with strikebreaking supervisory personnel to get most bridges into operation on the second day of the strike (no protest registered by Gotbaum, Feinstein, or other labor "leaders"). The New York Times raged that the city "has become prisoner of its pampered civil service unions" and TV editorials warned of "anarchy!"

Gotbaum Accepts Settlement

On May 4 Gotbaum warned that the city would see "the biggest, fattest, sloppiest strike" in its history if Albany rejected the pension plan. Yet the settlement he accepted on June 8 gave up on every single issue involved! The settlement, worked out with the Office of Collective Bargaining (OCB), calls for re-submission of the pension plan to the 1972 Legislature, a move already scheduled as part of a general study of public pension programs, ordered when DC37's plan was killed. The settlement provides also for renegotiations between the city and union if the pension plan is not then adopted or negotiations for the difference if the full amount is not approved. Failing that, "alternative recommendations," i.e., an equivalent money package, but not the pension plan, shall be granted by the city's OCB; this agreement would not be subject to legislative approval. The agreement capitulates entirely to the principle that the State Legislature can nullify a collective bargaining agreement between unions and the city—a principle not limited to pension plans. Gotbaum had told the OCB that he was prepared to end the strike in return for an equivalent guarantee. When asked if the city had in fact promised alternative money, Lindsay stated, "A flat no. There are no promises." Teamster Local 237 president Feinstein, who had ordered his men back to work before the settlement, stated to the press that the strike had failed in its purpose. Gotbaum claimed a great "victory"—"I was very pleased," he said on June 9. A "near unanimous" vote by the DC37 Executive Committee to end the strike was reported to the press; in reality nearly half had abstained.

The New York Times

Main New York City drawbridge stands locked open by municipal workers during two-day strike.

The whole strike was a cynical maneuver by Gotbaum to save his own skin from his rank and file, while reminding the city that he does have something to sell out. By Sunday night, after an attempted compromise with Rockefeller and key legislators had failed to materialize, Gotbaum knew that the plan was dead for this year's session. Having promised strike action to save the pension agreement, he was forced to make a grandstand move he knew would have no effect on the Legislature. The strike was organized entirely from the top down, involving relatively few workers, and no membership votes of the affected locals were taken to ratify the back-to-work settlement.

Most important, by this dramatic but meaningless action, Gotbaum intended to head off and deflate the growing mood for a general strike against the state and city budget cuts with their threat of layoffs and job freezes. "Our union has never threatened a strike over layoffs," replied Gotbaum, when asked on June 13 whether DC37 would support a general strike of state employees called for June 16 by the Civil Service Employees Association.

Pensions

Both unions and city have long used pension benefits as a source of compromise settlements. For the city, increased pensions, with their deferred costs, are preferable to wage and benefits

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Which Road in Fight for Jobs and Rights?

Struggle in NMU

A renewed period of militant struggle has begun in the U.S. labor movement and is making itself felt in the National Maritime Union. The deteriorating job situation in the industry, combined with the general economic and social crisis, has stimulated opposition to the NMU's Curran leadership, one of the most corrupt, heavy-handed bureaucratic machines in American unionism. Beset from every quarter—an angry membership, a recent Seattle NLRB challenge to the union structure, a proliferation of organized oppositional caucuses—the Curran bureaucracy is compelled to rely ever more heavily on totalitarian methods and gross intimidation to stanch the rising tide of membership discontent. In such a crisis situation it is imperative that seamen avoid the reformist trap and build an effective opposition on the basis of a principled transitional program of struggle against the bosses and bureaucrats.

New York Membership Rebels

in the Port of New York, the situation is developing rapidly. Over the past several months rank-and-file opposition has been repeatedly evidenced in union meetings. The NMU is tightly controlled by Joe Curran, its first and only president. Meetings are a mockery of even the rudiments of union democracy. Points of order and procedure are often blatantly ignored; the officials seem to develop a problem of multiple vision when counting their supporters' votes, combined with temporary blindness to votes against their motions. At the April meeting, the members cast overwhelming voice and standing votes repudiating the officers' suppression of their rights—votes which were simply overturned by the meeting chairman. At an earlier meeting, a member trying to defend a brother speaking at the microphone was attacked by Curran's goons. The May meeting ended in chaos, after the bureaucrats' ruled to silence a dissident against overwhelming opposition. The bureaucrats resorted to provocation, then adjourned the meeting because of "disruptions" when angry NMUers responded. The members remained inside for nearly an hour, but instead of discussing how to fight the leadership, the seamen finally resorted to picketing the union hall in what amounted to a publicity stunt. The main oppositional leader in town at the time of the meeting, James Morrissey, spent more time on the telephone contacting the press than talking to seamen.

The rank-and-file revolt within the NMU has reached such proportions that it was necessary for the officers to organize a full scale mobilization of their supporters for the New York June meeting, to keep the irate membership in check. Loyal pro-administration members were brought

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Editorial:

GOVERNMENT, GOONS and "LEFT-WING" HYPOCRISY

In recent cases of government repression and intra-movement hooliganism, wide sections of the left have revealed a confusion fatal to revolutionary practice—the inability to distinguish between one's opponents within the workers' movement and the ruling class. Groups already tarnished by physical attacks on political opponents reveal even greater revolutionary unfitness by their refusal to defend opponent tendencies against repression by the bourgeois state. Even worse, some groups have defended calling on agencies of the bourgeoisie to silence opposition. The winners, of course, are the bourgeoisie and the most class-collaborationist sections of the left, who profit from the disillusionment of many potential revolutionaries at the spectacle of organizations substituting violence for political struggle and clarification, and abandoning elementary class solidarity with their opponents in the face of ruling-class attack.

Even those organizations so rotten as to seek an accomodation with the ruling class must be defended against the state when it attacks them at the same time as we expose their treachery. The Communist Party was a rotten class-collaborationist organization in the 1950's, indeed for nearly three decades before that—the "syphilis of the working-class movement." Should revolutionaries and working-class militants then have refused to defend them during the witch hunt? Many trade unionists took just that attitude as CP leaders were being run out in the late 40's. Their assessment of the CP role in the unions was mostly correct—the CP had outdone even the right-wing bureaucrats in demanding no-strike pledges, suppressing the rank and file, etc. But what many workers failed to see was that although the CP leaders had to be removed for their betrayals, the government wanted them removed as the opening move in a campaign against all "Un-Americans" and "troublemakers." It was the job of the workers themselves to remove the CP sellouts and other business-as-usual right-wing bureaucrats. When the government took on the job, of course, it became not a cleanup in the interest of the union members, but an attack on the entire labor movement—part of the Taft-Hartley pattern of government regulation and restrictions on labor in the "public" (i. e., the bosses') interest.

The case of the government vs. James Hoffa is a more recent example. Hoffa, a business-unionist careerist, deserved to be thrown out by the Teamsters. But that is not why the government wanted to get Hoffa. Everyone knows how well the government co-exists with real or alleged corruption everywhere. They wanted him out of the way because he was a tough business unionist who had managed (for his own ends, to be sure) to win substantial gains for some of his membership. Hoffa, justifiably or not, symbolized certain bread-and-butter gains—the business-as-usual union boss who "got out of hand" and actually won more than bare minimum gains for sections of his union. The correct response from labor would have been to seek his replacement by militant leadership while at the same time fighting every attempt at government interference into union affairs, recognizing that behind its ostensible concern for union honesty, the government concealed a drive against union gains in general. Labor misleaders must be ousted by labor itself, not by the enemies of all labor. Within a union like the National Maritime Union (NMU), for example, it may someday be the unpleasant duty for militants to defend even Joseph Curran against the government, not defending his leadership but defending themselves against anti-union interference.

International

In international politics, an analogous principle applies. The Soviet Union has a political dictatorship which behaves in the manner of a typical self-serving elite stratum. In that sense its ruling caste is an irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet workers and of revolutionary struggle worldwide. We call for its overthrow. But we call for its overthrow to clear the path for socialist development in the Soviet Union, and to facilitate revolution internationally. The State and Defense Departments want it overthrown so that the remaining gains of the October Revolution can be wiped out, and a considerable portion of the globe opened up for renewed imperialist exploitation. Thus our purposes in opposing the Soviet bureaucracy are diametrically opposed to those of the U.S. ruling class. (The argument that the Soviet Union/East Europe—some now add China to the list—are all substantially capitalist and therefore one cannot take sides in any confrontation between these states and imperialism is a trick by which people evade an unpopular stand and still consider themselves Marxists. Political opportunism and/or confusion do make strange bedfellows - ex-Maoist Progressive Labor and the International Socialists both cling to this basically "third camp" conception.)

Gangster Violence and WL Hypocrisy

The American Left has recently witnessed numerous instances of groups attempting to beat their opponents into silence. Members of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League (WL) selling their literature on April 9 outside the office of the Puerto Rican nationalist Movimiento Pro-Independencia (MPI) in New York City were attacked without provocation, and three WL members were injured, one seriously. The Workers League then issued an appeal for united defense against this hooliganism (Bulletin, April 19). Does the Workers League "deserve" defense against either government repression, as in the Juan Farinas case, or from gangsterism within the radical movement? Certainly not, if a particutar group's ethics and honesty were the criterion for defense support. The Workers League has defended beatings of its own opponents, and has defended violence against other radicals on the part of groups toward which it temporarily felt appetites. The Workers League's disgraceful conduct has done a great disservice to the development of anti-gangster consciousness on the left. But to fail to defend the WL's rights—and thus the principle of free speech within the workers' movement — would be to sink to the WL's own abysmal level.

In an "Open Letter to Workers, Minorities, and Youth" in the April 19 Bulletin, WL National Secretary Tim Wohlforth makes several proposals, concluding with an appeal for united front defense against hooligan attacks.

What Wohlforth's appeal in fact shows is that his understanding of workers' democracy is on a par with that of a union bureaucrat who sees very clearly the need for all-class defense the moment his own hide is threatened by attack, and hopes no one remembers his record of years of gangsterism against the movement to which he appeals. The Workers League and its international bloc, the "International Committee" (IC), has violated every one of its own demands. The Workers League and its British mentors in particutar constitute a veritable textbook example of Stalinist-style violence and betrayals of proletarian ethics carried out in the name of Trotskyism.

Wohlforth on Violence

The following underlined quotations are taken from Wohlforth's "Open Letter." He demands:

"That all organizations reject and denounce all physical attacks on other tendencies in the working class movement . . . The Workers League has not only violated its own proclaimed principle, but its rapidly shifting political appetites have led it to make unity overtures toward the very formations against which it had upheld the use of violence!

In 1967 California members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were attacked while distributing election literature by members of the then-Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL). At that time the response of the Workers League was to solidarize with PL's attack, describing the SWP as "scabbing on the Chinese Revolution." (The WL briefly held a position of enthusiastic "critical support" to the Red Guard pro-Mao wing of the Chinese bureaucracy.) No defense against gangsterism was offered the SWP then! But 1967 was the year that the WL, following its British mentor, Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League (SLL), characterized the SWP as "outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class" and hence, presumably, fair game for its opponents, even Maoists. Three years later, the Bulletin was repeatedly calling for unity discussions with the SWP-YSA leadership. So in 1967, we are to assume, the SWP was so rotten as to be outside the pale even of defense against gangsterism, but in 1970 the SWP had improved so drastically as to merit unity overtures from Healy, Wohlforth & Co. Needless to say, Healy-Wohlforth's prior behavior gave the SWP-YSA leaders a perfect excuse, if they needed any, for rejecting the IC overtures.

The Queen's Justice

"That we specifically affirm the right of all tendencies to freely present their views and to sell their literature; that we oppose all government or hooligan attacks on these rights.

"The Workers League is prepared to come before an independent workers' commission of inquiry . . ."

The grossest example of what Wohlforth must conceal now in his defense overtures is the behavior of Gerry Healy of the SLL, who in one widely publicized incident violated all of these principles. In 1967 Healy not only had Ernest Tate (a supporter of the revisionist SWP-"United Secretariat" wing of ostensible Trotskyism) beaten for selling an anti-Healy pamphlet outside a meeting, but threatened him with libel proceedings for publicizing the incident! (The "Tate Affair" is fully documented in detail in an issue of Spartacist magazine, #9, Jan.-Feb. 1967.) So much for the call to "oppose all government or hooligan attacks on these rights." Did Healy accept an "independent workers' commission of inquiry" into this case? No, he was engaged in the very opposite — an appeal through the courts on grounds of "libel" to stop Tate's protests! No weapon is too blunt for Healy and Wohlforth—not back-alley violence, not even the "Queen's Justice." The Healyite practice and public defense of hooliganism and use of the courts against opponents has created the anomalous and tragic situation that in Britain such anti-proletarian swinishness is more closely associated with "Trotskyist" than with Stalinist practice.

Slander

"That all tendencies, whatever their political differences, reject the charge that Trotskyists, and the Workers League in particular, are agents of the CIA and FBI . . ." But again the WL has violated its own "Open Letter." Presumably the Workers League can attack the Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL) any time it wishes, since the WL is on public record slandering the SL as "the fingerman for world capitalism" (Bulletin, Dec. 2, 1968), a charge they have never retracted. Such Moscow Trials-style slander is always available as a handy rationalization for "left" gangsterism. Simple, and "logical," it is the assertion that one's victim is not legitimately a part of the rad-

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LONGSHORE UNION IN LIFE-OR-DEATH STRUGGLE

The current 5-year contract of the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) expires on July 1, 1971, and it appears certain that the Longshoremen face a bitter fight for their very existence as a union.

Liberals and radical fakers have long touted the ILWU as a "progressive" union because of its verbal stance on political questions like racism and the Vietnam war. Much of this "progressive" image has been due to ILWU head Harry Bridges, who for many years has been the hero of U.S. Stalinism, the Communist Party (CP). Bridges has long followed a CP-supported policy of "labor peace" and "collective bargaining" which drastically undermined the union's strength, especially over the last decade. In collaborating with the employers, Bridges has gone so far as to take a seat on the Port Commission which oversees the Port of San Francisco! Since the union's founding in the San Francisco general strike of 1934, it has engaged in one major strike—in 1948, during which President Truman ordered in troops to load struck ships.

For any labor leader, no matter how well-meaning, there are only two roads: narrow "business unionism," which results in betrayal of the workers to unemployment and poverty; or a perspective of a revolutionary struggle for socialism, which alone can eliminate poverty. Sooner or later the fundamental question arises: Who should own the wealth—the workers or the bourgeoisie? Harry Bridges long ago chose the latter, so like every other labor bureaucrat his task has been to pressure the capitalists to give a little bit more. In a time of general capitalist attack on workers' organizations, such tactics can only prove fatal.

"Mechanization and Modernization"

The roots of the present situation go back to the 1961 Longshore contract with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) in which the Bridges leadership agreed to a program of "Mechanization and Modernization" (M&M) in return for various monetary benefits. Assuming, as Bridges did, that it was "natural" for the PMA to own the means of production, how could one possibly object to "modernization" and "progress"? In return for this concession, the ILWU got a $30 million special retirement and wage guarantee fund. Wages were to be guaranteed on the basis of a 35-hour straight-time week. Retirees with 25 years in the industry at age 65 to 88 were to get a $7900 special payment over and above pensions. With all the special catches, however, few could benefit, and the wage guarantee fund was practically untouched over the entire contract period. When the fund was finally divided at the end of 1966, it amounted to $980 after taxes per man!

The employers won additional concessions in 1961. By 1959 the union had begun the establishment of a second-class union member—the "B" man—who worked alongside the "A" men but had fewer rights and had to wait for "A" status. This obviously divided the union. The 1961 contract deepened the division by excluding non-"A" men from payments under the M&M agreement even though they were working alongside the "A" men! Further, the contract authorized speed-up through the phrase "unnecessary men": "The employer shall not be required to hire unnecessary men" (Sec. 15.2). This allowed the employer to use smaller gangs and larger loads. The basic hold gang was effectively—through tricky wording and interpretation—reduced from six to four men.

The 1968 contract further undermined the union's strength through cutbacks in manning scales. The two "swing men" who could be added for one type of operation (hand-pushed big loads) were eliminated. The new "robot"-unit operation, where pallet boards of cargo are stowed by machine, eliminated the gang boss (union foreman) and forced a minimum of two men to perform many different operations, with at most four men in the hold. Most dangerous is notorious Section 9.43, which allowed the employers to bypass the regular union hiring hall for certain jobs and build up a pool of "steady men," rather than distributing the available work daily through the hiring hall. This greatly weakens the hiring hall system, a major gain of the 1934 strike, and thus weakens the union's control over conditions.

Containerization Sellout

By far the most important development in the last decade of the industry is containerization—the shipping of goods in large steel containers which can be transferred by crane to different modes of transport. Once stuffed, the containers require only a crane operator at the docks, thereby eliminating the longshoremen. Although by 1966 the Matson Co. and other companies had major containerization programs going, neither the 1961 or 1966 ILWU contracts made any specific references to containers or containerization! Thus locked into no-strike contracts for a decade, the ILWU leadership gave employers a free hand to undercut the union. (From a claimed membership of 65,000 in 1959, the union rolls have dropped to 55,000 today. The loss in longshore jobs is probably much greater since the present figures include over 20,000 Hawaiian pineapple, sugar and miscellaneous workers.)

Finally in 1968 the Bridges leadership attempted to return the lost jobs by negotiations to bring all container-stuffing and emptying to areas under ILWU-Longshore Division control. Many of the so-called Container Freight Stations (CFS) had by this time fallen into Teamster and ILWU-Warehouse Division locals so there was an additional jurisdictional problem as well. The employers' demands were very heavy in the 1968 negotiations, and only a job action early in 1969 led to an agreement, which was not very good, but which Bridges favored "in order to nail down jurisdiction." Basically, the CFS Supplement to the regular contract agreed to "have all container work brought to CFS on the dock or in areas adjacent to the dock on or before June 30, 1971" (Sec. 1.5). The agreement could hardly be called a victory: for one, the regular Longshoremen's work categories—lift-driver, carman and Ross Carrier driver—do not exist at Container Freight Stations, but are included in the catch-all category of "utility man," which gets less pay than any of them! Second, the CFS men work steadily for one company, thereby strengthening the "steady-man" system and undermining the hiring

Even with the weaknesses in the CFS agreement, the employers were not satisfied and went ahead with their plans to destroy the union. In Feb. 1971 the ILWU set up a fact-finding committee which is said to have traced thousands of cases of illegal container-stuffing. In April Local 10 set up pickets and tied up six ships handling illegal cargo in San Francisco. The action quickly spread but was halted by an agreement to set up a new fact-finding committee and renewed pledges from the employers to abide by the 1969 agreement.

New Fissures Emerge

The membership is becoming furious, and this is reflected in renewed attacks on the leadership and cracks in the old bureaucracy. Initially, of course, the new movement is undirected and confused. In Local 10, this unrest has broken out in increased financial squabbles, during which the membership recently turned down a much-needed dues increase in protest against the leadership. There are grapevine rumors that the International Secretary-Treasurer, Louis Goldblatt, is out to dump President Bridges—which would mean no change at all. Responding to the gossip, the leadership has tried to put on a public show of solidarity.

Reacting to the new rank-and-file restiveness, People's World (the CP paper which has always adored Harry Bridges) now appears to have second thoughts, in preparation for dumping Bridges

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Government, Goons and "Left-Wing" Hypocrisy

ical movement at all but rather part of the ruling class apparatus, i.e., a police agent. In this way, Progressive Labor wriggled free of its duty to defend Weatherman against prosecution: they are alleged to be cops. Police agents exist; but simply to assert such a charge against an opponent in order to avoid the unpleasant duty of defending him (or refraining from beating him) is utterly destructive of consciousness. As the WL and other political bandits well know, slander works — up to a point — otherwise it would not be so popular. Most liberal public opinion, after all, and the Stalinist-led working class as well, accepted the preposterous charges against Trotsky and almost all the Old Bolsheviks at the Moscow Trials in the 'thirties.

"Help us to defend ourselves and to prevent similar attacks in the future." In February, 1970, both the Workers League and the SWP refused to sign a letter circulated by the Spartacist League protesting being driven away by Panther guards from distributing literature outside a Panther "Birthday Party" rally in Berkeley, California.

PL: Hooligan Sectarianism

Perhaps the most "consistent" position on defense against gangsterism and government is held by Progressive Labor (the Workers League's consistent violation of such principles has been verbally broken with Wohlforth's "Open Letter"). PL's policy seems to be to defend no one outside their own organization, and attack anyone (except as modified by the size and popularity of the group in question). PL will not defend Weatherman but will defend the more popular Black Panthers — though they are in fundamental political disagreement with both groups. They, and the PL-controlled sections of SDS, refused defense support to Juan Farinas, now a member of the Workers League, in his prosecution for anti-war "crimes" allegedly committed while he was functioning as a member of PL! (Was this a warning to PL members considering leaving the organization?) And they refused support from "Trotskyites" when PL member Bill Epton faced a "criminal anarchy" frame-up growing out of the Harlem police riots of 1964.

Where attacks on other tendencies are concerned, PL takes a back seat to no one. On PL's recent May Day March in New York, Spartacist salesmen were beaten; at a demonstration held June 19, a Spartacist salesman in New York was knocked to the ground and beaten, and the attackers appealed to nearby police for help in clearing out the "troublemakers." In May 1970 PL-SDS attacked a YSA member at a Boston SMC conference; when the YSA members defended him, PL-SDS retaliated by storming an SMC meeting at MIT on May 24. Such tactics represent partly a genuine ignorance in PL of the most elementary meaning of workers' democracy and proletarian means of struggle. Physical attacks on groups to one's left are a hallmark of Stalinism, and the attacks on Spartacist are partly an attempt to harden up PLers organizationally against Trotskyism, since PL has now repudiated Maoism and has no defense against Trotskyism politically. The violence against organizations to PL's right (like the SWP-YSA which PL has often criticized, essentially correctly, for their class collaborationism) actually strengthens the right wing of the movement, as it enables their leaderships to link left criticism with Stalinist hooliganism, and reinforces the loyalty of the members to an organization under attack. PL's position seems to be that every group has an equal right to beat anybody else up, and an equal right to face the repression all alone, one group being suppressed after another.

Defend the Left!

Fortunately for groups like Progressive Labor and the Workers League, a group need not be decent in order to merit support from revolutionaries against the cops and courts, and against hoodlum violence when it is practiced against them instead of by them. Defense of such groups — coupled with intransigent criticism like the defense of misleaders in the trade union movement against outside attack—is a necessity proceeding from larger requirements of the movement as a whole. Such groups are part of the workers' and radical movement, although a malignant part, and it is within that movement that their rottenness must be exposed and combatted. Neither government frame-ups nor physical attacks from other sections of the radical movement can be tolerated if the necessary process of political clarification is to take place and a revolutionary party built.

No More Peace Picnics for Labor Fakers and Politicians!

BRING WORKING-CLASS POWER AGAINST THE WAR!

The trade unions today have only two roads open to them: reformist conciliation to the capitalists or revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle based on a transitional program. There is no middle course. All attempts at a partial break with the system are doomed to failure, since the interests of the workers are in complete contradiction with the system at all points and the bourgeoisie ultimately uses any leader who in the slightest way compromises on the question of the continued existence of capitalism.

This is the only context in which to judge the role of labor's so-called "progressive" bureaucrats in the anti-war movement, displayed in the recent April 24th peace marches in Washington and San Francisco. The chief organizers of these annual peace picnics, the reformists of the SWP-YSA-SMC, brag of the great increase in "labor" participation in the marches. This mostly refers to endorsements by trade union bureaucrats, but also, they emphasize, a great increase in "involvement" of the rank-and-file. This turns out to consist primarily of attempts on the part of a few extra zealous trade union leaderships, such as District 65 and 1199 DHW in New York, to recruit backing for the marches from their members. What we're not told, of course, is that all these bureaucrats are ex-supporters of the war, most of them clearly and outspokenly so. The entire UAW executive board, including Emil Mazey, for instance, voted to endorse the war before 1965.

In some cases (local 400, city employees in San Francisco) membership meetings voted overwhelmingly to endorse the march. More typical, however, was the kind of action which took place in the Alameda County Central Labor Council, in which a majority of delegates overturned delaying tactics by the leadership designed to sabotage endorsement. Labor Council delegates are invariably the hand-picked representatives of the local union bureaucrats, and their actions in several California labor councils besides this one (as well as anti-war actions by "left" bureaucrats as a whole) must be seen as a struggle of one wing of the trade union bureaucracy against another.

Bureaucrats Face Exposure

The context of these developments is the rising tide of class struggle and attempts of rank-and-file workers to defend their gains against increasing attack by the bosses. All the ruling-class measures designed to deal with the deepening economic crisis take the form of attacks on the working class: wage-price controls, curbs on the right to strike, mass layoffs, attacks on welfare (last refuge of the unemployed), spending millions in tax money to prop up bankrupt corporations, continuing inflation, and disguised devaluation of the dollar. The clear need for defense against these attacks combined with a dramatic rise in rank-and-file militancy has put the bureaucrats on the spot. Militant teamsters are now demanding strike action to free Hoffa, despite Hoffa's clear record of opposition to any such rank-and-file action over his case. Rank-and-filers are protesting against bureaucratic squabbling over crumbs, as in the Teamster-ILWU dispute over container stuffing on the West Coast. Contract negotiations, wildcat strikes, demands which go way beyond the capitalists' immediate ability to grant concessions, together with open opposition to the war, hatred of Nixon and disillusionment with the two parties of capitalism are increasingly tormenting the professional compromisers and conciliators who run the trade unions.

These fakers, who based themselves on the anti-communism and apparent class peace of the previous period to advance their personal careers in the "business" of unionism, are now forced to lead limited struggles in order to retain some credibility with the angry ranks and some ability to continue conciliating, compromising, and selling out in favor of accommodation to the system. This tense situation has led naturally to disputes within the bureaucracy over how to proceed. The dominant right wing, most strongly representative of the "cold war" anti-communism, led by George Meany, Joseph Curran, the building trades, etc., is being challenged by a broad variety of "progressives" who seek to appear more militant in order to strengthen their own position, as in Reuther's cold split with Meany to form the "militant" ALA. That these "progressives" are really no different is proven time and again. In the fifties and early sixties, they were all practically indistinguishable from Meany himself. Now, after the war and the ruling class that started it have driven the workers to desperation, these "leaders" protest. Something is wrong; we need new leaders, they say. But before the last election, when all the "lefts" of the New York labor movement mobilized against the Meany supporters at the state AFL-CIO convention, the question they raised was which Democratic Party candidate to support!

Progressive Cover for Sellouts

The "single-issue" anti-war movement, for which the SWP-YSA has been the chief idealogue and organizer from the very beginning, has played right into the hands of these "left" reformers. It has handed the new careerists a "movement" which appears militant but which is actually perfectly safe and compatible with both the continued existence of capitalism and, importantly for them, their continued existence as professional conciliators and reformists within the labor movement.

But the war question cannot possibly be separated from the class question or the class struggle as a whole. That is why the much-touted "unity" between the various "nationalist" (as well as feminist, homophilic, etc.) groupings at the marches is so tenuous, fragile, temporary — in fact, non-existent. The various "nationalists," so the theory goes, who normally pursue their contradictory, me-first politics separate from each other, find their "common ground" in the anti-war demonstrations. This did not, however, prevent the Brown Berets from asserting their "nationalist" machismo against everyone else in the San Francisco speakers' rally.

"Labor" is viewed as though it were just another "nationalist" grouping, finally splashing into the pool in a big way. The bureaucrats are assured of being treated like little kings, eagerly counted and appreciated for the size of their "mass" followings. Their role as betrayers of their own members will not be challenged; after all, "self-determination for everybody" means that all the little tin-pot despots and aspiring bureaucrats get to run their own bailiwicks without "criticism" from "outside." The SWP-YSA adheres to this in practice — making only harmless, occasional, general "criticisms" and pushing "community control" instead of class struggle and generally ignoring work in the unions. The class struggle, the only real force uniting the interests of most women and blacks and other minorities with each other and with the interests of the working class as a whole is deliberately papered over with this false grab-bag multi-class "unity."

Thus the "left" bureaucrats are able to appear militant on the war, which is, of course, intimately tied up with inflation and unemployment, while selling out the real struggle around these very issues. They can mouth slogans about the war and the role it plays without committing themselves to a serious struggle on any class question —including the war itself. Clearly these fakers' commitment to opposing the war does not extend far enough to include anti-war strike action by their unions, for example; that would be too dangerous! But speaking next to the same capitalist politicians with whom they regularly hob-nob—as well as some who are openly anti-labor—at a rally that is assured to be "legal" and "peaceful" (as though those were moral categories) by parade marshalls whose only militancy is directed against "leftist disrupters," cannot be considered very dangerous even by a labor bureaucrat.

Members of the Direct Mail Local of District 65, NCDWA in Washington, D. C. on April 24.

New York, which saw some of the "best" response by labor (trains and buses were hired by District 65 and 1199 to get the members to Washington) is the best example, since the crisis is particularly acute there. "Fun City's" politically ambitious wonder-boy liberal anti-war speaker Mayor Lindsay has exactly two ideas for dealing with the grinding economic and financial bind in the city: more municipal taxes (on the workers and poor, of course) and laying off up to 90,000 city employees. If he doesn't get you one way, he gets you the other. The very same bureaucrats who have been selling out over the layoffs already going on, as in welfare (SSEU-371) over the anti-strike Taylor Law, and over the rotten conditions of work in New York (see "New Era Closes," WA #7) are the ones the SWP is so glad to have in its coalition. Those who urge their members to "fight the war and racism" by marching on Washington are actively sabotaging the growing struggle against the layoffs. The anti-war movement as presently constituted is a made-to-order cover for their betrayals.

Beyond Protest

The most elementary understanding of the war and its connection to the class struggle leads inescapable to the conclusion that the only meaningful anti-war movement is one which fights against all sections of the trade union bureaucracy, around a revolutionary working-class program. "Protesting" the war in the company of the Lindsays, while ignoring the class fight against layoffs, inflation, etc., is a gross betrayal. The SWP-YSA has lent a "left" cover to this charade ever since it adopted, in 1965, the single-issue perspective and began the drive to lead a "mass" movement on an opportunist basis.

Only the program of turning the anti-war movement into an anti-capitalist movement points the way forward. Anything less can only leave the serious anti-war militant with the questions "What has been accomplished?" and "What next?" A working-class program must include open solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Indochinese workers and peasants (although giving no political confidence to the Stalinist leadership), aggressive struggle against the inflation (for price controls), layoffs, unemployment, etc., caused by the war-related economic crisis, and a political struggle not just for a slogan acceptable to the bureaucrats but for strike action against the war as well as for a new revolutionary trade union leadership, and a political party of labor based on this program to break the hold of the two capitalist war parties. Only this program can break both the anti-war movement and the trade union movement out of reformist accommodation to the system. Anything less is as meaningless and impotent as Senator Hartke addressing a Saturday rock concert on the mall.

(Continued from Page 1)

Struggle in NMU

in from other ports; many members believe they were paid for this. Even NMU National President Joseph Curran was at the podium for the first time in years; only his presence prevented a recurrence of the events at the May meeting. The antics of the bureaucrats reflected their acute awareness of the rising pressure of the seamen's militancy. Robert's Rules of Order were flagrantly violated, discussions cut short, and the usual vote counts, distorted to favor the officers, were reported.

The first vote, however, revealed open defiance by the rank-and-file and exposed the rest of the meeting as a sham. On a procedural motion to place New Business first on the agenda, the bureaucrats recorded a vote of 163 for to 620 against. Feeling confident, Curran offered a recount with oppositionists also counting. This vote was recorded 257 for to 277 against the motion. Although the officers manipulated this vote also, it was clear that the opposition remained determined and won in the face of the polished Curran machine.

The most significant development at the June meeting indicated a new turn in the rank-and-file militant struggle. Curran made his usual slanders, accusing oppositionists of being "S. I. U. agents" or "paid stooges." But he dropped allusions to the "Commies" (Communist Party) concentrating instead on the "Trotskyite" label for some of his opponents. Pushing one of his pet deals which would sink $2 million of the NMU pension fund into a passenger ship company, and while thwarting (alternative) proposals for the job rotation system, Curran repeatedly referred to "Trotskyite" forces and ideas. At one point Curran specifically referred to a leaflet issued by the Group 2 Rights Committee of the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus as "Trotskyite." Significantly, Curran spent more time warning the members of dark conspiratorial forces within the union than of the real threat to the union's existence posed by the shipping bosses; he obviously feels closer to management and government than to militant forces in his own union, "Trotskyite" and otherwise.

Reinforcing the growing discontent have been the Group 2 seamen—the NMU's second-class members who are hired onto ships only after those with the required seatime are taken. Excluded from full union membership and union meetings, the Group 2's have repeatedly gathered outside the hall to distribute leaflets demanding an end to the group system which divides the union. The seatime required for Group 1 status and full union membership has been continually increased, so that many seamen who have been sailing for up to 5 years have not been able to accumulate the 800 days (2 years and 2 months) of seatime within a 5-year period currently required for Group 1 status. While union officers defend the group system because of the scarcity of jobs for "regular seamen," their real motivation is fear of the younger seamen, who feel they have more to gain and less to lose in a struggle against the bureaucracy.

The seamen face a desperate situation. The inflation which eats away their real earnings is compounded by acute problems within the maritime industry: job attrition through containerization and automation and the owners' use of cheap labor through foreign ship registration. Union officers work hand in hand with the companies, saddling their members with long-term contracts (the previous contract covered a 9-year period!), reduced manning scales, antiquated work rules and substandard wages (until June 1971 many job categories were paid less than $100 per week). Enforcement of even the existing contracts is minimal.

Three opposition groups within the NMU have organized against the union administration. The first formed was the "Committee for NMU Democracy," led by James Morrissey, which issues The Call. Two split-offs from Morrissey's group developed into the "NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus" (MSC), issuing The Beacon, edited by Gene Herson, and the "Seamen's Defense Committee" of Gaston Guyon, which issues S. O. S. (Save Our Ships). Only Morrissey's group and the MSC have maintained a sustained level of activity. The MSC has been instrumental in organizing the Group 2 seamen through the "NMU Group 2 Rights Committee."

Morrissey's Liberalism

Vital issues divide the two major oppositions. Morrissey's group holds a bread-and-butter and simple union democracy approach; the MSC contrasts to this self-limiting liberal perspective a full program dealing with the immediate and long-term interests of NMU members: the Vietnam war, unemployment, racial oppression, anti-labor laws and the role of the government and the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. It is essential that NMUers understand how their particular problems of jobs, wages and conditions are related to the struggles of all workers and the organization of society as a whole. As long as the capitalists own the means of production and control the government, there can be no real or lasting gains for the great majority of workers. The struggle against Joe Curran and his thugs must be inseparable from the fight against the capitalist system which Curran and his ilk represent within the labor movement.

Morrissey's approach is fundamentally inadequate to confront even the immediate problems of the seamen, which go beyond simple economic trade unionism. Curran's response to the danger to seamen's jobs posed by foreign ship registration is to cuddle up to the Nixon government with social-patriotic rhetoric about "American flag" shipping. Morrissey has no answer to this, for the only real solution is a demand which does not pit workers against one another along national lines but which unites them in mutual solidarity: U.S. seamen and longshoremen must demand that the workers on any ship which touches a U.S. port must be paid U. S. union-scale wages—a demand which both expresses international solidarity among workers and also removes the bosses' extra-profit incentive for foreign registration—and back up their demand with the refusal to service any ships not paying a decent wage.

Nationalization

Another crucial issue which implicitly raises an anti-capitalist solution is nationalization. In 1968 The Beacon (MSC) began calling for the "nationalization of the U.S. merchant marine under seamen's control" to eliminate the companies' lucrative government subsidy drain, improve efficiency and create more jobs with money saved from profiteering operators. When the last of U.S. passenger ships on the East Coast were laid up several months ago, The Call (Morrissey) proposed nationalization of passenger ships. The Beacon criticized both the limitation of the proposal to passenger ships and The Call's failure to take a stand on the vital issue of seamen's union rights under nationalization, especially the right to strike. Nationalization of shipping under seamen's control would not in itself solve the seamen's problems, although for the seamen to see the need for centralization and elimination of private profiteering in their industry would be an important step forward. Any particular branch of industry could be nationalized by a capitalist government for its own ends with no change in class relations and no substantial improvement in workers' conditions. At the same time, however, nationalization is an incursion upon the "right" of private ownership of the means of production—the foundation of capitalism. The correct Marxist attitude toward limited nationalization is one of critical support from the standpoint of the workers' interests. Our support is distinguished from piecemeal reform (e.g. the nationalization program of the British Labour Party) in its insistence upon workers' control, reliance on organization of the working class to safeguard the partial gains won and using the question of partial nationalization to build a workers' movement which will take control of the entire economy and state.

Job Rotation

Another critical issue in the NMU is job rotation. The laying-up of older vessels used in the Vietnam war sea-lift and of the passenger ships, along with the effects of automation and foreign ship registration, has severely reduced the available jobs. The union bureaucracy's response has been to impose stricter requirements for retirement and reduce other benefits in an attempt to squeeze members out of the industry—a direct bid to ease pressure on the companies. Both Morrissey's group and the MSC are calling for a genuine rotation system for jobs. This would mean that each job assignment would last a limited period (7 months) after which the seamen would return to the union hiring hall and register to get another job. While ashore, vacation pay and unemployment insurance coverage would be provided to maintain a continuous income. The West Coast seamen's unions have had a similar arrangement for many years. The present NMU procedure permits jobs to be taken on a steady basis, allowing a minority of seamen to monopolize the limited number of jobs and freeze out the large body of union brothers and sisters.

The demand for a job rotation system, which would provide jobs for all seamen, has profound significance for all workers in conjunction with MSC's fight for demands to place the burden of full employment on the companies and the government. A program for full employment through such means as "30 for 40" (shortening the work week with no loss in pay) is an alternative to the "guaranteed annual income" welfare system currently touted by labor bureaucrats.

The NMU is only one union among many which encourages the development of a small stratum of senior members in "job trust" situations: their relatively greater income and security in a tightly-controlled small pool of jobs is a powerful conservatizing factor in the unions. (In many unions it has obvious racist overtones as well; black workers are far less likely to get the good jobs and keep them long enough to build up seniority.) No union can be a fighting unit for the interests of workers as long as it encourages the monopolization of jobs by a select few union members. But the fight against job monopolization ("homesteading") is little more than a proposal to share unemployment equitably unless it is coupled with demands for measures such as "30 for 40," nationalization, etc. Thus Morrissey's liberal approach will be unable to mobilize most of the high-seniority NMUers to fight homesteading because he cannot demonstrate a perspective of ensuring the younger members' equal rights without taking away some of the older members' jobs.

This relatively simple question is unfortunately complicated by the entry onto the scene of the professional confusion-mongers of The Bulletin, publication of the so-called Workers League. In its attempt to "intervene" in the NMU, The Bulletin, which a few years ago distinguished itself by shamelessly tail-ending Morrissey, has now come up with the fantastic position that both the MSC and Morrissey are accepting Curran's program on job rotation (Bulletin, June 14). (Curran's "alternative" to job rotation, of course, is to require seamen to take their vacations, opening up a small number of extra jobs.) In order to lump the MSC and Morrissey together, The Bulletin conveniently ignores the rest of the MSC program for extending the anti-homesteading fight beyond a simple democratic reform to a fight for jobs for all at the bosses' expense. Pointing to the inadequacy of the job rotation proposal in itself, The Bulletin's position is, by implication, that the present unfair hiring practices should continue until a struggle for such measures as "30 for 40" is successful. This stand is a direct affront to the majority of seamen who are the victims of the Curran-management-sponsored practice of homesteading.

Role of the Government

Another key issue separating the two NMU oppositions is the question of using government agencies, particularly the courts, to remedy internal union disputes. Morrissey's group has continually advocated using the capitalist courts, and its leaders have on a number of occasions sought recourse for union affairs by appealing to the government. The MSC has strongly condemned this practice of relying on the government, pointing out that significant gains will not be won through the courts, NLRB, etc.; the most that can be expected are token gestures. In exchange for these tokens, Morrissey's committee abandons the basic principle of class independence, and encourages militants to rely on their class enemies instead of on the struggle for consciousness among fellow union members. (It is ironic that The Bulletin, which slanders the MSC as no different from Morrissey over homesteading, has itself defended using government agencies against opponents in the labor and radical movements.) The Beacon emphasizes that the government, run in the interests of big business, will not permit—much less facilitate—freedom within the unions for militant labor activity. A recent MSC leaflet on job rotation urges NMU seamen to rely on their own organized strength. Militants can never overcome the widespread illusion of government "impartiality" by appealing to it for aid.

Struggle for Revolutionary Leadership

With Morrissey's attitude toward the government, no fundamental struggle by the workers is possible, least of all a revolutionary struggle to appropriate the product of their own labor. Consistent with his liberal reformist outlook, Morrissey does not see the need for an independent political party of the working class; Morrissey shares Curran's treacherous class-collaborationism, the difference being that Curran hob-nobs with

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Pension Strike Sellout

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

concessions with their more immediate impact on the budget. The union bureaucrats in turn use the increased pension benefits to dress up a cheaper money package and obscure other sellouts. The DC37 plan provides for retirement at half pay at age 55 after 20 years of service up to a maximum of full pay after 40 years. The latter was highly touted, even though very few workers ever reach 40 years service. Nonetheless, it is substantially better than pensions in the private sector, and businessmen have recently been complaining to Lindsay and Albany of demands from their employees for pensions equal to government workers. Gotbaum's tactic is to alm the fire at Albany, leaving Lindsay in the position of the "friend of labor" supporting a dead measure, after he only feebly recommended it to the Legislature in the first place. His acquiescence to the Legislature's rejection of the city-approved pension enables Lindsay to argue strongly against other "excessive" demands in negotiations later this year with sanitationmen and firemen. Gotbaum is a long-time political supporter of Lindsay. He mobilized DC37 to support him for Mayor in the 1969 election, killing a voted work action by the welfare workers Local 371 because it would have "embarrassed" Lindsay and "jeopardized" his election.

But a "friend" at City Hall isn't going to do much for the three bridge tenders suspended the day after the strike ended on charges of removing equipment from three bridges. Other workers have been questioned by the staff of the Commissioner of Investigation and face possible prosecution by the District Attorney. In addition, the city announced that the 8000 strikers are to be notified of possible penalties for violating the Taylor Law which forbids strikes by public employees and provides for fines of two days' loss of pay for each day on strike plus one year's loss of Civil Service tenure. DC37 could be fined an unlimited amount and could suffer a loss in dues check-off for a year.

Any attempt to penalize the workers or the unions should be met by immediate city-wide strike action in a united front of all city employee unions against the Taylor Law. The response of the "militant" strike leaders? "We won't fight it because we broke the law for a bigger principle. We'll take the punishment," said Gotbaum on June 13 after notification by the city. Teamster Local 237 president Feinstein took the same no-fight position: "My reaction is that our membership will be proud to have their pay checks deducted whatever amount is determined and deem it little to have paid for the war we waged." (Gotbaum's salary is $31,000 compared to the $7,500 average salary he claims for DC37 members.) Gotbaum and Feinstein hide behind the integrity of "the law" to keep their memberships from taking "irresponsible" strike action, as have Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers, and DeLury of the Sanitationmen in previous strikes. Preventing massive strike action is a primary function of their jobs as the "labor lieutenants of capital."

The Lindsay-Gotbaum Crisis

With the pension dispute conveniently shelved until 1972, all that has been accomplished is a return to the critical situation of April. At that time Mayor Lindsay announced in screaming headlines that as many as 90,000 jobs could be eliminated through layoffs and job-freeze attrition on July 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year, as a result of an alleged $1 billion deficit in the proposed 1971-72 city budget. At that time Lindsay presented a series of four budget options with varying budget totals depending on amounts of restored state aid and newly authorized taxes, ranging in descending order from "a forward looking budget" providing for expansion of city services and continued new hiring, to "a very tight 'mandator' budget" demanding a total job freeze for the fiscal year with substantial personnel cutbacks through "attrition." The other two options included elimination of either 50,000 or 90,000 jobs in hospitals, sanitation, education, welfare, firemen, etc., with various severe cutbacks in essential services including closing of hospitals and welfare centers, no freshman class at City University, elimination of drug treatment programs, etc. This "doomsday scenario" served to place the burden of responsibility for layoffs and cuts in services on Rockefeller and the State Legislature who had already reduced the amount of revenue sharing state aid to the city when voting the State budget in April, and who had to authorize any new taxes requested by the city to balance its budget.

Two months of horse trading, charges and counter-charges of exaggerated or underestimated revenues and spending followed the April announcement, which hit supposedly "secure" city employees like a blockbuster. In fact it was this cynical manipulation of the fears of city workers and residents in general—especially the poor and working poor—that was the principal leverage in the Lindsay arsenal in pressing for his administration's budget program.

On June 9, the Republican-dominated Legislature, with Democratic support, authorized a $525 million increased tax package. The overwhelming bulk of the new taxes will come out of the city wage-earner's pocket. The biggest increase is an 80 per cent rise in the city income tax. Other major taxes included an extension of the thoroughly regressive sales tax. New Yorkers now pay a total 7 per cent sales tax (a 3 per cent city sales tax and a state sales tax recently increased to 4 per cent). Neither party wanted to take full responsibility for the crushing burden of the new taxes on city residents, already the highest per capita taxpayers in the country. To reassure the Democrats, Lindsay is said to have pledged only "minimal" layoffs of city employees with job cuts coming through a freeze on hiring. The most optimistic variant promised by Lindsay is a total freeze on hiring with an anticipated 14,320 jobs vacated this coming year staying empty, and an additional 5000 jobs being abolished, producing the involuntary increase in "productivity" that Lindsay has been demanding during recent contract negotiations. Most municipal union bureaucrats are willing to accept this and have pleaded with their members to be grateful for small things "in these hard times," expressing sympathy for poor John Lindsay and his fiscal problems. Gotbaum, instead of urging a general strike to protect city workers, has waged a virtual pro-Lindsay "Save Our City" campaign since April.

Shortly after Lindsay's announcement of the cutbacks, Gotbaum organized a protest trip to Albany to "Restore the Budget Cuts" and "Save Our City." The whole operation was a hoax designed simply to back up Lindsay's tax requests and place the blame on Rockefeller. 20,000 workers assembled at City Hall on April 27 for a rally heard Mayor Lindsay proclaim that "your fight is my fight too!" 15,000 actually made the bus trip to Albany, the biggest turnout in the capital's history. Yet at no time during the day were these angry working people able to confront their phony leaders and the capitalist politicians as a body. They were kept moving the entire day, with many being shunted back to the buses only minutes after arriving in Albany. Those who missed the rally didn't miss very much, however, with a speakers' lineup of Democratic "liberals," most of whom later voted for the giant package of new taxes to alleviate the city's fiscal crisis out of the pockets of city workers.

AT DISTRICT COUNCIL 37 headquarters, Mayor Lindsay, Finance Administrator Perrotta and Labor Relations Director Haber listen as DC37 Executive Director Gotbaum outlines union's campaign effort to re-elect Lindsay administration. Others in photo include Council Pres. Zurlo (left), Associate Dir. Roberts, Vice-Pres. Hughes and Political Action Dir. Corcoran.

Post Photo by Arthur Pomerantz

VICTOR GOTBAUM

Gotbaum Capitulates

Since October 1970, over 2300 full-time and 2,000 part-time city employees have been laid off, and thousands of other jobs eliminated. None of these workers would have been fired but for Gotbaum's tacit cooperation with the city. As far back as June 1970, Lindsay, backed up by the Democratic City Council, launched an anti-labor offensive with leaks to the press concerning a "study" of the pay cuts, furloughs, layoffs and payless paydays for city employees carried out by former Mayor LaGuardia during the Depression. The announcement was clearly aimed at the large municipal employee unions of sanitationmen, firemen, welfare workers, etc., that were to begin contract negotiations in the fall.

In an editorial in the June 19, 1970, issue of DC37's Public Employee Press, Gotbaum declared righteously that times had changed and "today there is a union representing some 120,000 city employees that has the strength, the resources and the political apparatus to assure that our members are not made the fall guys for a national crisis." The real test for Gotbaum came only a few months later in November when the first 500 of the "provisional" workers—all covered by DC37—were fired, the first such layoffs since 1935. ("Provisional" is a civil service designation meaning that some requirement has not been met and the worker is not "certified." Many "provisionals" have been on their jobs for years.) Gotbaum's predictable response was a telegram "fired off" to the Mayor which read in part: "I would respectfully suggest that a solution presents itself: The new Off-Track Betting Corp. is now hiring hundreds of employees in the very titles in which your layoffs are occurring . . . a constructive mechanism should be established to move these people into the newly-created jobs." Gotbaum didn't mention the fact that these jobs did not yet exist and certainly weren't going to take care of all the 4000 who have since lost their jobs. At a meeting of the DC37 Delegate Council later that month, Gotbaum opposed proposals for a city-wide strike against the layoffs "because it will divide our members and hurt our efforts to help the laid-off people." In other words the union bureaucrats decided that "provisional" workers didn't need their jobs as badly as "certified" workers. This calculated betrayal served several purposes. It gave Lindsay the go-ahead for more layoffs of provisionals and job freezes; it provided the opening for Lindsay's "crisis" campaign for more money from Albany; it served as a warning to the thousands of workers whose contracts were expiring December 31 that bargaining was going to be rough this year. The lay-offs served a similar purpose for Gotbaum and the other bureaucrats in bargaining. The city had already announced that wage increases would be limited only to small cost-of-living increases and these only with assurances of increased "productivity." Allowing some to be laid off would hopefully keep Gotbaum's membership cautious and lessen the demands for strikes against job freezes or for wage increases.

Gotbaum has worked very hard since 1966 at betraying the interests of city employees in order to cultivate a privileged position as a "responsible labor leader" with the Lindsay administration,

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Pension Strike . . .

possibly even hoping to ride on the coattails of Lindsay's presidential aspirations. He has been rewarded for his treachery, first with "majority union" bargaining rights for thousands of city workers not members of DC37, and then being awarded the agency shop as part of last year's City-Wide Contract, whereby all city employees covered by DC37 will have deducted from their paychecks the equivalent of union dues, if they are not members. When implemented this will be worth a couple of million dollars to Gotbaum's treasury. The agency shop (or dues checkoff, union shop, etc.) is an advantage in ensuring a strong union, but in this case, the agency shop was clearly a "good conduct medal" from Lindsay for a job well done. The potential power of municipal employees displayed in the two-day pension strike and Gotbaum's ability to sell them out may have enhanced his chances to displace Harry Van Arsdale for leadership of the Central Labor Council, but the explosive contradictions within the city labor movement continue to mount.

Ruling-Class Offensive

Besides the layoffs, job freezes and new taxes, thousands of working poor have been thrown off Medicaid because of increased eligibility requirements, driving more onto welfare. Medicaid will no longer cover dentistry and eyeglasses—two of the most heavily used services—or orthopedic treatment for artificial limbs, braces, etc. As welfare rolls increase due to the highest unemployment in 9 years, meager welfare food allowances are cut 10 per cent, making it more difficult therefore to qualify for assistance. And rent control will soon be a fond memory. Starting July 1, any apartment vacated is automatically de-controlled. This is a major blow to working people in New York City, where two-thirds of the city's families are tenants, and will affect 1.3 million apartments, rent controlled since 1943. Rents are expected to rise an incredible $50 to $100 per apartment, accompanied by landlord harrassment to vacate apartments. As if all this were not enough, the Metropolitan Transit Authority has promised another fare increase by January 1, from the present 30¢ to as high as 50¢. This move will mean an increase of 100 to 150% in bus and subway costs in two years for that majority of working people dependent upon public transportation. What is behind New York's economic crisis?

Since the Roosevelt New Deal, New York and other big-city administrations have assumed burdens in addition to the usual services such as streets, water supply, sanitation, etc. They have taken on an increased load of social services required mostly by either unemployment or insufficient wages (such as various kinds of welfare) and also assumed a number of functions formerly performed by private business. Outlays for low-cost housing, health services, transportation, education, various kinds of economic development, have all increased over the years, accompanied by very sharp growth in public employment. The police force in New York City has also been steadily increased to a small army of over 31,000 (not counting Transit, Housing, and other cops) with a budget of almost $600 million for next year! At the same time the major source of revenues has gradually shifted from real estate and business taxes over to taxes on wage earners, with most tax money going to State and Federal treasuries. In 1915 business tax revenue made up to 96% of the New York City budget with real estate taxes paying 92% of the total. But today real estate taxes make up only 24% of the budget revenue and much of that is from individual homeowners with big interests getting off light.

The severe recession and soaring inflation being fed by the Indochina war have resulted in reductions in revenues from the income tax, sales tax, stock transfer levy and other major taxes. Compounding this is an erosion of the tax base itself by increasing unemployment and the flight of thousands of "middle class" people and numerous businesses from the city to escape its expensive and miserable conditions. Meanwhile the influx of the poor searching for rapidly disappearing jobs continues — from Puerto Rico and other Caribbean Islands, from the South, etc. All of this adds up to a financial and social crisis of explosive proportions.

Cops and Racism

The ruling class politicians have been utilizing the situation to ride the welfare hobby horse, blaming the victims of the economic system for being the cause of the problem. Last December Lindsay made a dramatic threat to cut off all further welfare, claiming it was excessive welfare costs that were bankrupting the city finances. Rockefeller recently signed into law a series of anti-welfare measures including a bill requiring one year's residence in New York State for public assistance eligibility. The new law feeds the popular myth of herds of poor people coming to New York City to "get on welfare," which persists even though this category accounts for only one percent of the welfare rolls.

As poverty and squalor increase, so does crime. The combination of the welfare and crime issues has fed into a racist "law and order" reaction of a cop/white versus black split, polarizing the working class racially. The cops in New York City continue to develop an extremely dangerous sense of bonapartist mission. They are aware of their own strength and increasingly conscious of their social role as guardians of capitalist property relations and "law and order." They are politically organized and demonstrate growing independence from control by city authorities. Many police look with admiration at the "police state" proposals being raised by the "toughest cop in the country" Rizzo, the ex-cop mayoral candidate in Philadelphia. The "law and order" reaction was the underlying current that gave the Conservative Party in New York City and State a mass base for the first time last year, resulting in the election of James Buckley for Senator. The bulk of new Conservative voters were young, ethnic white workers. The abolition of rent control, with its immediate disastrous effects on most working people, may offset Conservative popularity somewhat, since an anti-rent control position is one of the basic planks of the Conservative Party program. But a real solution to all these attacks on the social condition of the working class goes right to the heart of the capitalist system itself.

"Solving" the Budget Crisis

Examining the present city budget (New York Times, June 15, 1971), one can come up with several ways of "finding" at least a billion dollars for higher wages and pensions, more jobs, better services, etc. Fire the police force, and replace them with armed workers' militias to enforce working-class law and order. This would save the $594.8 million listed in the budget. (In the Oakland general strike in 1946 of over 100,000 workers, the cops fled the city or went into hiding and all aspects of maintaining civil order were assumed by the Central Labor Council.) Naturally this immediately raises the question of the class role of the police, how the capitalists enforce their system, etc. (see Workers' Action #8) Next, cancel the entire Debt Service of $705.1 million. This is money paid to banks and other holders of municipal bonds, interest, loans, etc. Another point is the dissolution of all the various separate semi-autonomous agencies —Housing Authority, Port and Bridge Authority, Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), etc. —which consume hundreds of millions of dollars. None of these are even formally under the direct control of the taxpaying electorate; they are either responsible only to the State Legislature or are multi-state setups. The MTA uses millions of New York City tax dollars for boondoggle projects in other parts of the state.

The solution to the rent control situation is not theoretically a difficult one. The buildings should be purchased from the landlords by the city, forced by a city-wide rent strike, at their assessed tax value. Since the city can't run anything right, the buildings should then be turned over to the tenants to be maintained on a cooperative basis.

The point is that only measures of this scope offer any possibility of solution to the city's financial crisis, examined even from a "practical" standpoint But the immensity of the objective situation — employment, housing, wages, health care, mass transportation, etc. —tends to reveal what has been true since World War I: that every one of the demands necessary to resolve these problems transcends what is permitted (or possible) in the capitalist system.

Even a defensive, rear-guard action by workers against the mounting attack on them requires a city labor movement capable of wielding the organized labor power of a general strike. Bureaucrats like Gotbaum, Feinstein, Shanker, DeLury or Van Arsdale understand very well the vast potential of such a labor movement, and spare no effort to keep the unions within the framework of existing "law and order."

Workers Party

But general strikes, though a necessary expression of massive, organized workers' power, are not the answer pure and simple. To carry out an effective city-wide rent strike, for example, requires a powerful organized labor force, but one with a political arm, a workers party. This is the main lesson to be drawn from the abortive strike over DC37's pension plan and the reliance on various "friends of labor" to "restore the budget cuts" and "save our jobs." When the final hour came Liberals, Democrats, Republicans and Conservatives all lined up against the working people of New York City, making deals to avoid any one party from sharing sole responsibility. We have no illusions that a geniune workers party — based primarily on the trade unions and fighting in the interests of the working class as a whole, including the unemployed, racially oppressed workers, radical students, etc. —will be built by the existing union bureaucrats. This is not Britain with its long history of labor reformism. The essential part of building for a workers party must be an organized determined fight within the ranks of the unions to build a militant leadership that will sweep out labor traitors like Victor Gotbaum and Barry Feinstein. The trade union program of Workers Action must be a key part of that fight.

(Continued from Page 5)

STRUGGLE IN NMU

Nixon while Morrissey would prefer the "friends of labor" touted by more "progressive" union bureaucrats. Only a labor party can represent the working class. To be sure, a labor party will not automatically represent the workers' interests—that is a question of revolutionary leadership and program. The class-conscious workers, through the intervention of a Marxist vanguard party, must struggle in such a party against the reformist sell-outs as they must fight them now in the unions. But only a party of the workers themselves can be an instrument of working-class interests; the capitalist parties can be only our enemy.

Only through struggle on the broadest possible front can NMU members escape the double trap of their declining industry and treacherous union leadership. This is why the program of Morrissey's "Committee for NMU Democracy" is fundamentally deficient and even dangerous. For once the seamen have waged an all-out struggle to unseat the Curran machine, it may be a decade before they are prepared to undertake such a fight again. The Curran machine stands nakedly revealed as corrupt, despotic and conservative; to topple it only to raise in its place a "good guy" leadership which does not differ from Curran on fundamental class questions would be a gigantic betrayal of all NMU seamen.

DC37 (AFSCME) WORKERS PROTEST BUDGET CUTS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3)

LONGSHORE UNION IN LIFE-OR-DEATH STRUGGLE

should a new bureaucrat arise on the scene (perhaps Goldblatt). An editorial in the March 13 PW attacks Bridges for not caring about the rank-and-file (a new discovery for PW). Specifically cited is Bridges' support of the British Trades Union Council when it opposed the recent British workers' strike against anti-labor legislation. In this extended and obviously bitter dispute, Bridges had attacked PW in the union paper Dispatcher, charging PW with making "snide cracks, distortions and plain lies about our union, its leadership and activities." (March 13 PW, quoted from Dispatcher). But it appears the CP at least is not yet ready to make a final break—the March 13 article states later on, "The ILWU is a good union; one of the best. Its leadership has a record of protecting, defending and extending the powers and well-being of the members unequalled by most"! The dispute continued in the April 17 PW, with a long, diplomatic letter from Archie Brown, long-time pro-CP hack in Local 10, correcting various "mistakes" of PW regarding the union leadership. The sore spots may be temporarily patched up, but the CP will latch onto a less tainted bureaucrat whenever the opportunity arises.

Along with the fissures in the old bureaucracy, genuine rank-and-file opposition has surfaced. One example of this is Local 10, where a small group began publishing the "Rank-and-File T-Letter" in May 1971. The principal authors of this letter originally ran in the union elections in October 1970 for caucus (contract committee) and convention delegate, around militant contract issues such as "For a Six-Hour Day and No Extended Shifts," "Eliminate 9.43 Steady Man Section," "Defend Our Right to Strike—Return to Job Action" and vital political issues including "Repeal All Anti-Labor Laws," "Keep the Employer-Controlled Courts and Government Agencies Out of Internal Union Affairs," "End Racism and Other Tools of Big Business," "Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of all U.S. Troops from Southeast Asia" and "Build a Labor Party Now." Recent leaflets have attempted to cut through the intra-bureaucratic wrangling and prepare the union for a hard fight, particularly warning of the dangers of government intervention and bureaucratic betrayal. While there is at least one important programmatic defect in the literature of these oppositionists (acceptance of the ILWU versus Teamsters framework in the container-stuffing jurisdictional dispute) they are aiding the development of political class consciousness among the ranks.

As the July 1 deadline approaches, what does Bridges offer to counter the employers' offensive? Here are highlights of Bridges' program (from the union's mimeographed "Contract Demands"):

1—Raise of $1 per hour in basic longshoreman's pay for each year of a two-year contract. (The employers are offering a three-year contract with raises of 38-1/2¢, 25-1/2¢ and 25-1/2¢. This, of course, would not even make up for inflation losses in the last five years!)

2—Full compliance with CFS agreement by July 1, meaning that all container work ("except shippers' loads") must be moved to the docks under Longshore jurisdiction.

3—"Provide for no further reduction in manning under Section 10."

4—"Existing language in the PCLCD covering Section 9.43 shall be changed so as to guarantee exclusion of lift-, jitney- and winch-drivers from that Section."

5—"Work opportunity guarantee—either furnishing work or pay for 40 hours per week, for all registered men."

6—A reduction in shift length from 8 to 7 hours with no extended shifts—in the second year of the contract.

Even assuming for a split-second that this program was acceptable, it is clear that the Bridges leadership has no intention of waging a hard fight. At the 19th biennial convention of the ILWU in April, the union's officials reported, "Demands are substantial and some of the issues extremely sticky. Whether a contract can be secured without strike action remains to be seen..." The convention then went on to pass traditional paper resolutions on such issues as defending Angela Davis and opposing the Indochina war. As far as defending the union's existence, they could only offer stronger contract language, union "conferences" and "possible" joint action with the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), which claims a membership of 115,000. Bridges even cautioned in the May 7 Dispatcher, "I told Teddy (Gleason of the ILA) that we would not ask for their help unless we were really on the ropes." Thus, instead of publicizing the PMA attack on the ILWU, instead of attempting to mobilize the rest of the working class in common defense against general capitalist attack on the unions, Bridges sits back and hopes for the best!

Empty Victory

Worse yet, the Bridges program will lead at best to an empty victory. To begin with, it already accepts major defeats which the union has suffered, e.g., point #3 at best proposes to prevent further manning cutbacks rather than regain lost jobs; point #4 accepts Section 9.43 and merely adds exceptions to it. Clearly, a basic program must demand abolition of 9.43 and a return to the hiring hall for all jobs and restoration of the basic gang of six men.

The wage guarantee idea is offered by Bridges as a sort of inventive to employers to bring work back to the docks. In April the Local 10 oppositionists printed a leaflet "Is the Wage Guarantee a Trap?" which pointed out the many ways the employers could chisel on the wage guarantee (firings, deregistration, etc.) More important, the leaflet pointed out: "The employers plan years ahead. It would be to their advantage in the long run to even pay out a good guarantee for 2 years if they could reduce us to such impotency that they would have clear sailing from 1973 on." In the long run the only real defense of longshoremen's living standards is building the strength of working-class organizations for common struggle. No monetary penalty clause written in contracts can protect workers if the employers can undermine their organizations.

For Labor Unity

The most conscious longshore militants understand that only united working-class action can achieve real gains. Unity is, however, easy to call for but difficult to attain; it is necessary to propose a tactical way forward to a position of greater strength. Especially for the ILWU, whose strength has been declining for years, any effort to struggle alone, or against other unions, could mean disaster.

It is in this light that one must approach the central contract problem—containerization—which could determine the future of the union. The Bridges "solution" is a classical narrow trade union approach; the union demands all the work (except for the "shippers' loads" loophole) be brought under the Longshore jurisdiction. There is no doubt that the union must wage a bloody fight for jobs—but concurrently with other workers, especially those in the transportation industry. For several years much of the container work has been done by the Teamsters, ILWU Warehousemen, and also non-union workers. The narrow demand to put all container work under Longshore jurisdiction immediately pits worker against worker, union against union, even one section of the ILWU (Warehouse) against another (Longshore). Even if jurisdiction is won, the deep resentment created would undermine future struggles.

What is needed instead is a joint struggle of the ILWU, Teamsters and other CFS workers against the PMA to protect everyone's job security and conditions. The typically narrow-minded Teamster bureaucracy could be forced into such a joint struggle by their membership, or be exposed as saboteurs of unity in the eyes of the Teamster ranks, if the ILWU showed it was fighting for all the workers' interests. The ILWU should demand that all container work not done by Longshoremen be performed at Longshore pay rates, benefits, manning scales, etc. Such a demand would arouse the active support of all CFS workers. Available work should be divided up between the CFS workers through a shortened work shift (at no loss in weekly or daily pay). In effect the ILWU would be sharing jurisdiction with other affected workers while guaranteeing jobs (and therefore union membership) for the Longshoremen.

Political Struggle Intrudes

Unions are never separate from the political sphere, but in times of relative economic stability it was possible for the bureaucratized union movement to confine itself to "bread-and-butter" issues and to muffle the political questions. But in the present social crisis, with the strategic position of the ILWU, fundamental political questions will intrude into any serious dock strike in spite of the bureaucrats. To avoid defeat, the membership must deal with political questions correctly, and they cannot do so as long as the bureaucrats remain in power.

One central question the union must face is the nature of the state as an instrument of capitalist oppression. The government will be prepared with Taft-Hartley injunctions, arrests and even troops. Very quickly, what begins as an economic struggle must turn into a political struggle against the government or else retreat in defeat. Faced by a militant strike, the government will strip off its "neutral" facade to reveal its repressive apparatus; appeals to the bourgeois organs of "justice" bring no help; appeals to "friends of labor" in Congress bring only repression, as the postal workers discovered. The union must mobilize the working class for common defense against the government. Particularly those workers who have recently suffered the heavy hand of government—the railroad workers, postal workers, airline workers, etc.—could be called upon to enter into joint struggle with sympathy strikes against government interference in workers' struggles. Those workers now facing contract deadlines must also be brought into the struggle and would add tremendous strength, e.g., the Communications Workers, the Steelworkers and especially the East Coast ILA. Such a massive common fight could put real power behind the demand to repeal all anti-labor laws, such as Taft-Hartley, and to release all political prisoners, such as Angela Davis and Jimmy Hoffa. The class nature of the two capitalist parties would be revealed in such a conflict, and the road opened to the development of a labor party based on the rank-and-file which could fight for working-class interests.

Most important, the union would be in a position to make real its traditional paper resolutions against the war in Indochina, bringing the power of the working class to bear for the first time in demanding the immediate unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina. The union would announce the strike as part of its struggle against the war, appealing to the memberships of the Teamsters, railroad and airline workers to halt the flow of all war goods. Political action on the docks would not really be new; for years the ILA has been boycotting ships which trade with Cuba—a reactionary but certainly political act!

As long as labor bureaucrats like Harry Bridges remain in power, however, the working class can only move backwards. Rank-and-file caucuses with a militant class program must fight to restore power to the membership. Once the bureaucracy is cast off by the class-conscious workers, there will be no stopping us.

Workers' Action

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U.S. Capitalism in Trouble – WORKERS MUST NOT PAY!

Nixon's new economic program is a simultaneous declaration of war on the American working class and on the imperialist trade rivals of the U.S. It is designed to save the dollar and the competitive position of U.S. capitalists on the world market by making the working class pay for the inefficiencies of capitalism with new sacrifices.

The program is a statement of recognition by the U.S. ruling class that the long post-war period of U.S. imperialist dominance of the world—the "American Century" — has come to an end. With it has gone the era of relative class peace domestically which began with the McCarthyite witch hunt and lining up of the labor movement in lockstep behind the banner of the cold war anti-communist crusade. America is no longer world banker and sole world policeman; instead, it is one imperialist rival among many, and, as always in such rivalries, the fight is to the death. The outbreak of World War III, another global war for redivision of the world among the major capitalist powers, and for the military restoration of capitalism in the deformed workers' states, has been brought one step closer by Nixon's act. The scramble for alliances has begun. The main antagonism remains that between the most powerful of the competing imperialists—the United States—and the most powerful of the deformed workers' states—the Soviet Union. But the ruling bureaucracies of the Sino-Soviet states willingly endanger the remaining gains of their revolutions by competing against each other to sell their military-diplomatic influence to the highest capitalist bidder. Thus we see the Soviet Union presently lined up with Japan and India, China with the U.S., West Germany and Britain. It is the duty of the working class to defend the deformed workers' states, while at the same time opposing — by demanding and assisting political revolution in those states — the nationalist great-power treacheries of their leaders.

Nixon's program follows a period of several years of progressive weakening of U.S. capitalism's world position. Central to this decline has been the debacle of the Indochina war, which distorted the delicate balance of the permanent military economics which served for more than two decades to keep the economy relatively stable and crisis-free: the extra burden of the war, over and above the massive planned warfare spending and the long-term commitments it entailed, worsened the U.S. balance of payments position and created inflation at home. Thus U.S. imperialism's contradictions eventually overwhelmed all attempts to regulate them, and the U.S. and other imperialist powers find themselves sliding back to a period reminiscent of the 1930's—of international economic crisis and anarchy, accompanied by the drift toward world war. Only the conscious intervention of the world working class, through revolution to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, can reverse this course toward the ultimate destruction.

Wage-"Price" Controls Only Work One Way

The wage-price controls are for the purpose of holding down wages as part of an artificial incentive for the bosses for a new round of capitalist expansion and, of course, have nothing whatsoever to do with controlling prices. The Office of Economic Preparedness, supposed to enforce the freeze, is a miniscule agency only a fraction the size of the World War II Office of Price Administration. It has already admitted its unique "unpreparedness" to do any enforcing. Furthermore there are many exceptions, most important being the fact that the 10% surcharge on all imports is

(continued on page 2)

Lenin and Trotsky:

Toward the American Revolutionary Party for the American October!

LENINIST FUSION

Following five months of intensive discussion and collaboration the Communist Working Collective (CWC) of Los Angeles and the Spartacist League have announced their intention to unite at the forthcoming Labor Day Plenum of the SL, jointly participated in by the CWC leadership.

The CWC originated a year ago as a Maoist formation with forces drawn from the Revolutionary Union and the California Communist League. In the course of attempting to develop a revolutionary and scientific working-class orientation, the group came to realize that Mao Thought does not lead to a revolutionary strategy in an industrialized country. Consequently the CWC comrades decisively suspended directionless practical work in favor of a searching theoretical and historical inquiry.

Recognizing that Maoism is only a national variant of Stalin's outlook, the CWC, after months of study and internal struggle, came to understand that the key issue for communists was the alternative of Stalin's (and Mao's) "Socialism in One Country" or the Trotskyist "Permanent Revolution" as a conceptual driving force. In the light of Marxian fundamentals as developed by Marx himself and extended by Lenin, the CWC in its large majority and despite all prior prejudice was compelled to the Trotskyist position.

Rejecting the SWP out of hand, the CWC rapidly discovered the sterile incapacity and cynicism behind the pretenses of Wohlforth and his Workers League.

The CWC comrades have produced a brilliant analysis of recent domestic and Chinese Maoist thought in their soon to be published "Letter to a Maoist" as well as a comprehensive set of political theses paralleling the programmatic documents of the SL. In our next issue we will print the story of the striking political development leading towards the fusion with the SL.

The CWC-SL unification flows in part from the Leninist regroupment perspective of the SL which is crucial to building a revolutionary workers' party in the present period of flux in the radical movement opened by the sharpening crisis of capitalist imperialism and the overt intrusion of workers' struggles into the minds of militants. There is every reason to believe that this is far from the last in the regroupment process of splits and fusions now underway.

The SL had been systematically preparing for some months to bring out a regular monthly tabloid newspaper in view of the urgent responsibilities faced today by revolutionary Marxists and made possible by the SL's own growth. In agreement with the CWC and the Editorial Board of Workers' Action, beginning with October, a new Marxist working class newspaper (incorporating Workers' Action) will be published by the Spartacist League. Spartacist will continue as it is.

The deep fusion of cadre taking place in the CWC-SL unification strengthens this press expansion, as well as the geographic extension of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. and the growth of new and enlarged revolutionary nuclei in the labor movement, and promises significant international impact in the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International.

NPAC REPORT

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MILITANT MURDERED

Machida Munehide – Murdered by Stalinists

On the night of June 19 the Okinawan student Machida Munehide was slain in a brutal lynching and more than a dozen of his comrades seriously injured in an attack by a large gang of heavily armed Stalinists on a dormitory of Ryukyu University. The Spartacist League has sent the following message to the comrades of the slain militant:

9 July 1971

Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Kakumaru)

Dear Comrades,

The Spartacist League joins in expressing deep-felt rage and sorrow at the brutal, calculated murder of the Okinawan student militant Machida Munehide by the counterrevolutionary Stalinists made desperate by their exposure in the struggle against the imperialist Okinawa Reversion Agreement.

Violence and assassination of revolutionists have always been the ultimate recourse by reformists, Stalinists and all revisionists facing exposure and defeat: Comrades Luxemburg and Liebknecht in the January 1919 Spartacist struggles in Berlin; Andres Nin and a whole layer of proletarian militants by the Stalinist GPU in the Spanish Revolution; Comrade Trotsky by Stalin to silence the greatest revolutionary mind of the period; the Vietnamese Trotskyist militants by the Stalinists in 1945 thus laying the direct basis for 25 years of betrayal in Indochina. Your comrade Machida numbers now among our honored dead.

One week ago in New York the Socialist Workers Party of revisionist betrayal aided by goons of the Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats and by the jackals of the Healyite Workers League savagely and pre-meditatedly attacked our comrades and the ex-Maoists of the Progressive Labor Party as we protested imperialist U.S. Senator Hartke's speech to the anti-Vietnam war conference organized by the SWP. It was only an accident that no militants were actually killed by the assault. In the U.S., too the line has been drawn in blood.

Violence and murder only harden our determination to press forward to the proletarian revolution. In the course of this struggle we must and will utterly destroy the revisionists of all stripes by, in Comrade Trotsky's words, "setting the base against the top."

In comradely solidarity,

James Robertson,
for the Central Committee
of the Spartacist League

Continued from Page 1

WORKERS MUST NOT PAY!

to be passed on to the consumer, so that Americans will be forced to "buy American" whether they like it or not. This means that all imported commodities and anything with foreign-made parts in it, such as electronic components, will be going up in price. State and local taxes and sales taxes will also continue to rise. In addition, the way is clear for "special" exemptions for corporate price increases (Lockheed, university tuitions, etc.), either officially or on the sly, under the guise of "balancing" the economy and strengthening "weak" companies, etc., while wages, of course, remain frozen. Nationwide over 500,000 workers are covered by contracts which expire between now and November, while several million more won't get scheduled raises. These include workers in auto, steel, the post office, packinghouses, building trades, teachers, city and state employees and many more. As if all this weren't enough, a free gift is to be made to all corporate profit margins in the form of a 10% tax rebate incentive for new investment. This added burden on the workers' taxes is to be compensated for by laying off 5% of all government employees, all in the name of "fighting unemployment"! It is highly unlikely that this "incentive" will create enough jobs to "compensate" for this one layoff.

So it always is when the bosses attempt to cope with the problems their system has created for them. There is no such thing as "fair" wage and price controls under capitalism, no matter how "thorough" the enforcement, since the government which does the enforcing is controlled by the giant price-fixers themselves. The bosses can always find loopholes, exemptions, and illegal ways to raise prices while the worker is told to wait; he can't "decide" to sneak a wage hike for himself behind the back of the boss! The wage-price controls are strictly a weapon of the capitalist ruling class against the working class in order to give the capitalists a greater advantage in the struggle between the two classes, which continues every day unabated.

The present controls actually have a somewhat experimental character; there is little machinery available at present for enforcement of the wage freeze. Nixon is testing how much the bureaucrats will take before they feel forced to fight back—by means other than words. All the more reason for labor to yield nothing to Nixon's controls!

Class Struggle Only Answer

The only answer to this assault on the living standards of the workers is the class struggle of the working class as a whole against the capitalists and their government—something which the present leaders of the labor movement have been trying to forget for over twenty years. Now they are having it shoved down their throats. The program is so blatantly an attack on labor that even Meany and Woodcock have been forced to oppose it, although it was Meany who only a short while ago was calling upon Nixon to extend wage-price controls in the construction industry to the economy as a whole. Meany correctly said that Nixon's proposals amount to a "tax bonanza to American corporations at the expense of American workers." The California AFL-CIO considers the call for an end to strikes as "nothing less than a call for industrial war." Woodcock has threatened a strike (of course, safely in the future). While Meany says that "the workers get it in the neck again," he doesn't propose to do anything about it—except to "confer" with Nixon's flunkies. And though the head of Local 2222 of the IBEW has promised to "raise some hell" if phone company workers don't get their raises, it's been all talk and no action. These bureaucrats who have betrayed the workers time and time again are not to be trusted now just because for once they are talking tough. They only fight to save their own skins, and will gladly sell out the struggle against Nixon's program if they can reach even the most meager accommodation.

Politicians and Bureaucrats

While most trade union leaders, reflecting strong pressure from the ranks (refusal to return to work by striking West Coast longshore workers, N.Y. phone workers, etc.) have opposed the freeze, hardly any politicians, Democratic or Republican, have opposed it. Where are our "friends of labor" now? They are selling out to Nixon in the interests of their first and only loyalty, the capitalist system. This is why workers need a political party of their own responsible only to them.

Government threats to fine unions which violate the controls by striking are nothing less than a threat to destroy the union movement. The union bureaucrats—who would be nothing if they had no unions to sell out—are being forced to fight, but only partially, sluggishly, defensively, compelled by their role as perennial sellouts to fear militant class action by their members as much as they fear Nixon's assaults. Yet labor must realize that it has at least the mechanisms to fight the bureaucrats, who must at some point protect the unions from destruction or lose their power base. But labor has no leverage to apply to the politicians, who are simply and directly the agents of the class enemy. The "friends of labor" of yesterday are cheering Nixon today. Tomorrow they will be the first to call for smashing the unions themselves, and sending American labor back into the conditions of the last century.

George Meany, head of A.F.L.-C.I.O., backed the use of anti-inflationary wage and price controls.

CONTROL PRICES, NOT WAGES: Nixon's wage-"price" freeze is a deadly serious threat to labor's right to fight its exploiters. After making their verbal objections, the union bureaucrats will fall into line and back up the government. The rank and file must expose and oust these bureaucrats in order to win the fight against government control of the unions, compulsory arbitration, no-strike laws and wage freezes. We need to fight inflation, but at the capitalists' expense, with real price controls on all consumer goods, rents, medical care, etc.

NO TAX CREDITS FOR BIG BUSINESS: The new so-called "job-development credit" is just a bonanza for the capitalists. They netted $4 billion a year from the recent depreciation allowance, while this tax rebate bequeaths them another $5 billion. With the U.S. industry running at only 70% capacity, the new tax credit won't create any jobs but will most likely throw more workers out of work. The government uses the tax mechanism to collect the workers' wages and pass them back to the capitalists.

STRIKES AGAINST LAYOFFS: Steel workers won a new contract only to find themselves laid off by the thousands. The union bureaucrats have accepted layoffs, turned their backs to low-seniority workers, most often blacks and Latins, and looked to the government to provide more

(continued on next page)

August 6 Commemoration Condemns Stalinism and NPAC

Berkeley—A symposium on the theme of "August 6 and international Anti-War Struggles" was held in Berkeley, sponsored by the Anti-Stalinism Study Group (ASG), in solidarity with the International Anti-War Assembly of the Zengakuren (Revolutionary Marxist) in Tokyo. Since 1963, these international gatherings have been held annually on Hiroshima Day by the Zengakuren "for the purpose of building a true international antiwar movement from the standpoint of overthrowing imperialism and overcoming Stalinism." A number of American anti-Stalinist left groups were invited to speak.

NPAC: Class Collaboration

In the introductory presentation, a young Japanese-American woman from the ASG pointed out that the commemoration of Hiroshima Day was not based on petty-bourgeois pacifism, or Stalinist "peaceful co-existence" and class collaboration, but rather looked to revolutionary international working-class struggle to overthrow world imperialism, the root of such horrors as atomic war. She emphasized that a successful international anti-war struggle must not cater to petty-bourgeois pacifism and nationalism, but can be successful only from the internationalist standpoint of "anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism." In this context she correctly condemned the National Peace Action Coalition(NPAC)for its tailing of nationalist tendencies and its class collaboration with the ruling class to bring about "peace" — as exemplified by the July 2-4 New York NPAC meeting where bourgeois Senator Vance Hartke gave a "keynote address," and communist protestors were violently evicted. The NPAC is dominated by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and allied with the Stalinist Communust Party. The SWP was invited to the August 6 meeting, the ASG woman noted, but they answered that they could not "spare" anyone just then.

Especially valuable was her examination of the class roots of imperialist war in contrast to the opportunist prattle from NPAC and other groups about racism as a fundamental consideration for imperialist policy. She declared: "There is no basis whatsoever to believe that the U.S. government involved itself in a world war because it hated the Japanese or the yellow race. The governments of the advanced capitalist countries in their competition to dominate and exploit markets and labor on a world scale are driven by the laws of the capitalist system, not fundamentally by racism." NPAC's sole emphasis on the "racist nature of U.S. war policy" is based on NPAC's political appetites: "In wanting to build a mass Popular Front for the peace movement through sheer numbers, regardless of political content, the NPAC sees the potential of sucking in various minority groups who are presently strongly influenced by nationalist tendencies."

The ASG viewed NPAC as nothing more than another means for strangling the development of revolutionary class consciousness by masking the true nature of the war-making imperialist system. The ASG speaker stated: "The NPAC has no intention whatsoever of launching an anti-war movement that would forthrightly attack the bourgeois ruling class which exploits all else for its own interests.... The NPAC resolutions must represent all the groups in the Popular Front, thus necessitating statements reflecting the least common political denominator of all groups represented. And what is the least common denominator in a Popular Front in which even our class enemies are invited to participate? Obviously, it is limited to crying 'Peace! Peace!' or one step further — 'Peace Now!' There is a well-known 'non-exclusion' clause of the NPAC, establishing the principle that everybody desiring peace can join NPAC. Not only does this resolution allow NPAC to throw us all together with the very people who are formulating the war policy, including even the self-styled 'liberals' in Congress such as Vance Hartke, but it specifically aims at pretending that there are no class antagonisms in American society. Instead, they propagate the image that a lot of people desiring peace will somehow, by marching hand-in-hand with the very people who are responsible for war policy, bring a true resolution to the situation in Southeast Asia!"

The Progressive Labor Party had not been invited to participate in the symposium, as the ASG would have regarded their presence as conflicting with the anti-Stalinist nature of the gathering. A better policy would have been to invite all groups opposed to collaboration with any section of the bourgeoisie in the anti-war struggle. Despite its Stalinist methods, such as gangster assaults on other left groups, PL is actively opposed to any alliance with the bourgeoisie, as in NPAC. Stalinism, like all revisionism, is at bottom characterized by the attempt to tie the working class politically to sections of the bourgeois class and its agents. Thus if Stalinism is seen as something more than just a curseword, PL despite all its limitations and contradictions certainly merited invitation more than the class-collaborationist SWP—although, of course, PL's sectarianism would probably have prevented them from speaking together with "Trotskyites."

The purpose of inviting any group to a united front such as the ASG's Hiroshima Day rally must be twofold: to "strike together against the common enemy" where a sufficient basis of political agreement exists; and to further clarification within the revolutionary movement through an examination, within the context of existing solidarity in the struggle, of differences. PL's participation in the symposium should have been solicited as an opportunity to compel its cadres to recognize that PL's current hodge-podge of neo-Stalinist and crypto-Trotskyist positions is insufficient to combat class-collaboration (the essence of Stalinism) which they correctly recoil from in the anti-war movement.

The first guest speaker was Gene Goldenfeld for the Communist Working Collective of Los Angeles. Beginning as a Maoist group about a year ago, the CWC abandoned Maoism-Stalinism and adopted Trotskyism. The speaker pointed out that the present anti-war movement is dominated by reformists and fake Marxists, and that a true anti-war movement requires the international mobilization of the working class to disarm the imperialists. He punctured the revisionist myth of "socialism in one country," citing the rapprochement between Washington and Peking. He emphasized that the CWC upholds the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism. Recognizing the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy, he pointed out that it is even more important than ever that the non-capitalist countries maintain defense against imperialism, including the manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons. However, he concluded, their only ultimate defense is social revolution in the imperialist world and workers' political revolution in the Stalinist countries. The CWC spokesman also announced the coming fusion of the CWC and the SL at a Labor Day Plenum.

"Third Camp"

The next speaker was Ernie Haberkern, from Hal Draper's Independent Socialist Committee, a group which recently split from the International Socialists which Draper had founded in the early 1960's. Haberkern proclaimed ISCo support for "the revolutionary third camp against the two competing imperialist powers"—capitalist imperialism and "Stalinist imperialism." He held the key question to be whether we appease the imperialists (of both varieties) or organize mass opposition. Although he criticized the present anti-war leadership for not helping to politicize the U.S. working class, he cautioned that their failure was not all "their fault" since one must contend with objective conditions which cannot be changed at will. His indirect "objective" apology for the NPAC leadership exposed the consistent anti-working-class orientation of the Draper tendency. Their intense and long-standing antagonism toward independent working-class struggle dictates an endless search for some "third camp" road — inevitably petty-bourgeois schemes like the Peace and Freedom Party. Anti-communism in the guise of anti-Stalinism led them for years to call for "Negotiations Now" for Vietnam; not until 1968 was the "Withdraw Now" position popular enough for their support. Even now, they dare not call for military victory to the NLF, for fear of siding with Stalinism. But it is precisely Stalinist treachery in containing and suppressing revolutionary movements which makes Stalinism dangerous, not any mythical drive for "imperialist" expansion.

The next speaker was Tom Condit of the International Socialists. Speaking of the early years of the American anti-war movement around 1960, Condit mentioned how the Zengakuren struggles had injected a new lesson of militancy in the anti-war movement; at the same time, he cautioned, illusions of "student powerism" and "student vanguardism" blossomed in the U.S. On the question of nuclear weapons, Condit argued that, unlike

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jobs. The unions must fight layoffs directly by threatening to close down operations entirely in the face of layoffs—those already laid off must be rehired.

END UNEMPLOYMENT—30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY. A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES. FULL COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATORS IN ALL CONTRACTS: Despite the tremendous increase in productivity, the work week hasn't been shortened since 1920. The way to fight unemployment, including competition among workers in a shrinking job market, is to create more jobs by shortening the work week at no loss in pay. The sliding scale of hours would divide available work among all workers—the sliding scale of wages links wages to the cost of living, with a guaranteed minimum and no ceiling.

EXPROPRIATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL: At the heart of the problem of inflation, unemployment and other economic ills is production for private profit and not social use. Workers must fight to enjoy all the wealth they produce, by controlling industry themselves and taking it over without payment to the capitalists—in direct response to the phony "nationalization" schemes proposed by the government.

West Coast striker: No return

FOR A WORKERS' POLITICAL PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS: The Democrats planned the wage freeze that Nixon carried out, as the UAW pointed out. The Democratic and Republican parties stand more and more exposed and hated—with Nixon leading the campaign of the two capitalist parties against the working class, the workers more than ever need their own political party to represent their interests. The political answers of the working class leaders and misleaders have to be tested in reality—the needs and interests of the working class cannot be won and protected by economic militancy alone. We need political action by the working class to fight for workers' power! ■

Workers' Action

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SWP SEALS ALLIANCE WITH BOURGEOISIE IN NPAC – REVOLUTIONARIES BEATEN

The beating and political exclusion of supporters of Progressive Labor, SDS and the Spartacist League from the Socialist Workers Party-dominated National Peace Action Coalition Conference over the July 4th weekend represented not only the resurgence writ large of Stalinist-style gangsterism within the U.S. left, but another qualitative shift for the SWP on the road to simple reformism. The SWP has put itself on record that henceforward class collaboration with the imperialist liberals within the present Popular Front will be maintained at all costs; the initiation ceremony has been consummated by an act of shameless violence against revolutionaries The NPAC Conference will have long-lasting and far-reaching consequences.

Although the SWP's conduct was no more than a linear continuation of its previous anti-war policies, the NPAC Conference is a political milestone. The SWP was compelled by the logic of its courtship of bourgeois liberals to exclude communists and would-be communists — compelled to go over to the offensive physically. The Workers League grossly revealed its recurring appetite to be the left-sounding attorney for the SWP. The Labor Committees and International Socialists, who have in the past been able to cover their appetites toward the Pop Front by abstract and polite criticisms of the SWP, were faced with an unyielding choice: inside with the Pop Front, or outside with its opponents. Predictably, they vacillated, but chose sides: they condemned as "undemocratic" the violent exclusions—but remain within the discipline of NPAC. For PL, the Conference sharpens its contradiction between subjective anti-collaborationist impulses and its inherited Stalinist tradition, forcing a resurgence of cop-baiting of the SWP as the last refuge of those who dare not face up to revisionism politically.

Ring to the Defense

The NPAC Conference is important because it drew the lines in blood. In the July 16 Militant, SWP hack Harry Ring tries to brazen it out with a falsification of the facts rather than an attempt to defend his organization politically (only the Workers League offered political rationalizations for the SWP). Just as the traditions of Leninism and the October Revolution were so strong in the Soviet Union that they compelled Stalin and his followers to maintain lip-service to them while destroying their very basis, so the SWP's once-Trotskyist heritage of political struggle with opponents would not allow its leadership to admit: we threw those people out because their irreconcilable hostility to class collaboration was a real threat to the Pop Front. Instead, Ring speaks of "screaming, biting, kicking disrupters" and commends the NPAC marshals for their "disciplined restraint." If we may be permitted an analogy without being accused of creating an amalgam, this description is better suited to a Police Review Board whitewash of a cop riot than to a "socialist" newspaper. A Spartacist League leaflet written a few hours after the Friday night expulsions and distributed the next morning described the events as they occurred—the sudden charge of SWPer Fred Halstead and his "Light Brigade," the beating of Spartacist supporters as they sought to walk out of the meeting —and no one present at the Conference the next day challenged this description; they had witnessed it, after all.

What occurred Friday night at NPAC was a political expulsion, an exclusion of tendencies. Ring's version reads:

> "... the committee emphasized that the issue of political exclusion was in no way involved and that people were to be kept out only on the basis of their disruptive activity and that no one was to be excluded on the basis of their political views and association."

Ring can "emphasize" anything he wants, but this is simply a lie designed to soothe the queasy stomachs of SWPers who know from history what a purge means. The marshals guarding the doors Saturday and Sunday kept people out precisely on the basis of their political associations. Thus several Spartacist supporters who had not been present on Friday night were refused admission to the later sessions because they were known to be "with" Spartacist — and this was the reason given them by the guards And the account carried in the July 14 Guardian states:

> "Although the marshals were reportedly instructed to exclude only those whom they could identify as disrupters from the previous night, many people were stopped and questioned about their political affiliation or were barred because they were carrying a large amount of PL literature .. On the final day the same tight security procedures were carried out. Half a dozen PL supporters who had gotten into the auditorium were ejected after being identified. By this time the outside picket line was watched over by city police in riot gear."

As a sidelight, it must be noted that all tendencies which remained inside with their "plague on both your houses" rationalizations share responsibility for the exclusions. Scolding PL and Spartacist supporters for their obstreperous tactics, these groups pretended these, and not politics, were the actual basis of the screening at the door. Even if we could believe for a moment that these groups were seriously pursuaded that the guards were not exercising political scrutiny, we can only remark that naivete of this sort would of itself be a sufficient reason why the Labor Committees and IS are not to be taken seriously.

Only the Workers Leogue . . .

Faced with the fact that every tendency apart from the SWP felt compelled to separate itself in some way from the SWP's blatant conduct — even the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (dominated by the Communist Party) workshop offered a motion condemning the marshals — Ring attributes it to "blind factional animosity." This is ludicrous; the IS, for example, having just decided to "relate constructively" to NPAC, would have loved to show themselves merely friendly critics, had the SWP confined itself to its political betrayal and not added gangsterism. In desperation, Ring is forced to cite the utterly discredited Workers League, a group whose own defense of gangsterism in the service of petty factional appetites and blatant dishonesty is one of the few things the rest of the U.S. left can agree on That "the only one of these groups that supported the motion to commend the marshals and offered to help was the Workers League," as Ring is forced to note, speaks volumes about the WL and about the uncomfortable position the SWP finds itself in.

SWP credibility on the NPAC events is, however, vastly enhanced by PL's well-known history of gangsterism. Even when PL has observed the basic norms of proletarian democracy—as at this Conference—their appeal has been limited by substitutionism. PL's frequent impulse, arising partly out of their empirical confusion and inability to explain their zig-zags, is to interpose themselves physically in place of the necessary, lengthy, arduous and complex political task of winning the masses away from bourgeois ideology. They must be won away from their misleaders through political education and example; in a period of wide-spread mass bourgeois delusions, it is insufficient—and often objectively damaging—merely to proclaim oneself the revolutionary (or truly pro-working-class) tendency by attempting to physically displace the class enemy in the minds of the misled.

Defeat the Pop Front!

But what is crucial, at bottom, is not the lies of Harry Ring, but the politics these lies serve. As the Spartacist League leaflet stated, we are not looking for the sympathy of liberals who applaud the Pop Front but want to bemoan the SWP's "excesses." The main issue of the NPAC Conference is not the extremes to which the SWP was forced to go to defend Senator Hartke's "right" to speak. For, as Marxists have always known, the class character — of a meeting, of a political formation, of a state — stands higher than simple democratic rights at some point. On a democratic basis, the SWP had the right to expel "disrupters," sure; just as a racist meeting has the right to evict black protestors who are interfering with George Wallace. Even had the SWP been able to keep "order" without violence and political exclusion, the basic consideration would remain, and no criticism of the left oppositionists for their tactics can nullify it: to challenge the legitimacy of a ruling-class politician addressing an anti-war conference is a political statement. The fact that the anti-collaborationists did not initiate the physical violence, or charge the platform, etc. is true but is only secondary; the fundamental question was that the NPAC Conference was a Popular Front with liberal imperialists, and our revolutionary duty is irreconcilable opposition to it. ■

West Coast NPAC Defends Beating of Communists

Berkeley—On July 20 about 100 people attended a meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) on the Berkeley campus. The meeting had been called to report on the recent New York meeting of NPAC on July 2-4 and to announce the planned Fall anti-war campaign.

It was ohvious from the beginning, though, that controversy would center on the violence, which occurred at the New York meeting, where NPAC marshals, led by Fred Halstead of the SWP severely beat up and evicted members of the Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, Progressive Labor Party and SDS, who had protested the presence of the ruling class (Vance Hartke) and labor traitors (Victor Reuther) in the anti-war movement.

At the beginning of the Berkeley meeting, it was announced that a representative of PLP would be given four minutes to present their viewpoint, since they had requested such time at a previous steering committee meeting. When a Spartacist member requested floor time also, he was referred to the question-and-answer period; a motion made to allow Spartacist and RMC a speaker also was defeated by a vote of 32 for and 48 against.

The initial presentations, dominated by the YSA, were reports from NPAC and allied groups, especially La Raza Unida Party. Tito Lucero of La Raza gently chided "sectarians" for trying to present Marxism to Chicanos, who he said are not ready to assimilate Marxism and can now only understand nationalism, which "unites" them. But it is this nationalism, which the SWP-YSA tails uncritically, that is leading the Chicanos into the blind alley of "unity" with the bourgeoisie. There is no "unity," for instance, between Chicano farm workers and Alex Garcia, the CP-backed Democratic "friend of labor" from Los Angeles who voted for the anti-farm worker bill

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NPAC: FAKE TROTSKYISTS AID SWP IN POP FRONT BETRAYAL

Vance Hartke

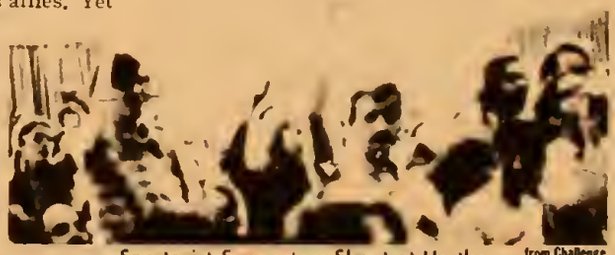
Tim Wohlforth

Harry Ring

The Workers League has rendered all forms of anti-Trotskyism invaluable service by its conduct at the NPAC Conference. Many would-be revolutionary youth honestly believe that Trotskyism equals class-collaboration. That they believe so is only partly due to decades of Stalinist slander. In recent years the prime responsibility rests squarely on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), particularly its conduct in the anti-war movement. It no longer requires any Moscow Trials-style slander to convince radicals of what is now the truth: that today the leading self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" organization is class-collaborationist to the core, and has behaved so in the anti-war movement since 1965. The Workers League's contribution to this has been to enhance the credibility of the SWP leadership as "Trotskyist," calling for unity discussions, joint commemoration of the anniversary of Trotsky's death, etc. They have pursued these overtures for the past year. But at the NPAC conference, they moved a step further: they assisted the SWP marshals in the beating and political exclusion of Progressive Labor, SDS, and the Spartacist League for their shouting down of Senator Vance Hartke and Victor Reuther! Wohlforth further commended the marshals for their behavior, promising the physical support of the WL again whenever necessary. This in the name of Trotskyism! What is an anti-war militant to think when he is beaten by not one but two "Trotskyist" organizations (one claiming to be in the forefront of anti-revisionist struggle) for his shouting down a leading capitalist politician and a red-baiting labor bureaucrat? And thus anti-Trotskyism appears logical to militants who have been beaten, in the name of "Trotskyism," for disrupting bourgeois speakers.

SWP Degeneration

The Workers League's present bloc is sealed in blood at a time of a qualitative degeneration of the SWP. For years, the SWP, despite its deepening revisionism, has clung to non-violence within the movement. Its role in the anti-war movement was one of deception and manipulation designed to prevent any turn toward the working class which would upset its bourgeois allies. Yet the NPAC Conference was the first time it attempted to silence left opposition with brute force. Until NPAC the SWP, even in extreme political degeneration, remembered — if only as a reflex—some of the lessons from the years in which it was built as a revolutionary party, defending itself against continual Stalinist hooligan attacks. Now the SWP has finally capitulated fully to the non-proletarian organizational methods which are appropriate to its non-proletarian politics: gangsterism against left criticism. The Workers League must have found its role alongside the SWP marshals congenial, since the WL and its mentor, Gerry Healy's SLL in Britain, have practiced and publicly defended violence against their opponents for years (see WA #9, "Government Goons, and 'Left-Wing' Hypocrisy").


Spartacist Supporters Shout at Hartke from Challenge

PL: Proletarian Impulse

Stalinism, like all varieties of revisionism, is at bottom class-collaboration. Despite the Trotskyist label, the SWP today stands much further from the class program of Leninism than ex-Maoist Progressive Labor. This should not be so difficult for the Workers League to understand; in the 1930's, sections of social-democratic parties stood far to the left of the degenerated "Communist" parties, and Trotskyists responded to them accordingly.

Progressive Labor is not a Trotskyist organization, in either origins or program. While proceeding from revolutionary proletarian impulse (unlike the SWP), impressionistic confusion and sectarianism abound in PL's analysis and methods. PL equates Victor Reuther and his itk with Senator Hartke and the capitalist class—to them a "boss" is a "boss." We disagree. We maintain that Victor Reuther is not a part of the capitalist class, but rather an arch-enemy within the working-class movement. To PL, our position may seem to be a semantic quibble, but it flows from important political differences—for example, the recognition that a labor union is not simply a bosses' organization like for example the Democratic Party. We did believe that Reuther had a right to speak at the conference—and also the "right" to be denounced and heckled. But he had no more right than any other worker or anti-war activist to a privileged presentation of his views as an "official" spokesman for "his" class.

The marshals had PL-SDS beaten and excluded not for a gangster attack on the conference, but because they successfully embarrassed the SWP's prize "anti-war" Senator and heckled its prize labor bureaucrat. Under these circumstances, it was an elementary duty to defend PL-SDS against expulsion. To have aided the marshals, as the WL did, or have remained "neutral" (the course of the IS and Labor Committee) would have enabled the SL as a body to attend the next day's plenary session, but any points we could have made after such a betrayal would have been meaningless. Spartacist was indeed denied entrance as a body on the next day. The SL joined PL-SDS in picketing the meeting in protest against the exclusions. We did not support or participate in the adventurist attempt later on Saturday to force entrance into the meeting—during which a number of PL-SDS supporters were severely injured by the large contingent of police called by NPAC.

Workers League Lies

The account of the Conference printed in the July 12 Bulletin is shot through with contradictions and plain lies as the WL attempts to demonstrate some principled basis for its pact of blood with the class-collaborationist SWP.

The Bulletin begins its obfuscation of the events of the Conference with its account of one of the first incidents:

> "The SDS speaker said speakers like Hartke and union bureaucrats 'will sell us out' and 'what we need is a student-workers alliance. They've got the money and we don't need them.' Their alternative was to build student struggles around ROTC and strike support for workers.
>
> "The Spartacist League which is working in SDS presented almost an identical motion."

Now, what the Spartacist League proposed—by reading a motion from the floor, which was never recognized by the chair or voted—was that ruling class politicians like Hartke be summarily excluded from the Conference, and that the Conference dispense with the "keynote speeches" and immediately begin floor discussion. Nothing about ROTC. Nothing about a student-worker alliance, a PL strategy for narrow campus struggles which Spartacist has criticized since it was first propounded. The WL, of course, presented no motion at all, remaining perfectly quiet and proper throughout Hartke's speech.

Regarding the Saturday discussion of the marshals' actions in beating and excluding the protesters, the Bulletin reads:

> "Wohlforth reaffirmed the Workers League position to defend the SWP any where at any time against Stalinist hooligan attacks."

Well and good. Now Wohlforth merely has to show where the "Stalinist hooligan attacks" occurred at the Friday night meeting at which the expulsions took place. This is done nowhere in the two articles devoted to the Conference. This is because the only Stalinist violence which took place that night was the attack by the marshals, led by SWPer Fred Halstead, on the tendencies which were militantly demonstrating their opposition to the Pop Front!

Workers League Evades

The Bulletin continues:

> "... a hysterical Carol LaRouche (Labor Committee) demanded that the convention go on record to repudiate a statement by Hartke at a news conference that 'PL is just as responsible for the war as Nixon.' This motion was not a principled one but was a maneuver to force the SWP to vote with them and PL/SDS. Coming at the time it did it was aimed at diverting the discussion from Stalinism and giving a cover to PL.... Harry Ring, seeking to get around this situation, actually ended up putting forward a motion in the anti-war movement which took a clear class stand on the war. He stated: 'If Hartke said this I want to disassociate myself from it. But this would tend to destroy the coalition.' He proposed the following motion: 'To repudiate any declarations that PL is responsible for the war. It is Nixon and the class that he represents who are responsible for the war.' A few minutes later he attempted to change the motion to eliminate the phrase 'and his class'...."

The fate of these motions is important, and it indicates that the Bulletin glosses over what actually took place. A vote was taken on the Labor Committee motion, more or less ignoring Ring's motion, and it failed, with the WL abstaining. This left the SWP in a terrible position. The SWP-NPAC voting cattle, following out the "line" of Hooray for Hartke, Down With PL, had committed the organization to a position that was not only blatantly anti-communist but so idiotic that it would be a laughing stock among even pro-imperialist liberals. Wohlforth, glorying in the role of SWP left cover, rushed to the microphone to bail the SWP out, by reintroducing the Ring motion which was intended (although the SWP floor leaders were too slow to pick it up) to separate the SWP from Hartke's ridiculous statement without mentioning Hartke, which would have threatened the Pop Front which the SWP had at all costs to preserve. The Ring motion was then, of course, passed, with nobody much knowing or caring whether the phrase "Nixon and his class" was in or out. Because, whatever the Bulletin would like to pretend, it mattered very little; what difference does it make if "Nixon and his class" are criticized once it has been made clear by deeds that any attempt to break the anti-war movement from the living embodiments of that class will be beaten back by any means necessary, including violence.

Wohlforth Discovers a Principle

By Sunday the WL had swallowed Harry Ring, the SWP goons, Senator Hartke, Victor Reuther, and a host of lesser liberal lights and labor fakers. What they could not stomach—the only thing in the entire brutal liberal-dominated Conference—was the refusal of the chair on Sunday afternoon to let the WL motion stand for a vote. Then, and only then, Wohlforth discovered "principles," pulled up his political pants, and walked out!

One of the Bulletin NPAC articles concludes regarding breaking with Stalinist class-collaboration:

> "The SWP can make such a break if its leadership chooses to do so. The Workers League

(continued on page 6)

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FAKE TROTSKYISTS AID SWP . . .

will of course give it every assistance despite continuing differences on many fundamental positions if it will even begin to take such a course."

Since the WL did, in fact, give the SWP "every assistance" until it rejected the WL's own motion for consideration, we must assume the SWP's behavior up to that point is Wohlforth's idea of beginning of a working-class turn—Hartke, goons, CIA-trained labor traitors, and all.

On the face of it, the WL's grovelling pledge is absurd. "The SWP can make such a break"—how?—"if its leadership chooses to do so." The statement applies, with equal profundity, to any organization. Why is a reformist organization reformist? Because its leadership chooses to be so. When will it move to revolutionary proletarian politics? When its leadership chooses to do so. The SWP leaders must consider Wohlforth's appeal hilarious, if not very alluring.

Unmentioned by the Bulletin, of course, is the WL line on the April 24th march in Washington. There the WL denounced "anyone who brings one body in front of the platform" as a class-collaborator. The difference between April 24 and the NPAC conference? At April 24th the WL held a separate rally. At the NPAC conference they sat in the meeting and supported its leaders. That's the difference.

The CIA's Man Arrives: "A Very Positive Development"

Consistent with the WL's chosen role as attorneys for the SWP, the Bulletin tries to provide a political justification, in pseudo-class terms, for the SWP. The core of the position is this:

> "Clearly the position of the disrupters was that Reuther and Meany were the same and that Reuther as well had no business at the conference. But Reuther is a leader of one of the largest working class organizations, trade unions, in the United States. He not only has the right to be at such a peace conference; his presence at such a conference is a very positive development.
>
> "It is true that Victor Reuther is a labor bureaucrat and as such is aligned with the bourgeoisie politically and in other ways.... But he is at the same time part of the leadership of a trade union. His presence at the conference is a reflection of the movement of the working class against the war....
>
> "The action of PL-SDS-Spartacist represents a petty-bourgeois revolutionism which is completely hysterical in character and totally hostile to the working class...."

There are so many things wrong with these few sentences that it is difficult to know where to start; they add up to the most powerful example of why we consider the WL, in fundamentals, to be similar to the condition known as gonorrhea.

To begin with, the anti-collaborators were not disrupters according to the criteria establisbed by workers' democratic standards, and it is significant that of all the groups at the Conference, only the WL and SWP held that they were.

As explained earlier, Spartacist never held that Reuther and Hartke were "the same," and the WL well knows it. Reuther is "only," in DeLeon's excellent phrase, the "labor lieutenant of capital" within the labor movement, while Hartke is a direct representative of capitalism. PL sees no difference at all, and put out a leaflet attacking us for this conception (it is instructive that PL seems to be capable of understanding our position, but not so the WL!). The Spartacist leaflet produced Friday night and distributed heavily for the next two days carried a long paragraph explaining this. From the WL vantage point of sucking up to labor bureaucrats, however, it is no wonder they chose to obfuscate our position; they hope no one will think to ask them: admitting the legitimate class distinction between Reuther and Hartke, then, why didn't the WL boo Hartke?

Actually, Reuther has been quite slow getting onto the "peace" bandwagon; the CP, through its various connections, fronts, etc. has been holding conferences of "progressive," "anti-war" labor bureaucrats for years. Far from being something new, such maneuvers are hoary with old age. Sellout bureaucrats like Reuther or DC37's Victor Gotbaum go to those jamborees as a cheap way of expunging a little tarnish from the necessary "progressive" image, then use this outside constituency to consolidate and strengthen their roles inside the union structure to further isolate and smash militant oppositionists in their own unions!

The Bulletin writes:

> "It is easy to shout [Reuther] down; it is another thing to replace him and Woodcock and the rest of them as a leadership of the UAW. That task requires a long struggle during which the Reuthers and Woodcocks are exposed time and time again in the course of actions."

Fine. But what was Spartacist doing at NPAC, but making an effort to expose Reuther, by shouting "Labor Strikes Against the War"—the one tactic in which labor can act independently of capitalist politics and bring its real strength to bear against the war. This demand is the one thing that Reuther and his ilk will not call for, for it would show that labor has had it in its power for years to bring Yankee imperialism to its knees, and has not done it precisely because of the ties of the Reuthers, Gotbaums, etc. to their capitalist masters. And what was the WL doing at NPAC? Their silence as Spartacist chanted its slogan was deafening; the WL main motion to the Conference, despite its call for a labor party, was notable by its lack of mention of the struggle within the working-class movement against the labor bureaucrats who keep labor impotent in anti-war struggles and tied to the capitalist political parties.

There is more. The Bulletin's description of Reuther is so carefully abstract that it could fit almost any labor bureaucrat over the past twenty-five years. Is Reuther then just any run-of-the-mill faker with an ossified heart of gold? An SDS leaflet handed out at the Conference gives a more accurate description of the man: a chief witch-hunter of all "reds" and militants in the unions in the late 1940's; a chief prop of the CIA-funded American institute for Free Labor Development, which worked to set up anti-communist union leaders in Latin America; for 11 years a collaborator with Jay Lovestone, the CIA's man in the AFL-CIO international Union Department! It is the presence of this man which the Bulletin hails as "a very positive development," presumably justifying its front-page headline, "Working Class Breaks Through at NPAC Conference."

The WL's attempt to present the "disruption" by Spartacist and PL-SDS as a frenzied attack by the hysterical petty-bourgeoisie on the labor movement (in other words, as the petty-bourgeois radicalism which can become a basis for facism) is a miserable failure, revealing only the utter shamelessness of the WL in its ever-recurring attempts to suck up to the treacherous mis-leaderships of the anti-war and labor movements.■

Communists Picket SWP

Berkeley—On Saturday, July 17, the Bay Area Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus sponsored a picket of the Socialist Workers Party's Granma Bookstore on Telegraph Avenue. Among the participants were members of the Anti-Stalinism Study Group, a San Francisco organization associated with the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League. About 20 people carried signs and chanted slogans.

The picket was called to protest the severe beating and political exclusion by SWP-led marshals of the Spartacist League, Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, Progressive Labor, and SDS from the NPAC Conference in New York on July 2.

"No member of the ruling class which created this war has a place in the anti-war movement," a Spartacist spokesman said. "Only the working class, through such actions as anti-war strikes, can end this war favorably for working people. By allying with the bourgeoisie, and sealing this alliance in blood, the SWP-YSA has lost all vestiges of socialism, and exposed themselves as treacherous reformists in the working-class movement. Other groups were similarly exposed: the Workers League, which helped in the beatings; and the International Socialists and the Labor Committee, which equivocated."

The picketing group carried such signs as "No Bourgeois Politicians in the Anti-War Movement!" and "Better Red than Fred!" They picketed for several hours and chanted such slogans as "Reuther, Wohlforth, SWP—Running Dogs of the Bourgeoisie!"■

Toward Marxist Consciousness and Unity:

SPARTACIST-CWC SUMMER CAMP

A four-day political summer camp with the theme of "Building the Revolutionary Workers Party" was held in the Big Basin Redwoods area of California on August 12-15. The camp was jointly sponsored by the Spartacist League and the Communist Working Collective. The CWC originated in Los Angeles as a Maoist grouping which over the past year was forced to seriously re-evaluate the roots of Maoism and Stalinism, and thereby arrived at Trotskyism as the key to socialist revolution. The CWC is now in the process of fusion with the Spartacist League, and the camp served as a vehicle to solidify the unity, as well as heighten political consciousness. The pleasant surroundings allowed for considerable informal discussion among the comrades and sympathizers who attended—about 60 people by the weekend.

Among the topics discussed were: "Applying the Transitional Program," "Marxism and Philosophy," "Tasks of the Spartacist League," "Communist Work in the Trade Unions," "From Maoism to Trotskyism," and communist orientation toward the black struggle. Members of the Anti-Stalinism Study Group were also present; an ASG comrade gave a presentation on "Japanese Revolutionary Struggles," after which there were movies on the struggles of the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League (Kakumaru).

RMC Conference

A Western Regional meeting of the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus was held preceding the Spartacist-CWC summer camp on August 11 at the same location. The RMC, which was initiated in December 1969 by Spartacist as a working-class oriented caucus in SDS opposing the social-work approach of Progressive Labor, has since grown considerably, and with the decline of SDS, the RMC has begun to take on the independent character of a Trotskyist youth group. The Western Regional Conference included RMC members and sympathizers from the San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, Sacramento and Los Angeles. The main focus of discussion was the draft documents on RMC Perspectives and Organizational Rules, in preparation for the first national RMC Conference to be held in New York on Sept. 2-3, when the RMC is projecting to become a youth group affiliated with the Spartacist League.

Greetings were sent to the RMC Western conference by the Spartacist League, the Communist Working Collective of Los Angeles and the Anti-Stalinism Study Group based in San Francisco.■

August 6 Commemoration Condemns Stalinism and NPAC

Continued from Page 3

previous weapons, nuclear weapons have only one function — to destroy whole populations; as such their possession cannot be in the interests of the working class On this issue, Condit essentially agreed with the Draper tendency despite his organizational separation: he in effect denied defense to the Sino-Soviet states. To deny these countries nuclear weapons is an open invitation to imperialist nuclear attack or blackmail. The U.S. imperialists especially have not hesitated to use such weapons aggressively where they could do so with impunity, e.g., Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A section of the U.S. ruling class wanted to use nuclear weapons in Indochina as early as 1954, but were constrained by the possibility that the Soviet Union — i.e., the nuclear power of the Sino-Soviet bloc — might not extend its lack of solidarity with revolutions abroad far enough to permit a nuclear attack on Vietnam. While such weapons in the deformed workers states are no substitutes for defense through working-class struggle, they do buy time as a deterrent.

Spartacist League speaker George Foster endorsed the CWC statement and reiterated the need to politically smash NPAC. He compared NPAC's recent violence against communists with the treachery of Ebert and Noske, German social-democratic leaders who served the German bourgeoisie in 1919 by crushing the Berlin workers' uprising and conniving in the murder of the revolutionaries Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. He pointed also to the pernicious role of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League, who solidarized with NPAC in the violence. He stressed again the revolutionary obligation to defend the deformed workers states—including nuclear weapons. But only political revolution against the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies, together with the worldwide overthrow of imperialism, can ultimately safeguard and extend the revolutionary gains persisting in attenuated form in the deformed workers states.

A spokesman for the Workers League spoke on the need to "reconstruct the Fourth International." An International is especially needed, he said, to fight nationalist deviations such as American pragmatism. He carefully avoided discussion of the evening's controversial issues; what is important, he said, is not "this or that position" of various organizations, but their method. In this way, the WL spokesman sidestepped defending its treacherous role in NPAC. What "method" led to that betrayal?

After these speeches, there were brief statements of greetings to the meeting from the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Kakumaru), the Zengakuren, and the International Socialists. The joint JRCL-Zengakuren greeting denounced the Stalinist line of "peaceful co-existence" and mentioned the recent murder of a JRCL student in Okinawa, resulting from a general anti-Trotskyist witchhunt launched by the Stalinists. The greeting noted, "We hear that in America also, the organizations which are carrying out the struggles of the true vanguard of the working class have met with violent hostility from the Stalinists, the labor union bureaucrats in the pay of the imperialists, and the corrupt 'Trotskyists' who have fallen into pro-Stalinism."

"The struggles of the Russian Left Opposition, the struggles of the Trotskyists in the Spanish and Chinese revolutions, and the blood-drenched uprising of the Hungarian workers who took up the struggle to overthrow Stalinism from within, even though their struggle ended in defeat—these bloody struggles were destined to go down in defeat and drawing the necessary lessons from them, we have raised high the banner of 'anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism,' under which we commenced, and are now carrying on, the struggle for the liberation of the working class of the whole world." The Spartacist League recently sent greetings to the JRCL for August 6, with a message of solidarity against the Stalinist atrocity, reprinted elsewhere in this issue.

The meeting then heard a reading of the ASG's statement, "Revolutionary Anti-War Struggles in Japan," in the main a history of post-war Japanese anti-war struggles, and the origins of the JRCL (Kakumaru). In the course of this reading was raised the Kakumaru faction's general slogan of "anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism" and an earlier slogan, "Down with US-USSR Nuclear Testing!" These slogans reflect a failure to grasp the nature of Stalinism as a contradictory phenomenon — i.e., the Stalinist rulers represent a counter-revolutionary bureaucratic caste sitting on top of revolutionary gains. The simple equation of Stalinism and imperialism implied in the first slogan leads to abandonment of the defense of these gains — reflected in the nuclear testing slogan. Despite its different origins and development, the ASG's position on this may align them in practice with the "third camp" ideologues — a dangerous disorientation from the road of Trotskyism.

Later, the group watched movies of the Japanese workers' and students' struggle, and the meeting concluded with the singing of the Internationale in Japanese and English

For those interested in the views of the JRCL, we recommend the ASG's English-language periodical, Tsūshin, Box 8724, Emeryville, Cal. 94608.

> "Trudeau's imposition of the War Measures Act last year reflects the gravity of the crisis in Canada and the tendency toward the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."
>
> —Tim Wohlforth, Bulletin, 19 July, 1971
>
> If Wohlforth is right, Canada may even go capitalist if the "tendency" persists.

Continued from Page 4

West Coast NPAC Defends Beating of Communists

in the California legislature. The La Raza speaker following Lucero carried nationalism to its logical conclusion by denouncing the whole meeting as a gathering of "white European oppressors"!

A young woman presented the NPAC report, in which the violence in New York was defended on the principle that left groups have the right to hold meetings. Yet the only "disruption" she could cite was the chanting during Hartke's and Reuther's speeches. But as SL and RMC spokesmen pointed out, chanting is a far cry from a physical attempt to attack the speakers, take over the stage, etc, —it certainly was no "provocation" for the savage physical attack which the SWP does not deny initiating.

A woman from PLP presented a basically correct class analysis of the N.Y. meeting: Hartke is a representative of the class enemy, the capitalist class, and has no business in the anti-war movement; we care as much about his "free speech" as he cares about the Vietnamese—nothing! Though PL falsely equates Hartke and Reuther (in fact, Hartke is the bourgeoisie, Reuther its agent in the working-class movement), they correctly note that Reuther was a long-time CIA collaborator who always betrayed the UAW rank-and-file. The Coalition which the SWP built with Stalinist help is rotten class collaboration. Ironically, the PL spokesman ended by adding, "Just one more thing—our group has absolutely nothing to do with the Spartacist League!" How embarrassing for PL to fall on the right side of the class barricades with... the Trotskyists! Despite the fact that they have empirically abandoned many sacred tenets of Maoist Stalinism—the alliance with the "progressive" national bourgeoisie, the theory of stages, the adulation of the North Vietnamese leadership and now even the Chinese leadership—they tenaciously cling to the ghost of Stalin, to the point of roughing up Spartacist and RMC salesmen, as happened recently in New York and San Francisco. Such is the last defense of Stalinism and sectarianism stripped naked of theoretical defenses.

Sportacist Denounces Class Collaboration

When the floor opened for discussion, a Spartacist spokesman elaborated on the class nature of the SWP betrayal. The SWP, he emphasized, had sealed its alliance with the bourgeoisie in blood by savagely evicting communists, just as surely as Ebert and Noske, German Social-Democratic leaders, had served the German bourgeoisie in 1919 by crushing the Berlin workers' uprising and murdering Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. He concluded saying, "And you call yourselves communists! It's disgusting!"

WL Votes With Class Collaborators

A woman from RMC who was an eye-witness to the New York violence described in detail how the attack had been initiated by the NPAC marshals: the only "disruption" was the chanting of slogans. She made a motion as follows: "This NPAC meeting must repudiate collaboration with the class enemy, and it must repudiate gangsterism within the movement. These issues cannot be separated. Only in this way can a real struggle against the imperialist Vietnam war go forward." An amendment by a Spartacist member added that the meeting should specifically repudiate the actions of the NPAC marshals in New York. She noted also that the betrayal of the SWP had been facilitated by the fake-Trotskyist Workers League, which in a gross frenzy of opportunist appetites, joined in the beatings and expulsion of the anti-collaborationists. The Workers League members present at the Berkeley meeting remained silent throughout the discussion, apparently unable or unwilling to defend their organization's despicable conduct.

The joint Spartacist-RMC motion was defeated by a vote of 49 to 19, with the Workers League and YSA voting against the motion and PL abstaining.

At the end of the meeting, a Workers League member suddenly introduced a motion to "denounce counter-revolutionary Stalinism," referring in particular to the CP-type class collaboration of NPAC and the possibility of imminent betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by the Stalinists in Indochina, Moscow and Peking. In light of the Workers League's enthusiastic support to the SWP in violently evicting the communists from the New York NPAC meeting, their motion was ludicrously out of place and hypocritical—but on its face supportable. The motion was defeated with the help of the YSA—which showed how far the SWP-YSA stand from even formal tenets of Trotskyism, as well as how little they have been swayed by the WL's fulsome overtures and pledges of support.

The central problem remains: before the working class can move forward it must sweep aside the class-collaborationism exemplified by the SWP-YSA and its current rear guard, the Workers League, and firmly establish the principle of proletarian democracy. ■

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CWA STRIKE

Beirne's Convention

The 33rd Annual CWA Convention which opened June 14 in Kansas City was characterized by union president Joseph Beirne's attempt to consolidate his increasingly restive ranks. Although most of the contracts with the Bell System expired at the end of April, Beirne in this election year made sure that any strike action was held off until after the convention and elections, saving his certain swell of unpopularity over the contract settlement un after he was safely elected.

This convention, like the rest, was staged, right down to lighting arrangements, to make Beirne and his cronies look good. On the convention's first day a band was on hand to liven up the proceedings. A "spontaneous" demonstration showed his membership's satisfaction with the vote for a strike (205,431 out of 287,440 ballots returned). The vote in fact was to "authorize the International Executive Board to call a strike": when or how to call it the members weren't asked.

Despite the showmanship, Beirne said a lot about political and social issues. He had to. Many of his remarks were clearly intended to head off radical caucus opposition. He said a great deal about political awareness and involvement, which in specifics simply meant working harder for COPE. At his traditional "Union Builders Rally" on the first night of the convention, he even mentioned a third party—but not a labor party ("because then we'd be in a minority") but a consumer party; he mentioned the names of Lindsay, McCarthy, and Muskie. He complained that since 1968 he had received a very chilly reception from management, and attributed this to new top-level company personnel. A more plausible explanation is that the company knows how much he has undercut his own power base since 1968 by demoralizing his membership.

Beirne complained that big corporations were running the executive branch of the government. In his first attack in memory on Kennedy, he said, "Nixon isn't the only one [who interferes with bargaining]; Johnson and Kennedy did it too."

It was evident from the beginning that Beirne didn't have the delegates eating out of his hand. He is an excellent speaker, a quality which has a lot to do with his control of the Union so far, but even that wasn't quite enough this time. Although he probably knows better, he ended his speech at the Union Builders Rally four times. Each time people rose to their feet clapping and started rushing out, and he could feel that they weren't with him so he'd get them to sit down and he would end it again. Finally he gave up and really ended.

There was a real "Big Brother is watching you" atmosphere at the Convention. The Convention was set for three days, although for years they have been four or five days, almost always five days in an election year because the elections take up a whole day. This year Beirne didn't want to give anyone much chance to raise motions. There was little opposition to the leadership's resolutions, but several openly or implicitly anti-leadership motions and statements placed on the floor. Most involved fairly petty issues like implementing a decision made several years ago to rotate seating arrangements, but they reflected a general distrust and feeling of being run over by the bureaucrats. One of the motions provided that the raises for Beirne and the Executive Board become effective only after an acceptable contract from Bell—it was tabled.

Calculated to impress potential radicals at the Convention was the speech given by Tom Jackson of the Union of Post Office Workers of Great Britain (which includes the telephone workers). With a substantially more class-conscious membership, Jackson is more accustomed to radical-sounding statements than Beirne—he needs them more. He spoke about his union's attempts to organize workers in Rhodesia as dealing a blow to British imperialism, and noted that their strikes in Britain are by definition against the government, since the telephone as well as postal service is nationalized.

Beirne Orders Strikers Back

Three motions were made to strengthen the strike; one was voted down and two were taken off the floor. The first was to borrow $100 million to finance the strike. An immediate objection to consideration took it off the floor. The second motion, presented later by the same delegate, was to "seek an alliance with other unions in the industry to strengthen the strike." The maker of the motion said that "together we can achieve more quicker" and "we should bury the hatchet in the Company instead of each other." An attempt to table was defeated, but the Secretary-Treasurer made a disgusting personal attack on the delegate and several people spoke from the floor to the effect that "There may be unions we don't want to associate with. Some try to raid us, and we shouldn't cooperate with them." (Not mentioned was the fact that CWA is trying to raid them.) The motion was defeated. The third motion was to set up a loan fund for members to borrow from while on strike; objection was immediately made to its consideration, and it was taken off the floor.

No one spoke against the foreign policy resolution, although a handful voted against it. The resolution is an appropriate one for a union with the CWA's cold warrior history. In a time of widespread sentiment against the Indochina war, the resolution warns of the "continued growth of Soviet military power and political influence" which "pose a serious threat to world peace" and sees the "paramount goal of American foreign policy" as "preservation of peace with freedom."

Bill Moultrie, active in CWA for 12 years, and a leader of the 1968 wildcat in Michigan, who lost his job through the collusion of CWA officials and Bell, was not allowed to attend the Convention as a visitor, even though the public is allowed to attend. But the Bell System management personnel were allowed to attend, even without guest badges!

After the Convention officially adjourned Beirne announced the strike date and delivered his closing speech. An important part of his remarks was the instruction to get lower management to suroort the strike. He said, "Many of you know the foremen well enough to talk to them as a friend." He told us to ask them how they could in good conscience scab, and he gave a new definition of a scab—"When they go in to do their own job they're not scabbing; it's when they do our job that they become a scab."

Strike

The Company insulted the Union by making all its contract offers at the last minute. The Company tried to present a final offer on July 13, but the strike preparations had already been put into gear so the CWA leadership was "unavailable" to Ma Bell. It is universally believed and almost without doubt correct that the Company's July 13 offer is the one the CWA leadership settled for. The membership nationwide seems to be angry about the settlement but they are especially up in arms about being forced to go back to work without having voted on it. On July 14, Beirne said that he couldn't stop the strike without a membership vote. Yet five days later he announced the vote of the International Executive Board to end the strike. The whole state of New York is still out, and locals in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Florida, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Arizona, Wyoming and California stayed out for various periods after they were supposed to go back to work.

In 1968 locals were given about 72 hours in which to hold a ratification vote and get the results to CWA Headquarters in Washington D.C. This meant that in most cases membership meetings were held and the proposed settlement was discussed and voted on there. This year, in spite of the leadership's contention that CWA is broke, the vote is by mail ballot.

Although the official settlement includes a 12.4% wage increase this year retroactive to May 1, and 3% each of the next two years, many operators (those at the bottom of the payscale) at least are getting less than a 10% increase this year. The settlement includes a yearly cost of living increase that will pay a small percentage of the rise in the cost of living. The decisive part of the settlement as far as the leadership is concerned is a "modified agency shop" whereby all new employees hired after July 18th would have to pay dues to CWA. Those who were not members prior to July 18th still do not have to pay dues. The clause included an escape clause that allowed current members to quit up until July 27. This allowed Beirne to get more money with which to operate and at the same time allowed him to let the fed up members quit without feeling their loss financially. He would much rather have them out of the Union at this point than to have their inevitable "No" votes on his contract settlement. The Company notified people of the escape clause.

Since the strike the Company has fired and harassed people. In one place they sent home without pay all the operators who were below the office average in speed and told them to "think about your job" and come back when they felt they could do better.

Sellout Unionism — How Long?

The type of unionism typified by Beirne and the whole CWA leadership, and symbolized by the June Convention, can not be sustained indefinitely. Such tactics as we have described, while giving the appearance of rock-hard unity of the leadership exercising full control of the rank and file, in reality generally imply the opposite: such flummery exposes the weak position Beirne actually occupies, in that now he finds recourse to such maneuvering necessary. The era of phony leadership, verbal militancy, rock-bottom economic sellouts, collaboration with Bell's paternalistic union-busting tactics and the squeezing out of radical unionists may well come to a screeching halt as a result of rank-and-file wildcats against the contract sellout. One consequence of the Nixon New Economic Policy, which had a whole plethora of the "labor lieutenants of capital" running about screaming like stuck pigs, is that it radically boxed in the space needed by the bureaucrats for maneuvering against their memberships—to carry out the self-same policy now as before blatantly exposes their true roles of anti-working-class collaboration with the companies and their class interests.

But this exposure of Beirne and his cronies who run the CWA as class-collaborationist enemies of the rank-and-file communications workers is not an automatic one, and the motion created in the ranks by the wildcats will dissipate into skepticism and wild flailing about unless the lessons are learned and a conscious programmatic thrust given to militant struggles. The communications industry does not exist in a social vacuum, and any radical change within the Union, to be effective must contain a thrust into the American class system itself. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

15 cents

NUMBER 1 OCTOBER 1971

MASSACRE AT ATTICA

Attica Prisoners – Many Killed Later – Meet With Oswald

WHO IS GUILTY?...

The brutal, bloody murderers of Attica are none other than the ruling class of this society. The direct executioners were Rockefeller, State Commissioner of Correction Oswald and their man in the field—Capt. Williams. Nixon immediately proclaimed his public support for this cold-blooded and calculated act.

Rockefeller cut down the Attica prisoners in the manner of his father and grandfather before him—ruthlessly and to protect the system from which his profits spring. From the murder of the Ludlow miners to the present, this family has carried the policies of the armed fist over the entire globe. It is no wonder that during his recent Latin American tour "Rocky" found himself hiding in country after country when workers and students by the hundreds of thousands protested. The Rockefeller name and the Rockefeller practice symbolize, more than any other, the American capitalist class—a class that will stop at nothing to extend and protect its profitable holdings.

The utter falsity of Oswald's excuse for moving in—that the guards were having their throats slashed—became obvious when the medical examiner reported that all the hostages were killed with shotgun blasts—shotguns the prisoners did not have. The attack had been planned for days; the rest was a matter of timing. The phony issue of "saving" the guards is exposed by the nature of the attack—clouds of pepper gas followed by rapid-fire sprays of shotgun fire ripping apart everything within range. No wonder Rockefeller displayed surprise when as many as thirty of the hostages turned up alive!

These despicable racist guards are despised even by the ruling class that cynically uses them. The governor not only served notice on the prisoners that rebellion does not pay, and rebellion linked with revolutionary ideas means certain death, but he had a message for the guards too: Keep the upper hand or else!

The elitest class outlook of the Rockefellers is exemplified by David Rockefeller, Nelson's brother and president of Chase Manhattan Bank, who stated on the day of the massacre: "Nelson is first; he's first in volume," then, laughing, he repeated, "in volume." (New York Times, 15 September) David was presiding over the Bank's 115-painting art collection valued at over $2.5 million. He was referring to Nelson's much larger collection of some 1,500 paintings valued in the hundreds of millions.

One of the collages in the collection is by an American artist, John Day. It is titled "Attica" and according to the Times "drew more than its

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TROTSKYISTS FUSE AT SPARTACIST LEAGUE PLENUM

Over eighty people attended the enlarged Third Plenum of the Second Central Committee of the Spartacist League, held in New York City over the Labor Day weekend. Participants and observers from all parts of the country were present, as well as a Spartacist representative recently returned from Europe and fraternal delegates from the Spartacist League of New Zealand. The Plenum consummated the principled unification of the Communist Working Collective of Los Angeles with the SL. Members of the Mass Strike Organizing Committee of Boston, which subsequently dissolved itself into a sympathizing study circle of the SL, also attended.

Class Struggle Sharpens

This Plenum marks an historic point in the transformation of the Spartacist League, a transformation which occurs at a crucial juncture for the international working class. The gathering took place shortly after Nixon's announcement of his new economic program, which definitively marks the breakdown of the post-World War II configuration of the world capitalist system and the reversion of American imperialism to merely the strongest of several competing units. The intensification of inter-imperialist rivalries poses the threat of a new imperialist war ever more sharply. The Stalinist bureaucracies abet the trend through their cynical nationalist maneuvers, tending to be drawn into the new imperialist alignments taking shape. The full implications of the counter-revolutionary theory of "soclalism in one country" confront the working class. Only the destruction by revolution of the imperialist bourgeoisie and political revolution in the deformed workers states can alter this catastrophic drift toward World War III. The outcome hinges on the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International: the construction of powerful national sections, mass revolutionary parties, of a democratic centralist international. The qualitative transformation of the capacity of the Spartacist League evidenced at this Plenum will have significant impact in the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International destroyed by revisionism.

INTRODUCING *WORKERS VANGUARD*, the Marxist working-class monthly. *WORKERS VANGUARD* is part of the transformation of the Spartacist League into the nucleus of the vanguard party, and of the struggle to reconstruct the Fourth International. *WORKERS VANGUARD* also incorporates the publication *Workers' Action*.

Fusion

The Plenum was highlighted by the principled Leninist fusion of the Communist Working Collective and the Spartacist League. The formal decision to fuse came at the end of the first session of the Plenum, a joint open session participated in by the CWC Executive Committee and the SL Central Committee. Discussion and adoption during the session of the two main documents of the Plenum, the "Theses of the CWC" and the "Mem-

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Communist Working Collective:

FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM

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MASSACRE AT ATTICA

share of attention because of the title's coincidental link to the trouble ! at the upstate correctional facility." Rockefeller's millions, extracted from workers everywhere, go toward accumulating vast art treasures. Rockefeller remains first in the volume of misery and death dished out in return.

The class responsible for Attica is responsible for My Lai, for Vietnam, for Hiroshima, for all the other massacres over which it had "no choice" —no choice if American capitalism was to be preserved.

Prisons and the State

Prisons represent, in concentrated form, the repressive power of the state. Parliaments rest on the prisons; the prisons do not rest upon parliaments. In this sense, a prison rebellion challenges part of the foundation of the capitalists' power and must accordingly be crushed.

The ferocity of the attack is simply a magnification of the daily workings of prison life, as "Soledad Brother" George Jackson's prison letters so eloquently show. The prisons in turn are an extension of the normal functioning of the capitalist system. Every clash between the owners of industry and those who have nothing but their ability to work, every strike, every work stoppage, contains in embryo all the ingredients of Attica.

The Attica state prison is notoriously the worst in New York State. The prison population is approximately 85% black and Puerto Rican, mirroring the composition of prisons throughout the U.S. (with Chicanos rather than Puerto Ricans in the West).

The disproportionate number of black and Spanish-speaking prisoners directly reflects their caste-like segregation at the bottom rungs of society. The increasing decay and stagnation of industry is lumpenizing whole sections of these populations. Torn from or prevented from entering the productive process, larger and larger numbers are forced to turn to crime in order to survive. The prison system, designed to corral these "rejects" of capitalism, concentrates them, which to an extent socializes their condition and provides one of the material prerequisites for their recognition of their oppression as social rather than individual. This circumstance, plus the desperate conditions and the influx of a number of politically militant inmates leads inevitably to sporadic flashes of revolt.

However the severe dehumanization and oppressive conditions, directed against an already largely declassed and demoralized population who are only peripherally related to production, precludes this stratum from playing a sustained revolutionary role in the manner of the working class.

It is for these reasons that the theories of "prisoner vanguardism," "the most oppressed is the most revolutionary," etc., can only obscure the issue and do damage to the revolutionary struggle. The argument that all prisoners are victims of capitalism and therefore all are political prisoners is really moralistic liberalism and contributes to a dangerous idealizing of the prison population and an overestimation of its revolutionary role.

In the Leninist view, the critical revolutionary role can be played not by the unemployed and prison populations alone—however great their oppression and combativeness — but by their class brothers in the industrial working class. The elements squeezed out of productive roles under capitalism must be linked to the working class through a vanguard party based on the class but acting on behalf of all the oppressed. Minority workers in particular, through their links to the unemployed and forcibly lumpenized elements, will be crucial to such unity.

The Prisoners' Demands

The outstanding feature of the prisoners' demands consisted in their ability to unite a racially divided population. The 28 demands stressed an improvement in the conditions of all prisoners with special demands to end discrimination. By not pitting black and Puerto Rican against white by shouting about "white skin privileges" or framing demands divisively (only 2 of the 28 demands mention "black and brown" needs), the revolt achieved an extraordinary level of solidarity. The demands, if realized, would have benefitted the minority inmates far more than the whites simply because their oppression is greater, just as the call for full employment would clearly benefit minorities "more" since it is they who are unemployed in greater proportion.

The demands of the prisoners would provide, in part, a basis for rehabilitation in contrast to the standard procedure of punishment designed to reduce the prisoner to a subhuman stratum. The underlying premise of the demands is to provide conditions such that the dignity and independence of the prisoners will be preserved and developed—to approximate the minimum standards in daily life (minimum wage, union rights, industrial accident compensation, facilities for Spanish-speaking inmates, an end to abuse by guards or discrimination in parole hearings, the right of political association and access to ideas, etc.). That the prisoners applied this principle is shown by the humane treatment of the hostages, who ate better and slept on mattresses while the inmates nearly starved. In exemplary fashion, the prisoners refused to degrade their captives to the level of animals as they themselves had been degraded.

JERRY WURF

But is it conceivable that the capitalists will grant significant reforms at a time when they are stepping up their assault on the working class outside prison walls? Will they upgrade prison life while they are imposing a wage freeze, lifting rent control, cutting welfare expenditures and generally downgrading working-class life? The negotiations and acceptance of the prisoners' demands were simply a hypocritical stall to make the necessary military preparations. The "Committee of Observers"—only some of whom were sporadically allowed inside the prison at all —was also used to lull the inmates. The two demands which were refused—amnesty and replacement of the warden—were crucial to any real improvement in the lot of the prisoners.

Wohlforth-Wurf

The prisoners' own reform demands, which if realized would substantially improve prison conditions, contrast sharply with the demands voiced on 22 September by labor bureaucrat Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). As reported in the New York Daily News, Wurf threatened a slowdown by the prison guards his union represents. Complaining of "World War II vintage equipment," Wurf demanded more and better riot equipment—helmets, tear gas and masks, to be borrowed from police departments if necessary, and hiring of more guards. Yet he had the effrontery to maintain, "We're not at war with the inmates; the state of New York is at war with them." What forces does the state of New York employ to make war on the inmates if not the cops and guards Wurf is happy to represent?

We noted in Workers' Action #8 that AFSCME represents approximately 10,000 cops and prison guards. No union can represent both workers and the sworn servants of the capitalist class, the police and prison guards. As we pointed out then, the professional class traitors like Wurf are not alone in obscuring the crucial distinction between workers and cops. The self-styled "Marxists" of Wohlforth's Workers League could not contain their gutless opportunist appetites during the New York police strike: Wohlforth stressed then that cops after all do work for wages (so does J. Edgar Hoover) and called on New York labor to strike in support of the cops! What now prevents Wohlforth from supporting Wurf's demands on behalf of the Attica guards? Could it be that right now no self-professed "communist" — even Wohlforth — dares support those guards in any way, and Wohlforth must therefore shelve his "theory" of the working-class character of cops?

The prison "reforms" most likely to be accomplished are not the proposals of the inmates, nor even Wurf's, but those of the state Correction Department. According to Harold D. Butler, top "troubleshooter" for the Department, the state is considering a special maximum-security facility for "militant and aggressive inmates." Butler conceded that about 95% of the inmates of the proposed new prison would be black. State Senator John R. Dunne worried that this "might be a facility which could be characterized as a black concentration camp." It could indeed!

The prison system cannot be reformed; it must be abolished. While it is correct to struggle for demands which meet the immediate needs of the prisoners, it is essential that we raise the banner of Smash the Prisons! We must point out that the main bulk of the reforms proposed can only be realized when bourgeois property relations are overthrown. To abolish the prisons, we must abolish the bourgeois state of which they are part, and the class in whose interests that state is administered.

Rockefeller is keenly aware of the danger that a revolutionary impulse poses to his social order. The Attica rebellion reflected the growing restlessness and struggle taking place outside its walls. To preserve the capitalist system, every prison rebellion must be crushed—but this one had to be crushed with a vengeance because the rebels clearly had begun to view their struggle in political and even revolutionary terms. Rockefeller's concern over "outside forces," "revolutionary elements" and his focus on the prisoners' demand to be transported to a "non-imperialist country" betray his real fears.

In true revisionist fashion, the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party tried to play down the significance of and widespread sympathy for revolutionary ideas—in order to appeal to the liberals.

The SWP ends its article on Attica (Militant, 24 September) with a call to "win broad public support for the just demands of prisoners throughout the country." The SWP proposes to achieve this by calling for a "broad, national committee to investigate every aspect of this tragic event and bring the facts before the American people." To make this call in the aftermath of a series of "broad, national committees to investigate" some atrocity—all of which whitewashed the incidents in favor of the ruling class—is truly bankrupt. The SWP even reported uncritically the activity of the "Committee of Observers." Perhaps the SWP will suggest seeking out Hartke and Reuther, whom they recently promoted to leaders of the anti-war movement, as perfectly suited to serve on such a committee.

The CP, though far cruder, is just as frightened by the Attica events. The CP likened Rockefeller's alleged statement about "revolutionary uprisings" to the "vision of a diseased brain. It is James V. Forrestal all over again, leaping to his death, crying insanely: 'The Reds are coming!'" (Daily World, 18 September) Caught between the workers and the capitalists, these organizations must always play down the revolutionary side of a struggle in order to find some formula to appeal to liberals by reconciling the irreconcilable conflict of the classes.

The Panther press has been guilty of the same adaptation to liberalism. The 18 September Black Panther denounces the killing of the prisoners and guards in the same terms, by implication solidarizing with both groups. In order to appeal to the sympathies of the widest possible audience, the Panthers are deliberately obscuring the vital distinction between a section of the oppressed and the racist tools the ruling class uses to oppress them. It is important that the hostages were killed by Rockefeller's assault forces and not by the prisoners—important because the impulse toward terrorism in a struggle already lost only paves the way for further victimization of the rebels. But it is a far cry from this observation to the Panthers' attempt to present a common front with the interests and fears of prison guards!

Reformism and Adventurism

The ever cynical Workers League commits the opposite, adventurist, error. According to the WL Bulletin, "the revolution has begun." Nixon and the capitalist class "brought the war against the working class home." Further, the "rebellion also expressed the power of the American working class. It took almost a whole day [try 15 minutes—ed.] for the heavily armed troops to crush

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PL ATTACKS TROTSKYISTS

Lynn, Mass. —On 11 Sept. approximately thirty members and sympathizers of the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth participated in a demonstration of 250 people against the wage freeze and in support of wildcatting GE workers in Lynn, Mass. Marching under our own banners as a contingent, we intervened with our own slogans, leaflets, and literature in support of the demonstration. The demonstration was called by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), University Action Group (UAG), SDS, and several other organizations closely allied with PLP. During the course of the march PL marshals began to harass our literature-sales and distribution teams, trying to prevent them from selling or distributing literature to bystanders. Cane-wielding PL marshals began entering our contingent, tearing literature out of the hands of our smallest comrades and pushing them to the ground. When comrades were finally forced to take defensive measures, those doing so were brutally assaulted, some beaten with canes. Only by pulling our contingent closely together and separating ourselves slightly from the main body of the march were we able to deter further attacks.

Spartacist Banner At Lynn, Mass. March

PL Supporters "Debate" SL

Although this was the first attack of this sort by PL on the SL in the Boston area, our comrades in New York, Austin, and San Francisco have previously encountered similar PL attacks. The explanation for them is simple. PL finds itself politically bankrupt and unable to cope with sharp Trotskyist criticism from the SL. Time after time PL has arrived at bad and partial paraphrases of the positions worked out years earlier by the SL. Any close examination of its present politics exposes PL as lacking a political basis for existence. Attempts to conjure up one by a frenzied activism grow increasingly unsuccessful as PL flounders from issue to issue, trying in Weatherman fashion to substitute militancy for Marxism. Incapable of formulating a political line to anchor itself organizationally, PL tries to draw organizational lines in blood in typical Stalinist fashion.

On Monday, 13 Sept., ten SL members including three who are also members of UAG, attended a UAG regional meeting at Harvard University to raise the issue of the attack and to clarify UAG's position on the incident. Members and friends of PL vigorously tried to keep the question off the agenda. Failing that, they managed to force it to the last place on the agenda in hopes that most people would leave before its late discussion. But most people remained to hear us raise our points.

The initial presentation was made by an SLer who is a member of UAG and had been struck on the head with a cane during the march. She described the attack, naming the chief instigator, a PL member, and denounced PL for this Stalinist provocation. She stated that we would take steps to defend ourselves against future attacks, and made a motion that UAG repudiate PL's gangster attack on the SL and other left groups, referring particularly to attacks on members of UAG and the Mass Strike.

PL first replied that the attacks were the spontaneous work of workers and black welfare mothers outraged by the "anti-communist, anti-working-class" literature of the SL. Later PL admitted and defended the attacks, making it clear that they would continue and intensify their policy toward SL if it continued to criticize PL.

Stalinism

The SL responded by pointing out that gangsterism has historically been the last refuge of reformists and Stalinists made desperate by their exposure by revolutionists. They stressed the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism and offered a number of historical examples: the defeat of the Spanish Revolution and the subsequent victory of Franco's dictatorship which paved the way for World War II, the failures of the German CP in the 30's with the rise of fascism, the countless murders of Bolsheviks in the CPSU by the GPU.

In countering PL's accusation that discussing Stalinism among the working class breeds anti-communism, SL members pointed out that the nature of Stalinism must be confronted head on, that it is among the first questions that workers thinking about socialism demand an answer to. SL members said that what the working class needs is precisely a free flow of communist ideas which are necessary to building a revolutionary leadership, and not the paternalism of PL which at every moment seeks to prevent the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, i. e. Trotskyism, from reaching the working class. It was further added that according to the logic of PL, if the SL is sectarian and anti-communist for discussing the Stalinist character of PL among the working class, then PL's admitted sectarian attitude toward the working class for the past 4 or 5 years (PL Magazine—Nov. 1971, "Fight Sectarianism, Build Party Unity With the Masses") could only mean that they are guilty of having been anti-communist! In summation PL was advised to study the role of third period Stalinism in Germany, and to confront the fact that it is precisely the conceptions that PL holds today that were responsible for the catastrophic defeat of the powerful German CP by the fascists. PL's concept of "left-center coalitions"—uniting solely on democratic demands—and their failure to distinguish between the bourgeois class and bourgeois agents within the working class ultimately leads to the tactic of popular fronts from below. This was clearly demonstrated by their comment that "we PL would ally with anyone who is serious about smashing the wage freeze, including a group of McCarthy supporters."

Although the original proposal, which called for UAG to repudiate PL's attacks against other groups on the left, was organizationally defeated by crude appeals to party loyalty, the PL cadre experienced a crushing political defeat. They could respond to the SL's points only by recounting trivial folk tales supposed to prove their affinity for workers.

PL's crude impressionism and anti-theory bias is a continuing and self-reinforcing tie to its Stalinist roots. With this methodology hanging like a millstone around its neck, PL cannot learn the lessons of its own experiences. The Panthers' "United Front Against Fascism" Conference exclusions, the drive to force pro-working-class tendencies out of the old SDS, the NPAC Conference—surely these events should have taught PL that violence and suppression of opponent tendencies within the radical movement serve only to maintain the dominance of the reformists and the hustlers. Would-be revolutionaries must learn that all attempts to paternalistically "protect" the working class from exposure to competing tendencies and their ideas end in confusion and defeat. Failure to absorb this crucial lesson means that PL is condemned to perpetually destroy its best sides—its opposition to class collaboration, its repudiation of nationalism, its subjectively serious commitment to the interests of the working class—and deepen its oscillation between arid sectarianism and gutless opportunism. ■

ATTICA . . .

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the heroic resistance fighters in Attica." Exactly one year ago the WL argued that "From the prisons, to the factories, to the schools the working class is taking up the battle against this decaying and bankrupt system." in an article entitled "Revolutionary Wave Sweeps Prisons."

The revolution has not begun (or to put it another way, it began long ago). The reason the Workers League adopts this phrase at this time is to seek to leech off the favorable sentiment for George Jackson, who used the phrase in one of his prison letters. This tactic is reminiscent of the WL position that 1970 was the year Huey Newton turned to dialectics because of some remarks he made in a speech. The WL dropped this rapidly when it began to look as if 1971 would be the year Huey Newton turned to overt reformism.

Now we are not sticklers for style. And certainly a rhetorical phrase or flourish here and there is acceptable. We can even accept a lecture on "dialectics" although we find it difficult to understand how one week the Bulletin can say: "Yes, the revolution has begun. That is the meaning of Nixon's economic policies" and the following week state "The revolution has begun. It cannot be avoided. This is the lesson of Attica." But what is unacceptable is the cynical echoing of Weatherman rhetoric, or the twisting of Jackson's meaning, or adaptation to the very real adventurist tendencies in the militant black movement. Such bombast is frivolous. It is playing at revolution. It is setting people up!

Jackson's critique of the CP is similar to the debate between Huey Newton and William Paterson of the CP. The debate falsely counterposes the strategy of "picking up the gun" and "revolutionary suicide" against the "peaceful transition" strategy of class collaboration. Insofar as Jackson and Newton break with pacifism and reformism we support them, but insofar as they adapt to anarchism or terrorism they pose the real danger of fruitless confrontationism which disorients the militants in the face of their real revolutionary tasks and can lead to the literal annihilation of the most dedicated and courageous. It is cheap for the WL opportunists to project false unity with Newton or Jackson by blasting the obvious reformism of the CP. The real danger of the WL cry, "the revolution has begun," is that if taken seriously it must lead to the two symmetrical mistakes which have torn the Panthers apart: on the one hand adventurism; on the other, a desperate search for allies, since at present the conscious revolutionary forces are pitifully weak. In the case of the Workers League, it will lead them into the arms of the labor bureaucrats.

We support the most militant struggle against the state. We only seek to give that struggle the strategic perspectives that will lead to the workers conquering state power. The quasi-anarchist, quasi-Maoist strategies of urban "people's war" as the road to power are an obstacle to winning the working class to the revolutionary strategy. One of the tragic costs of these tactics is that many of the finest potential leaders of the struggle are cut down before they have a chance to develop.

The heroic Attica martyrs and George Jackson will long be remembered for their courageous stand against overwhelming odds. It is not the crimes (real or alleged) for which the prisoners were jailed, but the stand they took—rising far above capitalist-imposed ignorance, poverty, brutality and frame-up—for justice and against oppression, that the world's working people will remember.

Communist Working Collective:

FROM MAOISM

"The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles and France, which is now forming a workers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have got beyond the first phase of the internal struggle, other phases still lie before us. Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand higher than unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged Socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out."

—From a letter of Engels to his friend Sorge living in America, January 18, 1871.

The theoretical development of the Communist Working Collective (CWC) grew out of the experience of two comrades in the Maoist Bay Area Revolutionary Union. Their criticisms of the RU became the main ideas around which the CWC was founded and represented the beginning of our differentiation from mainstream Maoism. Our criticisms of the RU centered around the "Strategical United Front Against Imperialism," which called for unity with sections of the bourgeoisie, saw the proletarian party arising out of this united front, and subordinated communist work to uncritical support of various petty-bourgeois struggles, especially national struggles.

In reaction to the tailism of the RU and the RYM(SDS), the two comrades supported and drew close to the California Communist League. The CCL (now the CL), which originated in the Communist Party and the Provisional Organizing Committee, is a small sectarian Stalinist group who see themselves as a pre-party formation, publish a newspaper, and require a working-class job for all members. We were soon repelled by the conscious anti-intellectualism and workerism which veiled a crude economism and was then passed off as theory. We saw that theory must take precedence over practice in the period of pre-party formations. The main void in the American movement was the absence of a revolutionary program, and dogmatic adaptions of various formulations of Stalin's Third International would not fill it. We became convinced that this program could not be developed within the bureaucratic confines of the CCL. We were critical of the deification of Stalin and could not accept the analysis that the restoration of capitalism in the USSR began with the last heartbeat of J. V. Stalin. We believed that Stalin had made a number of important errors, such as the mass purges of the 1930's. But we thought that Mao Tse-Tung, through the "Cultural Revolution," had rectified these errors with the discovery that classes and class struggle continue during socialism. We counterposed Mao to Stalin and came into direct conflict with the CCL who equated any criticism of Stalin as an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat ("d of p").

A similar struggle was also developing in the CCL's youth group, the Young Communist League. After breaking with the CCL both groups fused to form the CWC.

Analysis

The CWC began by analyzing the programs of the Bolsheviks, the CPUSA, Weatherman, RYM II, and the Progressive Labor Party. Our basic criteria were the primacy of the class struggle, propagating socialism in practice, recognizing the need for a Leninist vanguard party, and publishing a theoretical communist newspaper capable of serving as a collective organizer. Within these programmatic principles, we made numerous criticisms, but could not advance toward a program.

Applying Mao Tse-Tung Thought to the U.S. was complicated by its inherent ambiguities. Groups as divergent as Weatherman and PL could claim that they were the expression of Maoism in America. Two platitudinous statements on the black struggle are the sum total of Mao's guidance to the U. S. movement. The clearest Chinese statement was a public letter to the CPUSA in response to their support of the Soviet Union against the Chinese. The CPC called upon the U. S. communists to "carry on and enrich the revolutionary tradition of William Z. Foster... form the broadest united front against imperialism... carry through to final victory the great cause of the people of all countries for world peace, national liberation, democracy, and socialism." This was precisely the RU's strategical united front. We rationalized that this was not the current Chinese position, that it was written in 1963 when the CPC was controlled by Liu. In short, we tried to paint the RU as right deviationists from Mao's Thought.

Our position on the Chinese international strategy was filled with contradictions. We accepted the two-stage revolution theory in the colonial countries but disagreed with the same two-stage theory when applied to world revolution. We were dubious of Lin Piao's strategy of triumphant colonial revolutions surrounding the imperialist countries, "the countryside surrounding the cities." This strategy, based on united front (really popular front) national liberation struggles, relegated the proletariat to a supporting role. A correct strategy, we thought, should be the reverse: only a working class revolution in the imperialist countries could completely overthrow international capital. In Long Live Peoples War, Lin Piao's only reference to the proletariat of the West was: "Since WWII, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries."

We were disturbed by the lack of analysis by Lin Piao of the history of the western proletariat but we were ignorant of the theoretical and historical experience of the working class since the Russian revolution except through Stalin's falsified histories. Not understanding the actual basis of Maoism we tried to separate Mao from the strategic united front against imperialism, from Stalinism, and from the defeats of the Third International. In short, we tried to separate Maoism from Mao; as a result, after four months we were no closer to a program than when we formed.

Permanent Revolution

The turning point of the CWC was a debate over the nature of the Chinese state in 1949. Most of the group concluded that "New Democracy" was a fundamental revision of Marx and Lenin on the class nature of the state. Our view, though incomplete, logically would lead straight to Trotsky's Permanent Revolution. After this discussion and a split over whether critical analysis of Mao should continue, we were able to begin our task of independently re-establishing the theoretical and historical continuity of the communist movement.

How could a joint dictatorship ("New Democracy") exist? Marx and Lenin defined the state as special bodies of armed men enforcing the rule of a single class upon the rest of society. In the modern world, either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie controlled the state apparatus. There could be no third state, no "New Democracy." Mao called for a coalition government of the proletariat, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, "national bourgeoisie," and even, for a time, the so-called comprador bourgeoisie (with Chiang, thus making a bloc of five classes!)—leaving the question of who controls the state apparatus unresolved. For the first time we understood the reason for Mao's uncritical support of the Indonesian CP immediately prior to its physical elimination, and the lack of any subsequent self-criticism by the CPC or Mao.

In the course of this investigation we learned that current Chinese editions of Mao's writings differed radically from the originals. This policy of outright falsification alone destroyed Maoism's scientific pretensions.

The debate over New Democracy was actually no debate at all. The two comrades supporting New Democracy said simply: "Your analysis is Trotskyist" and "unless it is in Mao, it is not true." (In which edition? one might ask!) Mao taught that intellectuals should go to the masses and learn from them, so when Mao was criticized, our dogmatists who had been pushing for programmatic investigation and study of dialectical materialism, flip-flopped and demanded that we propagate Maoism to factory workers as our primary arena and at every step present our theoretical achievements to them for final judgement. The overwhelming majority of the CWC determined to proceed with our analysis. Three comrades, clutching Red Books to their breasts, fled from our threatening ideas. They eventually buried themselves in a small dogmatic sectlet, parroting invincible Maothought.

The CWC then divided into subcommittees to accomplish two basic tasks: to write a draft program and to examine anew the history of the Communist International. The latter committee immediately launched into a thorough reading of Trotsky who had played a prominent role in the CI's early history. It was here that we first realized that Trotsky's analysis paralleled our own. But it was Trotsky! Suddenly we felt the full weight of the emotional spectre of the splitter/wrecker agent Trotsky looming before us. On the most significant question of the Chinese revolution we were "Trotskyites"!

It became immediately necessary to reorganize the work, abandon the committee system and bring the entire collective into this basic study. Fortunately, the other comrades who had put together a threadbare draft program recognized that fundamentals take precedence even over program. We began the Stalin-Trotsky study with some of us already embryonic Trotskyists.

What is the relationship between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism? This question, important above all to nations which have not achieved their bourgeois revolutions, we resolved by study of the experience of the Russian Revolution.

The Menshevik view tied the proletariat to the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie which the victory of the bourgeois revolution would put in power. The proletariat under the more favorable conditions of the bourgeois republic could then begin its struggle for power. Permanent Revolution advocated by Trotsky maintained that, "the complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry." Upon seizing power the dictatorship of the proletariat would immediately be faced with both democratic and socialist tasks. The peasantry was not an independent force but must either follow the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The seizure of power by the Russian proletariat would spark revolution in the West, protecting Russia from bourgeois restoration and providing immense resources for backward Russia's socialist development.

History proved Trotsky's position correct and Lenin adopted this strategy in April, 1917 (April Theses). This strategy remains the only correct strategy for revolution in the colonies.

After the Russian Revolution Stalin and later Mao revived the Menshevik two-stage revolution which subordinated the proletariat to the liberal or national bourgeoisie. Because of ties to imperialism and landholding, the national bourgeoisie cannot carry out the bourgeois revolution. The two-stage strategy means subordination of the workers and peasants to imperialism and the

TO TROTSKYISM

landowners, leading the workers into the inevitable reaction and slaughter. Just as Stalin's support of the Kuomintang led to the Shanghai massacre and destruction of the Chinese Revolution in 1927 so Mao's New Democracy led the Indonesian party to massacre in 1965. Such are the fruits of New Democracy.

The actual history of the Chinese revolution repudiates New Democracy. The Chinese Communist Party seized state power in 1949 and established a deformed workers' state characterized by nationalized property and a bureaucracy ruling over the working class. All the talk of "The Dictatorship of Four (or five) Classes" aside, the CPC (including the Red Army) and nobody else controlled the state. Its reformism led it to talk of sharing the power, something it could not actually do in China without being overthrown by a bourgeois counter-revolution. Those who took the CPC's words literally—like the PKI of Indonesia—were crushed.

Only a victory of the working class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can break imperialism, carry through the agrarian revolution and enable the working class to rule in their own right.

What is Socialism?

An essential task of ours was a re-establishment of the basic axioms of Marxism-Leninism. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin all believed that communism would replace capitalism only after a transitional period during which the proletariat enforces its dictatorship over all the other classes.

Socialism according to Marx and Lenin means the lower phase of communism. It is a society characterized by common property ownership, very high productivity of labor, the absence of class-based social antagonisms, the replacement of the standing army by a universal people's militia, material incentives limited to equal pay for equal work, full emancipation of women, disappearance of the age-old distinction between town and country, etc. In short, it is only the beginning, but definitely the beginning, of man's ascent from the "kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom."

It was obvious that the socialism which Marx and Lenin envisioned would be a world society, necessarily embracing the industrialized countries of Europe, the United States and Japan.

Now we understood why Stalin was forced to deny one year after the great purges that there was any longer any class struggle in the Soviet Union. To proclaim socialism in the Soviet Union he had to deny the glaring non-socialist features of the Soviet Union. The Chinese "discovery" that classes still exist under socialism is equivalent to discovering that their socialism is not socialism.

Any analysis of the Third International must come to grips with the Stalin-Trotsky debate on socialism in a single country. All would-be revolutionaries are forced, willy-nilly, to a position on this single vital question. Thorough study of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky revealed the true nature of the debate.

International Revolution or National Reformism

The theory of socialism in a single country requires a denial of the fundamental characteristics of modern capitalist economy and cuts the heart out of Marxism. In The German Ideology and elsewhere Marx states very clearly that one of capitalism's greatest achievements is the creation of a proletariat who is a world historical, universal man based on the international division of labor and the supra-national character of modern productive forces. The motive force of history is the ever developing productive forces. For a new historical society to evolve this new society must unfetter the world productive forces. Denying this is tantamount to denying Marxism—precisely what Stalinism-Maoism does.

Because of uneven development the proletariat in the colonial countries may be first able to seize power. Their seizure of power does not abolish their dependence on the international division of labor. As the former colony develops it becomes more dependent on the world economy. Lenin spoke of "a test which is being prepared by the Russian and international market, to which we are subordinate, with which we are bound up, from which we cannot break away." The only hope for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the backward country is clearly set forth by Lenin on the 5th anniversary of Soviet rule. "Even before the revolution and likewise after it, our thought was: immediately, or at any rate very quickly, a revolution will begin in the other countries, in the capitalistically more developed countries.... or in the contrary case we will have to perish.... The dates have shifted, the pattern of events has formed itself in many respects unexpectedly, but the fundamental orientation remains unchanged."

Once we grasped the essence of socialism in one country, i.e., national reformism, all the other pieces of the puzzle of the temporary postponement of revolution in the advanced countries fell into place.

To mask socialism in a single country in Leninist phrases Stalin had to turn Lenin inside out. All the subsequent lies and falsifications of history were designed to reconcile the revolutionary internationalism of Marx and Lenin with the counter-revolutionary national reformism of Stalin and Mao. Here is the thread which runs through the popular front, social fascism, support of the liberal bourgeoisie against the proletariat, peaceful co-existence, and the absence of a communist international.

National reformism represents the world outlook not of the proletariat but of the bureaucracy on the backs of the proletariat. The principal historical cause for the degeneration of the Soviet regime was Russian backwardness and universal want confronted with hostile capitalist encirclement, setting the basis for fulfillment of Marx's predictions that so long as want was merely made general, "all the old crap" would rise up again, i.e., the development of a privileged bureaucracy. International revolution, which unfetters the world productive forces, is contrary to the interests of the bureaucracy for it would eliminate the basis on which it rests. The position of the Stalinist bureaucracies is analogous to the labor bureaucracy under capitalism. Although their social base is the proletariat they occupy privileged positions, maintained by collaboration with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

According to Stalin only intervention by the capitalist countries can prevent the building of socialism in a single country. He advanced the tactic of the "neutralizing of the world bourgeoisie" by the world proletariat to ensure the building of socialism unopposed. The world would attain socialism through the Directorate of State Planning for the USSR, through peaceful economic competition. The world proletarian movement is turned into border guards for "socialist countries." The Communist International first degenerates into a pressure group on the world bourgeoisie and then is dissolved to give concrete assurances to the bourgeoisie that the bureaucracy has no plans for their overthrow.

The fundamental identity between Maoism and Stalinism was the reason why the Chinese would neither summarize the Third International or call for a new International. The anti-imperialist united front—a bloc between the Chinese bureaucracy and sections of the world bourgeoisie is a concrete betrayal of the workers and peasants. The Chinese bureaucracy hopes to transform its alliance with tinpot national bourgeoisies of colonial countries into a grand alliance with the imperialist bourgeoisie, e.g., from Sihanouk to Nixon. Membership in Peking's anti-imperialist front consists of everybody from the Pakistani military regime of Yahya Khan to imperialist Japan. Mao calls for a "patriotic united front of all strata of the Japanese people" within one of the most developed imperialist nations in the world. Why? Because the victory of the working class in Japan, the Industrial powerhouse of Asia, would immediately precipitate the political overthrow of the Chinese bureaucracy by the Chinese working class. Here stands Mao, stripped of his red veil, fighting for the interests of the bureaucracy.

Avakian on the Run

In a real sense our collective struggle had been one of defeating the revisionism in the communist movement exemplified by the RU. For a full year we had probed Maoism for something to refute the RU united front strategy. Nothing was forthcoming. Only by basing ourselves on Lenin and Trotsky did we finally come up with a concise, revolutionary refutation of the RU's class collaboration policy of the popular front and understanding of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies. In July we had a chance to intervene in a panel debate on Chinese foreign policy between Maoists Bob Avakian (RU) and Frank Pestana and former SWPer Milt Zaslow (Liberation Union), and a lecture on the RU united front strategy by Avakian.

The night of the panel on China's foreign policy fell ironically on the day after Nixon announced his visit to China, putting the defenders of Mao in an extremely shamefaced position. Far more important, though, was that the lines were drawn this time not between the "left" and right Maoists as so often in Los Angeles, but between Stalinism and Trotskyism. Between our leaflet, Zaslow's devastating critique, and comments from the floor, the debate was a complete and unconditional rout of Stalinism and Maoism. Barely a Stalinist dared to speak from the floor as time and again Avakian and Pestana completely contradicted themselves in their attempts to defend the indefensible Chinese betrayals. In such a position, Maoist debate was replaced with the Stalinist stand-by: slandering the personal integrity of Trotsky. In all, they got creamed.

To top it off Avakian personally attacked a CWC member (a former RUer) for "corrupting the youth" and threatened him with violence if he appeared the following night. The CWCer, replying with the slogan "Long Live Socrates!" proceeded to form a defense front and returned the next night in force.

The collective proprietors of the hall in collaboration with Avakian avoided another "terrible" night by limiting questions to 30 seconds and prohibiting discussion and debate.

The year's effort had transformed an insignificant internal struggle within Stalinism into a component part of the historic and worldwide battle of Marxism-Leninism against its detractors, thereby helping to prepare the way for the socialist revolution.

By the time of the RU confrontation we had concluded the greater portion of our examination of Trotskyist groupings. We had long been critical of the SWP's rampant revisionism even when we were still Maoists. In fact, one of the main obstacles to taking Trotskyism seriously was the

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Editor's Note: This article originally contained lengthy excerpts from the CWC-Wohlforth correspondence. In the light of Wohlforth's article, "Spartacist and Political Principle" in the 20 September issue of the Bulletin, in which he quotes the first two letters in full and not a word of the CWC reply, we have decided to print the CWC reply of 18 May in full on page 6.

WORKERS LEAGUE SUPPRESSES LETTER

WOHLFORTH: What are you afraid of?

In his article "Spartacist and Political Principle" appearing in the 20 September Bulletin Wohlforth quotes the full text of Marvin Treiger's letter of 21 April, and his own letter to Treiger of 27 April, in which he declares both discusslons with the Spartacist League and joint actions with Maoists to be incompatible with any cooperative relatlonship with the Workers League. That's all he quotes. He merely states, "Needless to say we soon heard from them rejecting our approach and thus the announcement of their fusion with Spartacist does not come to us quite as a shock. The fusion is based on a common hostility to principled politics." He further asserts, referring presumably to the CWC's unquoted reply, that "Treiger could see nothing wrong with standing together on a 'class line' wlth Maoists who support the butchery of the Bengali people. Thus his 'class line' did not extend beyond the borders of the United States." We print here in full the letter by which Wohlforth "soon heard from them," not one sentence of which Wohlforth dared to print!

May 18, 1971

Dear Comrade Wohlforth,

We are writing you in reply to the letter we recently received and which, we assume, was discussed by the Politlcal Committee (PC) of the Workers League (WL). We were taken aback by the approach you and the PC took towards our organization. There was hardly a single point you made with whlch we agreed or felt was historlcally accurate. Take for example your evaluation of Comrade Treiger's methodological approach in his cover letter and in what we will refer to as a "Letter to a Maoist." Your position that since there was no discussion of the Fourth International in Treiger's main letter and since, at least in our opinion, we have "... definitely consolidated around Trotskyism and ... intend to begin investigation into the Fourth International in a more developed way," we "... separate out 'Stalinism' and 'Trotskyism' from the actual development of the Third International and the Fourth International," and therefore "... go over to the idealist outlook of Deutscher who abstracts Trotsky the 'hero' and his 'ldeas' out of and opposed to Trotsky's actual struggle to construct the Fourth International." From this, we gather, you implied our methodological approach will lead us to oppose the Fourth International. Nothing could be more wrong! What your position shows is that you completely misunderstand the nature of Treiger's "Letter to a Maoist." Let us explain. True, there was no formal discussion of the Fourth International in "Letter to a Maoist," whose main purpose was to confront a Maoist organization in San Francisco with the basic truths of Marxism which were distorted for so long by the Stalinists. However, to draw the conclusion you did means to completely miss the spirit if not the letter of Treiger's document. The entire document is a restatement of the Marxist position of proletarian internationalism, analyzes the bankruptcy of the Maoist international "strategy" and poses the question of why the CCP has never attempted to build a new Internattonal to all Maoist organizations. It further shows that the failure of the Chinese to develop a new International is an excellent exposure of their departure from internationalism. This stand of ours can only mean that we see an international party of the working class as absolutely indispensable without which there can be no proletarian revolution. Moreover, "Letter to a Maoist" in stating: "The ideas embodied in the Transitional Program [which was developed during the first four congresses of the Third International—G.R.] find their historic continuation in the 1934 program of the Fourth International," clearly indicates that we saw the program of the Fourth International as the theoretical continuation of Leninism. We purposely avoided the question of the Fourth International as it stands today because of our insufficient research at that time. The statement "... we intend to begin an investigation into the Fourth International in a more developed way" only means that there is still much ground to cover before we are soundly familiar with Trotskyist strategy and tactics and with the state of the present International. Nothing else can be read into this position.

April 24

Concerning the action on April 24th. We were dismayed by your attempting to avoid the question of our differences on the nature of the rally by implying that we called for our own demonstration. What else could this statement of yours mean? "This is why it is completely wrong for you to call for a demonstration on April 24th whlch does not mention either the labor party or the fight for the general strike." And once again. "You say the Maoist October League and the Maoist Long March declined having joint action wlth you and we assume also us on April 24th." [my italics—G.R.] At no time did we call for a demonstration independent of the WL demonstration. If so, where was this rally of ours? Where did it take place? The Bulletin report of the San Francisco events by Jeff Sebastian stated the following: "... the Workers League and supporters broke from the march, and... proceeded to the park where an independent meeting was held and addressed by Workers League spokesmen and by representatlves of the Communist Workers [sic] Collective in Los Angeles." The Bulletin completely contradicted this fantastic notion of yours. Our position was calling for "All out support of the Workers League call for a United Front rally of the working class against the war." The error we made was that we misunderstood the nature of the WL's proposed action. This was mainly due to our misreading of the April 5th Bulletin editorial. Instead of realizing that it was supposed to be a rally of the WL and its supporters, we thought (also because of the loose usage of "joint action" on the part of some comrades of the WL) what was intended was a call for a united front working class action against the war. On this point we were totally wrong. However, this does not mean you can simply pass over our differences on the form the rally should take by falsely implying we called our own rally. That just will not do!

With regard to our not mentioning "... either the labor party or the fight for the general strike." We didn't have a consolidated collective position at that time (nor, incidentally, do we now) on these specific demands of the Transitional Program. The reason for this is we have not yet evaluated the history of the labor party demand in light of the present U.S. conditions. Thus we don't know whether it is correct to call for a labor party in opposition to a workers party or vice versa. Same is true for the general strike call. Under what conditions, circumstances, etc., does one call for a general strike? This is why we didn't take a position on these demands. However, in no way did our abstention on these questions prevent us from supporting the rally at which these slogans were raised.

Sectarian

We further object to your position that we cannot have joint discussions or joint actions with the WL while maintaining relations of any sort with Spartacist. Our group is now in the process of thoroughly investigating the present anti-Pabloite Trotskyist organizations and are not about to conclude that Spartacist "... is completely hostile to the Fourth International and bears no relationship whatsoever to Trotskyism" just on your word. We may conclude your analysis of their organization is correct, however, we feel, this conclusion must be made on the basis of our own independent investigation. Nevertheless Spartacist has shown a healthy attitude toward encouraging and alding our investigation (which is more than we can say about your approach). That is why we will continue holding discussions with them. For these reasons, we sincerely hope the PC of the WL reconsiders its present organizational position towards our group. If however, the PC decides to keep its present policy, we will still continue to investigate the WL in spite of any roadblock you may throw up in our way.

Further, We nppose the sectarlan position you expressed toward the Maoists and other working class tendencies. "In any event we will not have joint actions with Maoists. Maoism today means bodies of revolutionaries lining the streets of Dacca and floating down the rivers of Ceylon. We do not understand how you can say you have 'consolidated around Trotskyism' while at the same time you seek joint actions with the supporters of the butchers of the Bengalis and even with the Liberation Union...." First of all you make a methodological error in seeing these organizations as finished party formations rather than groupings going through tremendous change. The October League and the Long March are based in Los Angeles and have between fifteen to twenty members each. The "semi-Trotskyist" Liberation Union is also a strictly local organization made up of Maoists and "Trotskyists" and has no more than thirty to forty members. Because of the crlsis of world capitalism and the capitulation of the Chinese Stalinists to Imperialism, many of these groups (as we did) are in fact looking to Trotskyism to lead them out of the Stalinist swamp. Your position would objectively hinder this development. Secondly, refusing to hold joint actions with Maoists on the basis that they support the foreign policy of the Chinese government is absolutely ludicrous. The Stalinists, Pabloites, Social-Democrats, and trade unionists all currently support either the existing Stalinist states or some kind of reactionary capitalist government. Furthermore, all of them have at one time or another either objectively or subjectively supported the annihilation of revolutionary struggles and are thus responsible for the deaths of thousands of revolutionaries. However, does this mean that you categorically refuse to engage in joint actions with any of these types of organizations? We feel the logic of your position must lead to either a sectarian liquidatlon of the united front reminiscent of Third Period Stalinism or to a series of opportunist zig-zags—now condemning joint action, now pragmatically entering into it.

Method

From your position on our relations with Spartacist and from your approach to joint action with other working class tendencies, we can make the following evaluation of what seems to be your tactical approach. The WL has no intention of engaging in action with any tendency that does not objectively recognize it as the leading Leninist party. How else can your approach toward our organization be explained? What purpose could your "proposal" at the end of the letter possibly serve than to make us immediately acknowledge the leading role of the WL in the U.S. revolution? What other explanation can there be for your bombastic declaration in the April 5th Bulletin editorial "... either McGovern-Hartke or the Workers League..."? Here is a manifestation in practice of the sectarian danger of which we spoke. There is nothing wrong in principle in calling your own rally. But when you do so vaguely speaking of joint action, not building a united front and then counterposing your organization and your few supporters to everyone else, then we can only conclude that this represents nothing but an extreme example of "left-wing" childishness. Such an approach if persisted in can only hinder the development of the WL into a mass Bolshevik-Leninist party.

Finally, we must make it absolutely clear to you that we will not capitulate to your pressure tactics. In no way will we be forced into a position of holding discussions with only the WL on your "principled party grounds." For us to take such a step would mean that we concluded that the International Committee of the Fourth International and the WL were the continuators of Trotskyism in our time. The next step could only be discussions on organizational merger after which fusion would take place. Needless to say, so far there is no basis for us to reach such a conclusion.

In concluding, we hope for the above stated reasons you consider re-evaluating your methological approach toward us and towards other working class tendencies in general. Hope to hear from you soon.

With communist greetings,

George Rep
for the Communlst Working Collective

SPARTACIST LEAGUE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM – LABOR DAY WEEKEND, 1971

Continued from Page 1

SPARTACIST LEAGUE PLENUM....

orandum to the CC on the Transformation of the SL" evidenced a deep political unity between the two organizations. Following the ratification of the decisions of the joint session in caucus and the vote to fuse, members of the CWC Executive Committee were coopted to the SL Central Committee and Political Bureau. The newly fused organization closed the session with the singing of the Internationale.

This deep unification represents the first such fusion to occur in the Trotskyist movement in the U.S. in over three decades. Coming from Maoism to Trotskyism, and approaching the question of Trotskyism in its broadest international, theoretical and programmatic implications, the CWC rejected as qualitatively unfit the revisionist SWP of the United Secretariat and Wohlforth's Workers League of the so-called International Committee. The CWC-SL unification is a striking vindication of the Leninist regroupment perspective of the SL. Flatly counterposed to the sectarian position that the vanguard party can be built by linear recruitment of individuals in isolation from the pressure of class struggle and its polarizing impact on revisionist and centrist formations, and likewise in direct opposition to the methodology of the rotten bloc which is sectarianism's mirror image, the SL's Leninist regroupment perspective indicates the way forward toward the achievement of the vanguard party and the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

During the first session, the Plenum adopted a jointly agreed upon resolution regulating the relations of the SL with its newly formed youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY). The founding conference of the RCY (in its earlier stage organized as the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus) which immediately preceded the SL Plenum represents living evidence of the transformation of the SL from a propaganda group to the nucleus of the vanguard party. The RCY is a Trotskyist youth organization. Its relations with the SL are fully Leninist, following the guidelines worked out by the first four Congresses of the Third International, which codified the relation of the youth league to the party as "organizationally independent but politically subordinate."

This concept of a living communist youth group, in which the youth comrades, party and non-party alike, play a real if subordinate role in all discussion and decision-making in our movement as a whole is to be contrasted with the Marcy-Healy technique of creating a front group of young epigones. This technique reflects the methodology of third period Stalinism and leads to the creation of youth groups in which the party members act as a fraction of the party. The RCY is also to be contrasted to the youth groups of more mature revisionist trends where the youth leadership simply consists of the most ambitious lackeys of the party tops. The RCY is a disciplined part of the Trotskyist movement as a whole in carrying out the decisions it helps arrive at. In this spirit, the Plenum coopted to the SL Central Committee and Political Bureau three members of the RCY National Committee selected by the RCY to function as its representatives to the party. The RCY represents the future of Trotskyism in the U.S.

International

The Plenum considered other broad areas of work indicative of the growing importance of the Spartacist League both nationally and internationally. Comrades heard reports on the Trotskyist movement in Europe and Australasia, as well as an evaluation of the various tendencies in the international movement. Special emphasis was laid on the crisis of the United Secretariat, which under the pressure of rising international class struggle which has exposed its revisionist theories as bankrupt, has experienced sharp factional conflicts between its major sections and a number of splits to the left within several national sections. It was noted that the International Committee, an unprincipled bloc between the British SLL and the French OCI together with their respective satellites, teeters on the edge of an open split. It was pointed out that the upsurge in class struggle has been viewed by the revisionists as merely the arising of a new arena—the workers—on a par with other "constituencies" and to be tail-ended accordingly through accommodation to its sellout leadership; the methodology remains unchanged. Steps were taken to advance the SL perspective of rebuilding the Fourth International through political struggle leading to a process of splits and fusions.

Fractions

Commissions on Spartacist League work in the trade unions and among women presented reports. The difficult tasks of building communist fractions in the trade union movement were discussed. It was noted that there are few reformist buffers in the U.S. working class standing between the primitive labor lieutenants of capital and the mass of the workers. Nixon's new economic program gives the bureaucrats little room to maneuver, and the question of labor as an independent political force will be sharply posed in the next period. The women's liberation commission reported on the special tasks encountered in struggling in the women's liberation movement as a socialist, working-class, anti-feminist contingent. Perspectives were adopted to guide work in these arenas in the coming period. Most important was the election of a National Trade Union Director to guide the work of the SL in continuing to implant itself in the working class.

Vanguard Nucleus

The organic fusion with the CWC, the founding of the RCY, the growth of our activity in the labor unions, renewed opportunities to win black cadres to Trotskyism and our intervention in the women's liberation movement which reciprocally strengthen our ability to implement our international perspectives—all point to a level of functioning characteristic of the nucleus of a vanguard party. Yet our forces, while greatly augmented in the last year, remain those of a sub-propaganda group. To achieve the wrenching transformation to a vanguard nucleus, to utilize fully our increased strength, to face squarely the historic tasks posed, the Plenum adopted a perspective to qualitatively expand the capacity of the SL as a revolutionary Trotskyist organization. Beginning with this October issue, a new Marxist working-class monthly newspaper, Workers Vanguard (incorporating Workers' Action) will be published by the Spartacist League. In conjunction with our increased ability to intervene in the youth arena through the RCY, an augmented program of industrialization, to implant Trotskyist cadre into the class and to create communist fractions in the labor movement, becomes increasingly vital. This goes hand in hand with a drive to penetrate the most oppressed layers of the American working class, especially the doubly oppressed black population. No organization lacking a significant black component of its cadre can hope to become the vanguard party of the U.S. working class. Stress will also be laid on the geographic extension of the SL.

Only unflinching revolutionary honesty and steadfast determination flowing from deep Marxist political and programmatic clarity can lead to the successful transformation of the Spartacist League. Our optimism in undertaking this course is the revolutionary optimism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Our confidence is a confidence in the program and principles of Marxism-Leninism, in Trotskyism.

FORWARD TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

FORWARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION! ■

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CWA WILDCAT

Striking members of CWA local 1101 in New York City interviewed by Workers Vanguard reporters expressed deep dissatisfaction with the terms of the contract and indignation over CWA international President Beirne's back-to-work order. The incensed ranks have forced local president Ricky Carnivale to make a show of militancy by continuing the strike. But the conduct of the strike by Carnivale and the local strike committee virtually guarantees a slow strangulation of the strike.

The local bureaucracy has studiously avoided the type of united labor action which could make the wildcat more than an isolated holding action. Instead of appealing to other workers in the phone company and other industries to strike in support of 1101, Carnivale and the rest have limited their tactics to relatively safe—and relatively useless—appeals to "the public" as consumers, such as Dennis L. Serrette's proposal for a consumer boycott of the phone company. Meanwhile, the local 1150 Executive Board has ordered its membership back to work, crossing the 1101 picket lines.

At a local rally held on 17 Sept., one bureaucrat even appealed to nearby cops as friends of the strike: "The men in blue understand our situation; these workingmen are working without a contract."

A recent New York Times editorial, sensing that the strike is simply being allowed to drift towards disintegration, demanded that the phone workers surrender or be smashed. The answer must be a resolute struggle to broaden the strike and bring the company to its knees.■

ARAB STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

A representative of the Spartacist League attended the national Convention of the Organization of Arab Students held in Houston, Texas, August 26-29. The following is a condensation of the message of solidarity he presented to the Convention on behalf of the SL.

"This conference takes place after very serious setbacks in the Near East—the almost complete physical liquidation of the Palestine resistance movement by Hussein's army, the aborted coups in Egypt, Morocco and the Sudan, the right-wing coup in Syria, the shift to the right of all Arab governments including the most demagogic and 'radical.'

"The Spartacist League calls for the unconditional military defense of the Palestine resistance movement against Arab reaction, freedom for all imprisoned Arab revolutionaries like Tayseer Al-Zobari of the DPFLP, and complete independence and full democratic rights for all revolutionary and workers' organizations.

"The working class must lead the struggle. The creation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat is the most immediate task facing Arab revolutionaries. The Palestinian struggle is no exception to the Permanent Revolution. The democratic resolution of the Palestinian situation can be accomplished only by the revolutionary party that includes both militant Israeli workers and Palestinian Arabs in its ranks. Only such a party can break Israeli workers from the chauvinist Mapam-Histadrut misleadership. And only such a party, leading to a multi-national proletarian dictatorship in Israel and the Arab countries, can resolve the oppression of the Palestinians, the South Sudanese, the Kurds and other national minorities.

"Such a party must be a part of a democratic centralist revolutionary international built by the struggle for political clarification and the program of proletarian revolution.

"The fundamental axis of our difference with the Arab revolutionary groups is over the relationship between national liberation and proletarian revolution. Those groups which see these struggles as separate believe that the Arab capitalist classes and the Arab regimes—the enemies of proletarian revolution—can be won to fight for national liberation. The DPFLP projects as the strategy for proletarian revolution the Maoist doctrine of 'people's war' and 'people's fronts.' These formulations are inseparable from the complementary Maoist doctrine of the two-stage revolution and the bloc of four classes. Put into practice, such doctrines lead straight to political disaster.

"In this era of world imperialism, the Arab national bourgeoisies are as dependent on imperialism for their survival as imperialism is dependent upon them for the continued subjugation and plunder of the Arab countries. This lesson is written in the blood of Arab liberation fighters.

"We must give no confidence to the left-talking nationalist-militarist Arab regimes. It is our task to replace the so-called "revolutionary councils" of the colonels by revolutionary councils of the workers and peasants.■

FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM

Continued from Page 5

politics of the SWP. We noted their similarities to the CPUSA, sharpened up our historical understanding of the particular twists their opportunism took (Pabloism, Cuba, etc.) and then turned to those groups which appeared to be applying Trotsky's ideas in a serious manner.

We spent considerable time examining the "Russian Question," that is, the class nature of the Soviet State. In the course of this inquiry we studied both wings of the International Socialists (state capitalist and bureaucratic collectivist) and found both wanting. We concluded that Trotsky's analysis of the deformed workers state as an obstacle on the road to socialism, as the first phase of the restoration of capitalism but not itself that restoration, remains the most sensible ordering of the facts. We should note in passing that while we did not consider the IS practice in party building to be Leninist, we found the individual members and the local Los Angeles leadership to have a democratic and scientific spirit in our all-too-few discussions with them.

Wohlforth Exposed

Our investigation of organizations considering themselves Trotskyist led us to study the politics of the Workers League and the Spartacist League. Our contact with the Workers League soon revealed to us the spurious character of that organization and its dependence upon the blind loyalty of its membership to it and its international bloc in place of Trotskyist politics. In a letter of April 27 Tim Wohlforth declared that the Spartacist League "is completely hostile to the Fourth international and bears no relationship whatever with Trotskyism" and that "you cannot have joint discussions or joint actions with us while at the same time maintaining relations of any sort with Spartacist." We replied on May 18 that we could reach such a conclusion only "on the basis of our own independent investigation." We noted that "Spartacist has shown a healthy attitude toward encouraging and aiding our investigation (which is more than we can say about your approach)" and reaffirmed our intention to continue our investigation of the SL and WL "in spite of any roadblock you may throw up in our way."

If Wohlforth had had his way, we would not only have proclaimed the WL to be the Leninist vanguard before we had even studied the question, but further we would have been prevented from our attempts to influence the Maoists in the direction of Trotskyism. Referring to recent Chinese atrocities in Ceylon and Pakistan, Wohlforth declared, "In any event we will not have joint actions with Maoists." We replied that he obviously assumed that Maoist groupings were finished formations, and ignored the tremendous flux such organizations were undergoing in the wake of the intensifying crisis of world imperialism and the ever clearer capitulations of Chinese Stalinism to imperialism. Such sectarianism, we wrote, could permanently bar these comrades from the road to Trotskyism. We characterized Wohlforth's position as leading to "either a sectarian liquidation of the united front reminiscent of Third Period Stalinism or to a series of opportunist zigzags—now condemning joint action, now pragmatically entering into it."

The arrogance, sectarianism, misrepresentation and political tomfoolery exemplified by the WL in our contact with them only underscored the decisive character of our break with Stalinism. In this sense the WL hastened our decision to fuse with the organization which, through open and comradely discussions sustained over a period of months, we found ourselves in political solidarity. Our fusion with the Spartacist League took place at the Labor Day Plenum in New York.

Revolutionary Communist Youth Founded

The Revolutionary Marxist Caucus held its first national conference over Labor Day weekend in New York City, transforming itself into the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the youth section of the Spartacist League. Over 80 members and supporters from all parts of the country attended.

The RMC originated in the 1969 SDS split, critically supporting the Progressive Labor-WSA forces as a pro-proletarian wing against the New Left anarcho-Maoists, and was formally established as a left oppositional caucus in SDS in early 1970. Its main focus was opposition to the campus-parochial, social-work approach then projected by PL as the strategy for SDS. The RMC also participated actively in work-stoppage committees during the Kent-Cambodia crisis, raising the need to transform the student strike into a general strike. A key aspect of RMC's work has been defense of all left groups against state persecution and opposition to gangsterism within the left movement. The RMC intervened at the NPAC conference last July to expose the SWP's attempted bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie. It is the intersection of the RMC's past political struggles with the upsurge of the international class struggle that has made the founding of the RCY possible.

The tasks of the RCY require absolute clarity on the relation of youth to the revolutionary movement. "Youth" in itself is neither revolutionary nor a class. Hitler, Trotsky, Mao and Nixon were all young once. The currently popular notion of the "Red University" and all forms of youth vanguardism reflect a conscious adaptation to the theory that youth (students) are inherently revolutionary. But the petty bourgeoisie is not an independent class and thus cannot pursue its own class politics, but is forced to choose between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Students, as the most volatile section of the petty bourgeoisie, will play an active role in all radical movements, whether of the left or right. The radical intelligentsia—primarily campus-based in America—can play an essential and valuable role in the building of the vanguard party, once broken from its class origins and committed to the fundamental class interests of the proletariat. It is to this struggle that the RCY is dedicated—to develop young radicals into lifetime communist militants, professional revolutionaries.

The struggle of all the oppressed must be linked to the proletarian vanguard party, the driving force of revolution. Cut off from the party—which embodies the historical experience of the revolutionary proletarian movement—the youth is crippled, doomed to founder in a classless swamp. Thus the youth organization must be a section of the party, politically subordinate to it. But in order to permit the freest and fullest development of the young communists, the youth organization must be organizationally independent. As a part of the common revolutionary movement, the youth will maintain common discipline in action, and will play a real if subordinate part in determining the common movement's policies.■

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National organ of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League. 50¢ for one year, $1 for two years. Address all requests for subs to: RMC, c/o M. Tishman, Box 454, Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

WORKERS VANGUARD

15 cents

Number 2 | 103 | November 1971

As NPAC Prepares New Betrayals—

FOR LABOR POLITICAL STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR!

A survey of National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) meetings in major cities across the U. S. provides additional confirmation, were it needed, of the Spartacist League's characterization of NPAC as a popular front with the bourgeoisie which can only betray the working class and the anti-war struggle. At several meetings the SWP/YSA-dominated popular front has reaffirmed the policies exemplified at its infamous conference at Hunter College in New York over the July 4 weekend. The attitude of ostensibly revolutionary organizations to this pop front is a litmus test of their fitness for revolutionary working-class leadership.

San Francisco—At San Francisco State College on October 1 the Northern California section of NPAC again featured Senator Vance Hartke as keynote speaker, his role at the July New York NPAC Conference at which the SWP-led marshals savagely evicted members of the Spartacist League (SL), Revolutionary Marxist Caucus (RMC), Progressive Labor and SDS for protesting SWP collaboration with the ruling class. Members of the SL and its youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY, formerly the RMC) attended the San Francisco meeting to voice outrage at the invited presence of the bourgeoisie. When the meeting began, an RCY member proposed a motion that no bourgeois imperialist speakers be allowed to speak before the body. The chairman ruled immediately that the meeting, advertised in the Militant as a "Regional Anti-War Conference," was actually "a rally, not a decision-making body"!

Father Eugene Boyle spoke on what "we" have been doing in Vietnam, and ended up by saying, "We better march strong and long." After him came the Secretary-Treasurer of the Stewards' Council of ILWU Local 10, presumably the "labor representative" for the SWP's popular front coalition at the meeting. He emphasized that what has to be built is "not unlike the NLF," i. e., a coalition of classes, and that it would be foolish to overlook those "other classes" outside of the working class which are "concerned about the war and its effects." The strategy, he pointed out, is to bring in these "other classes" in order to "broaden" and "deepen" the movement. But there are "other classes"—and class enemies. Certainly a section of the petty-bourgeoisie, indignant over the war, can be won to opposing imperialism around a working-class program. However, by our count, there is only one other decisive class in this society—the bourgeoisie—and that is precisely the class, in the person of Senator Hartke,

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Labor Fakers Tie Workers to Rulers—

Class Divided: U.S. Workers Demand Import Curbs . . .

As Class Brothers in Tokyo Denounce Them

AMERICAN EMPIRE SHAKEN

Just as Hitler's coming to power in 1933 marked the end of the post-World War I period, so the dollar devaluation, the turn toward protectionist nationalism and the imposition of state wage control in the U.S. mark the end of the post-World War II era. America's victory and subsequent division of spheres of influence with the Soviet Union has, with certain exceptions (notably the Chinese Revolution of 1949), determined the international balance of power throughout the post-war period. The outcome of World War II not only shaped international politics, but stabilized American society by reinforcing a national psychology that the U. S. is a great and powerful and prosperous nation, immune from the misfortunes that befall foreigners. Now, a panicky ruling class is telling the American people that they must make sacrifices and accept discipline to keep the American place in the sun. The American working class is paying the price for the reverses suffered by "its" ruling class.

The Rise and Fall of the Dollar

In the early post-war years (the so-called reconstruction period) U.S. imperialism used the economic and military policies of the American government to lay the basis for later penetration by U.S. corporations and banks into Europe. The World Bank, NATO, the Marshall Plan, the European Payments Union and the European Coal and Steel Community were established under American pressure and guidance and with American finance. Together they constituted a coherent program for American dominance over the advanced capitalist countries.

Their primary political aim was pacifying the militant European labor movements, particularly dangerous in France and Italy. Despite the vital services of betrayal rendered to imperialism by the Stalinists, U.S. policy aimed to build up social democracy as a counterweight to both the Stalinists and bourgeois nationalists of the Gaullist type. Thus in Europe and Japan American imperialist policies were implemented in the name of social-democratic reformism and liberal international cooperation.

Industrially, U. S. policy sought to create the basic productive infrastructure needed to reestablish Europe as a market for U. S. exports

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PL THUGS ATTACK TROTSKYISTS IN SAN FRANCISCO

Violence Covers Turn to Right

STORY ON PAGE 3

SPARTACIST NATIONAL TOUR

FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM

Marvin Treiger, formerly of the Communist Working Collective now fused with the Spartacist League, is touring the U. S. for the SL. For details see pg. 7.

Defeat NPAC: For Labor Strikes Against the War

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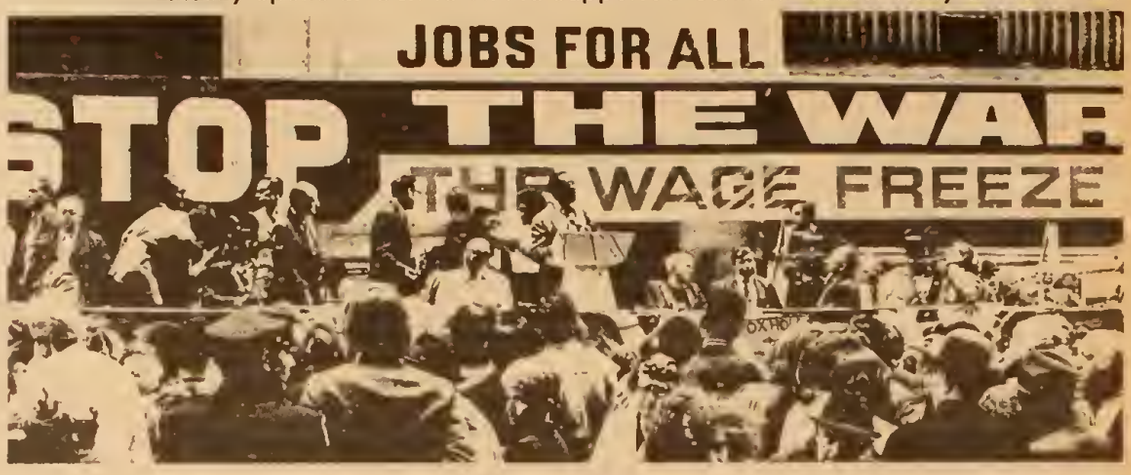
Lindsay Spoke at Oct. 13 NPAC-Supported Garment Center Rally in New York



with which the SWP has allied. When an RCY'er asked, "So how come you're loading military cargo?" the ILWU bureaucrat evaded answering.

When Senator Hartke got up to speak, SL and RCY members stood up and shouted slogans such as "No bourgeois politicians!" after which they withdrew in protest. The SWP-YSA goons made it obvious that they were again prepared to defend their class collaboration with violence. To their credit, members of the International Socialists (IS) in the room also left at this point in protest. However, in typical "third camp" fashion, the IS continues to lend legitimacy to the SWP's class collaboration by maintaining a "left-wing" caucus in NPAC! Predictably, there was no sign at the meeting of any protest by the Workers League against Hartke's presence.

Los Angeles — On October 2, about 100 people attended the Los Angeles Regional NPAC Conference. In the opening floor discussion a motion by a Spartacist comrade, to include a workshop on national perspectives, was passed. Another SL motion, for 30-minute floor discussion on national perspectives to precede the workshops, and an IS motion for one-hour discussion of some IS proposals, were overruled by the chairman, Morris Starsky of San Diego NPAC. Subsequent speeches and regional reports are best described as crude peptalks ("April 24 will always be remembered." We must make November 6 "a day that will never be forgotten."—John Williams, featured speaker.) Workshops were arranged according to every conceivable criterion save political views. SL/RCY members attended the National Perspectives workshop, in which their proposals, taken from the July 1971 Spartacist supplement, "For Class Action Against the War," won majority support. The workshop proposal was voted down in subsequent plenary session, amid contemptuous laughter from the SWP, and in its place was passed a proposal by an SWP member claiming to represent "Out Now," to continue the present single-issue orientation.

The IS at the L.A. conference seemed discomfited in their role of "relating constructively" to NPAC, i.e. as NPAC left cover. Their speeches made it clear that they opposed NPAC single-issue reformism, that working-class action alone could end the war, and that if NPAC continued the way it was going, they would have nothing to do with it. Yet an IS member said of the SL/RCY proposal that its five points constituted a "perfect transitional program" but were too "utopian" for the people in attendance. The IS clearly sought to push the conference to the left, but by pressuring NPAC to adopt a series of minimal measures without fundamentally scrapping its program and expelling the class enemy.

Houston — About 200 people attended the Tri-State Regional Anti-War Conference (Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana) in Houston on September 26. The conference was run with an iron hand by ubiquitous but secretive SWP/YSA'ers. An SL member attended the GI workshop, reading to it a proposal titled "For a Revolutionary Anti-War Movement." Many of the GI's expressed interest in the proposal and expressed anger at the YSA former GI acting as floor leader for ignoring the proposal. When it seemed that control of the workshop had passed out of the hands of the leader, an SWP heavy came in to break up discussion and begin the plenary session.

Following the GI workshop report, a Ft. Hood GI made a motion for a multi-issue fall campaign with three basic demands: U.S. Out Now, Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners, and Support the Attica Rebellion. It received about 40 votes, but was defeated. A PL'er introduced a motion barring the ruling class and union bureaucrats from speaking at anti-war marches, and calling for more political discussion at the next conference. Supported by the bulk of the GI's, the PL motion won around 30 votes. The GI's were dismayed by the votes and responded with emotional appeals. The PL'ers seemed to have suddenly discovered that the conference was manipulated by the SWP and began to bait the organizers. They were outmaneuvered by the SWP heavies who labeled their attacks "red-baiting."

Little discussion was permitted on structural proposals. Many people felt they had no choice but to vote for the official motion, despite suspicions. The passage of a motion that the officially appointed coordinators be interim and that they be replaced as soon as the steering committee met indicated a pervasive awareness of SWP/YSA manipulation.

Boston — On October 3 the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition (GBPAC), the Socialist Workers Party's local anti-war pop front coalition, held an Anti-War Workshop Conference at Boston University. The conference was simply a pep rally to build the sixth annual "Fall Action" against the Vietnam war, another "massive, legal, peaceful demonstration" on November 6. The SWP, firmly in control of the meeting, was dead set against any discussion on the class nature of the Vietnam war, or on their gangster silencing of communist critics at the July NPAC meeting in New York City. At the very beginning of the conference an SL member introduced a motion to condemn the class-collaboration of NPAC and its hoodlum suppression of those who had opposed the presence of bourgeois Senator Vance Hartke, but was ruled out of order.

Keynote speaker Ernest Demaio, Vice President of the United Electrical Workers put on his most "progressive" face, talking about the workers and the capitalists who exploit them, but cautioning that there were "honest men" for "peace" in government. This tired old line of the CPUSA was delivered by Demaio in such a demagogic way as to appear to the left of the "Trotskyist" SWP, who had brought in Demaio to illustrate the "increasing involvement of the labor community in the anti-war movement." After Demaio's speech the conference broke up into various workshops, according to "communities": Women, GIs, Students, Labor, Third World People, Gays, Religious Activists, etc.

The SL/RCY and supporters attended the workshop on labor unions and the war. Also attending this workshop were members of the Communist Tendency (CT), a left-wing minority faction expelled from the SWP. The CT distributed a leaflet titled "Only The Workers Can End The War," which denounced the SWP for abandoning Trotskyism and the class struggle against the Vietnam war and called for a struggle against the war based on factory anti-war committees, which would carry on strike and boycott activities and lead to a labor party to fight the bureaucrats and capitalists.

Ernest Demaio delivered another speech setting forth his perspective for the trade union movement: to fight to get unions on record for "peace," that is, cajole the bureaucrats to record a verbal opposition to war. John Craig of the Meat Cutters, John McCann, GBPAC Labor Coordinator, and Rex Weng, Vice President of the Massachusetts State Labor Council proposed forming a committee to coordinate labor activity against the war and organize a labor contingent on November 6. This is the SWP's version of a proletarian orientation! The bureaucrats' proposal ducked the whole question of the class-collaborationist character of the anti-war movement and the political character of the November 6 demonstration.

The SL introduced a series of six resolutions which condemned NPAC class collaboration and gangsterism and pointed the way towards a class struggle against the war. Debate over these resolutions dominated the workshop, with the SWP trying desperately to divert discussion to "concrete plans" for November 6, much as PL tries to limit discussion in SDS to "concretely building" the campus worker-student alliance, to avoid political discussion.

The SL/RCY and also the CT sharply attacked the SWP for obscuring the class nature of the war and the Stalinist betrayals of the NLF/PRG/DRV, and for building a classless popular front coalition of liberal imperialists, Stalinists, and labor bureaucrats. The SWP/YSA ignored repeated challenges to defend themselves politically; they could only bray about building a "mass movement" around a "single issue" to "pressure" the bourgeoisie into ending the Vietnam war. In hopes of becoming the mass reformist social democratic party in the U.S., the SWP not only tails the labor fakers, deliberately covering up their daily sell-outs to the capitalists, but also seeks to recruit workers into a movement led by their betrayers and by the same capitalist politicians who back wage controls! A "proletarian orientation" by itself, without a revolutionary working-class pro-

continued on next page

PL Thugs Attack Trotskyists— POLITICAL BANKRUPTCY and HOOLIGANISM

San Francisco—On October 22, the first meeting of the "Workers Action Coalition" (WAC) created by the Progressive Labor Party broke up in a vicious unprovoked PL assault and beating of Trotskyists of the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the only other tendency present. The meeting, held in the ILWU Local 6 meeting hall, was advertised as a "Workers' Conference" to talk about "organizing in the unions and on the job," to fight against the wage freeze, and for "30 for 40" (30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay). The SL/RCY, in support of "30 for 40" as part of the whole Trotskyist transitional program for working-class action, attended to discuss the Trotskyist perspective for fighting Nixon's attack on the working class.

It was clear from the outset that PL's "Workers' Conference" was not intended to be a real united front, in which all working-class tendencies could participate with their own programs, while functioning together in united actions when minimal agreement exists (e. g. agreement on opposition to the wage freeze on the basis of independent working-class action instead of collaboration with so-called "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie). Rather, what PL wanted was a fake coalition run by PL itself with PL-influenced unaffiliated workers, and all other working-class tendencies excluded. This became obvious when a PL'er told SL/RCY salesmen outside that no SL literature would be allowed inside the hall. Upstairs, a sign announced that the only literature allowed would be that of PL, the WAC, SDS, the Challenge Corps, ILWU Local 6 and "affiliated organizations"! Just before the meeting began, PL's hypocrisy was further exposed when they allowed a black politician to hand out—inside the hall—a leaflet advertising the campaign of Yvonne Westbrook, a black woman running for San Francisco Supervisor under the sponsorship of the S.F. Federation of Young Democrats, Democratic Assemblyman Willy Brown and other bourgeois politicians. Thus, out of race guilt and Stalinist fear of left critics, PL excluded communist literature while allowing the bourgeoisie to slip in—through the front door! Besides the 13 SL/RCY comrades there were about 50 people present, mostly members and supporters of PL.

What was needed was a serious discussion of what kind of program communists should fight for in the working class. In an empirical move leftward, PL broke from the Stalinist conception of unity with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, but did not face up to Trotskyism. Lacking any concrete program for the working class, PL blindly gropes about for gimmicks veiled in ultra-left rhetoric. Now they have adopted the slogan of "30 for 40," once denounced by them as a hopelessly idealistic "Trotskyite" demand. But not understanding the meaning of the demand, PL pushes it as a "reform" rather than a transitional demand designed to raise the working class from its present consciousness to consciousness of the necessity for overthrowing capitalism. The only other programmatic points raised in the WAC program were a so-called "People's Ballot"—basically an opinion poll on the wage freeze—and a march on November 20.

Perhaps aware of their programmatic deficiencies, PL supporters made it clear in the opening remarks that there would be no general discussion, only a couple of short speeches before people broke up into workshops to carry out the "real business" of organizing the WAC. Thus, the first speaker emphasized that the primary purpose was "to get new people involved" (on what basis?). He briefly outlined the attack taking place against the working class and noted that "30 for 40" is the only "reform" which can benefit workers: our problem is to unite the employed and unemployed and "fight racism" (yes, but how?).

The meeting broke up into several workshops, in which political discussion took place for a short time in spite of PL obstructionism. In the "Wage Freeze Workshop," an SL'er discussed how the Nixon Administration must rely on the labor bureaucracy to enforce the freeze, and a basic communist strategy must be to throw out the bureaucracy. To do this, we must raise a comprehensive program—"30 for 40" by itself is inadequate. Trade unionists must raise the immediate demand for withdrawal of all "labor leaders" like Meany from the Pay Board, since their presence on the Board deliberately masks its function as a tool of the ruling class. An RCY'er listed other transitional demands, including strikes against layoffs, political strikes against the war, a workers' party opposed to the two capitalist parties and expropriation of industry under workers' control. The PL'ers clearly had no response except infantile ultra-leftism—"let Meany sit on the Board if he wants, he doesn't represent anybody"; "we don't want a British Labour Party." Such ultra-leftism—in effect abstention from struggle in the fear it may become reformist—allows the bourgeoisie to go about its business of misleading the working class through such traitors as George Meany. It became obvious that the PL'ers had no concrete program to offer (except the "reform" of "30 for 40") and were soon reduced to talk about low-level programs such as improving food quality in student cafeterias (shades of PL's defunct campus-worker-student alliance!).

In other workshops, where SL/RCY'ers raised

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For Labor Strikes Against the War

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gram and condemnation of pop-front "mass movements," inevitably leads to this result.

The SL resolution, supported by the CT, was defeated in the labor workshop by a 45-36 vote. A resolution by the National Caucus of Labor Committees received only 2 votes. In the later plenary session, an SL reporter made a minority presentation, and placed the SL resolution before the whole body. The chair attempted to rule the motion out of order, but was challenged. The body voted to uphold the chairman's ruling. At that point the SL and RCY walked out.

New York—Since the July national convention NPAC has held two New York "mass meetings" to plan for November 6, on September 30 and October 16. Both were held at the headquarters of District 65, RWDSU. The first meeting was chaired by District 65 president David Livingston, the second by CP fellow traveller and professional pacifist Brad Lyttle, now of the PCPJ.

The meetings have been anti-climactic. Each has been attended by about 300. Although assorted union bureaucrats have been among the sponsors, the audience has been predominantly student radicals. SWP senior cadre have been conspicuous by their absence. The Workers League mobilized heavily for both meetings, with about 80 supporters; there was also a sprinkling of "Militant Action Caucus" members (i. e. Labor Committee and International Socialists).

Contrary to the Labor Committee whimperings (Solidarity, 15 October 1971) and the WL's constant cry of "Stalinism," both meetings were rather loosely run, with all tendencies given time to make political points and, at the second meeting, even have votes on programmatic motions. Content to have a majority of YSA voting cattle, the SWP let the discussions run amok, only getting upset on organizational questions. Thus when Steve Zeluck of the IS wanted to get on the New York coordinating committee, the peace bureaucracy hards were brought out to oppose his being allowed to participate in the administration of the pop front. Procedural suggestions for slight modifications of the agenda brought more fireworks than any political declaration or motion. The Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth proposed a motion "condemning the gangsterism of the NPAC marshals in physically expelling PL, SL and SDS at the July Convention, and all those who, like the WL, supported this gangsterism." We also put forward a motion counterposing a working-class program for the anti-war movement to the NPAC Pop Front.

For Class Action Against the War!

On November 6 in numerous cities thousands will march to protest the Indochina war. These protests, however "unforgettable" to footsore participants, will continue to be futile and entirely "forgettable" for the imperialist ruling class—for the existing anti-war movement has no social power, as Nixon, Senator Hartke, and the entire bourgeoisie well understand. It could not be otherwise, given the principle of welcoming the class enemy into the movement practiced for years by the SWP/YSA, the "best builders of the anti-war movement."

Liberal imperialists like Mayor Lindsay and Senator Hartke, politicians who now cheer Nixon's Phase II economic program saying he should have begun two years earlier, have graced the platforms of the anti-war movement the SWP/YSA is so proud to build. Joining them lately have been increasing numbers of "progressive" labor fakers like the notorious Victor Reuther, formerly employed by the CIA. The role of these bureaucrats in the anti-war movement is the same as in their unions—to sell out the working class and bind them hand and foot to the capitalist parties. All the enthusiasm of open reformists like the SWP/YSA and grovelling opportunists like the Workers League over the "new" presence of such traitors ("a very positive development"—Workers League on Reuther's presence at NPAC Conference) cannot cover up why these fakers come to the pop front anti-war jamborees. They do so to head off the pressure from their ranks for class action against the war, the wage freeze, and the whole twenty-five year pattern of abject bureaucratic sellouts.

SDS, which in the past denounced the presence of the ruling class in the anti-war movement, has drifted into a position similar to the IS's, "relating constructively." A recent leaflet proclaims "We support the Nov. 6 demonstrations to end the war & the freeze. We will bring as many people as we can to it. It is really important that students and working people get together to fight back. But if all we do is march we will accomplish nothing." Not a word on how "students and working people" can "fight back" with a pop front movement which welcomes the bourgeoisie into its ranks. And not a word explaining why SDS now pledges its support in the face of its recent—and correct—opposition to the pop front.

March With Us!

Only the working class, through its organization and action at the points of production can force an end to the imperialist Vietnam war. Only the working class through its independent political struggle can put an end to capitalism, the breeder of imperialist war. But the class-collaborationist anti-war movement organized by the SWP, shot through with social patriotism (Bring the Boys Home Now!) and bourgeois pacifism (Peace Now!), obscures and betrays the class struggle against imperialist war. This class-collaborationist anti-war movement must be politically destroyed! We are organizing a working class, anti-imperialist anti-capitalist contingent in several cities on November 6.

We will be marching with the following slogans:

VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE! NO CONFIDENCE IN SELL-OUT "LEADERS" AT HOME OR ABROAD!

SMASH IMPERIALISM—ALL U.S. TROOPS OUT OF ASIA NOW! NO NEGOTIATIONS, NO TIMETABLES!

NO LIBERAL BOURGEOIS SPEAKERS AT ANTI-WAR RALLIES!

FOR LABOR POLITICAL STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR AND NIXON'S "WAGE-STRIKE" FREEZE!

BREAK WITH THE CAPITALIST PARTIES—FOR A POLITICAL PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS! ■

AMERICAN EMPIRE SHAKEN

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and an area for profitable private investment. Commercially, the U.S. desired an international free trade zone, to be dominated by U.S. exports and goods produced by U.S. enterprises abroad. Financially, the dollar replaced gold as the world's money, allowing more-or-less unlimited expansion of international credit by U.S. banks. The U.S. also aimed at establishing a regime of stable and freely convertible currency exchange markets to facilitate international transfer of profits and money capital.

U.S. policies were generally successful and culminated in the creation of the Common Market and return to general currency convertibility in 1958. Despite European nationalist illusions of a third political-economic bloc, American corporations quickly established dominance over the Common Market. Between 1958 and 1965 (when the Johnson administration imposed capital export curbs) U.S. capital assets in Europe increased from $4 billion to $14 billion, while the sales of American-owned firms grew from $7.5 billion to $19 billion. This investment was moreover concentrated in the technically advanced capital goods industries, with U.S. firms owning over 80% of the European computer industry and over 90% of the electronics industry.

The American corporate invasion led a section of the European bourgeoisie, exemplified by DeGaulle, to counterattack. They chose the weakest link of the U.S. imperialist system—the effects of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit on the international monetary system. The great outflow of U.S. capital directly contributed to the deficit, while sales of U.S. firms abroad largely substituted for U.S. exports. Since the dollar was accepted as the world's money, the U.S. bourgeoisie was in effect buying out European capitalism with money printed on its own presses. The French government, strengthened by the actions of financial speculators centered in Zurich, sought to eliminate the privileged position of the dollar by converting their dollar holdings to gold and launching a political offensive to force the U.S. to correct its deficit and return the world to the gold standard.

In 1965, Johnson imposed restrictions on capital exports partly for balance-of-payments reasons and partly as a concession to the French. Far from weakening U.S. interests in Europe, these measures clearly demonstrated how deeply rooted U.S. corporations and banks had become in the European economy. U.S. investment continued to expand by plowing back European operation profits and borrowing from the U.S.-dominated European capital markets. In 1965, more than half of American investment was financed in the European capital market—American corporations were taking over European industry by tapping the savings of the workers and small proprietors traditionally ignored by European financiers.

The French government, in league with conservative international bankers, continued its campaign to eliminate the privileged position of the dollar. Since this policy was based on the real weaknesses of the U.S. domestic economy and imperialist system, it was ultimately successful. The devaluation of the dollar would have occurred sooner, except that the wage increases following the 1968 general strike temporarily eliminated the competitive advantage of French capitalism. However, the catastrophic balance-of-payments deficit caused by the Vietnam war inflation and decline in U.S. productive investment finally allowed private speculators and international banking interests to topple the dollar and destroy the international financial system.

The Capitalist Powers: Conflict and Collaboration

The intersection of American imperialism and the national economies of the major capitalist powers has differed sharply, and the differences are fundamental to understanding the present conflicts. At one extreme is the stagnant economy of Britain, which has lost its empire and many of its important industries to the Americans. At the other extreme is Japan, which has maintained the world's highest growth rate, reconquered economically much of the area it lost militarily in World War II, and kept out direct U.S. investment. The relationship of U.S. imperialism to Japan rests primarily on trade dependency. France and Germany occupy something of a middle position, with national economies stronger than Britain's, but subject to considerable penetration by U.S. capital.

Sick Man of Europe

In the post-war period, Britain thoroughly deserves the title "the sick man of Europe." With an annual rate of growth of 2.5%, Britain has managed to match its economic performance during the Great Depression. In the vaunted British social-democratic welfare state, industrial working-class living standards have dropped from the highest in Western Europe to the lowest. In the post-war period, British exports have grown at 2.5% a year as against 12% for Germany and 17% for Japan. The chief factors behind British trade weakness are: antiquated industrial plant and infrastructure; an incredibly backward managerial apparatus (American-managed firms in Britain achieve a profit rate of 16% as against 12% for British-managed firms); and an extremely combative trade union movement, particularly at the shop-floor level, which has prevented speed-ups and unemployment-producing economic rationalization. The great power ambitions of its ruling class led Britain to a huge military budget and "independent nuclear deterrent," draining resources away from industrial investment and strengthening inflationary pressures.

Beginning in the mid-50's, struggling British firms began selling out to American interests. American firms now own about 15% of all British industry, and over 50% in automobiles, computers, and pharmaceuticals. Unlike the reluctant French and German industrialists, the British bourgeoisie embraced the relationship of dependency hoping that its unquestioned loyalty would win American support against the other capitalist powers. And in fact the U.S. has championed the particular interests of British capitalism against the Common Market powers, as in pressuring Germany to revalue the mark.

French Maneuvering

Throughout modern history, France has played a political role out of proportion to its real economic-military underdevelopment. The political strength of the numerous and very inefficient French petty bourgeoisie, maintaining itself through protectionism and substantial tax advantages, long deprived France of cheap agricultural products and an abundant labor supply which would otherwise have flowed from the rural areas. Post-war French growth depended heavily on the liquidation of the large inefficient peasant-small proprietor sector accomplished with the aid of the German gun butt during World War II. A leading bourgeois analyst (Denison—Why Growth Rates Differ) attributed 20% of French post-war growth to increased labor productivity stemming from the out-migration of the petty bourgeoisie. Since France is often held up as a model of neo-capitalist planning, it is important to stress that French growth has had a large once-and-for-all element arising out of French backwardness, not modernity.

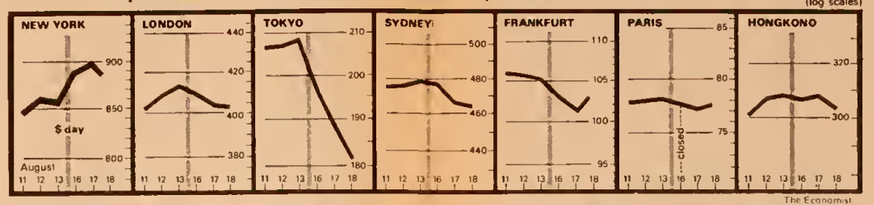
The post-Common Market American corporate invasion, which quickly took over the French telecommunications, agricultural machinery, oil distribution and office equipment industries, produced a strong defensive reaction in the French bourgeoisie. In order to topple the dollar by running large trade surpluses and simultaneously create a respectable military force, the Gaullist government imposed the severest program of austerity, wage control and general oppression of the working class movement seen in any major power in the post-war era. This pressure on the working class finally led to the explosion of May '68, after which the French ruling class relaxed its pressure and temporarily shelved its grandiose international ambitions. France today continues to present its historic contradiction of a ruling class with world ambitions, saddled with a relatively weak economy and an extremely combative working class and petty bourgeoisie. This contradiction encourages the French bourgeoisie to resort to maneuvers, threats and general disruption when it cannot oppose American imperialism through its inadequate real power.

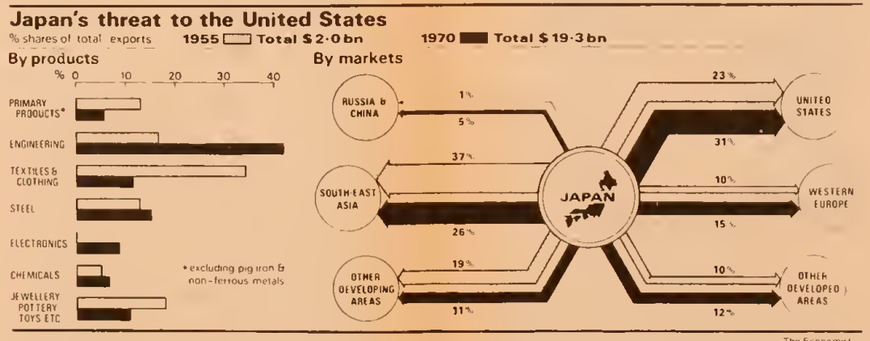
Der Wirtschaftswunder

The key to the German "economic miracle" of the 1950's was the imposed docility of the German labor movement. The Social Democrats deliberately subordinated wages for their large and centralized trade union movement to the needs of export industry. Low costs produced a large profit margin available for re-investment. Labor costs have amounted to only 60% of German industrial revenue, compared with 70% for Britain and 75% for the U.S.

Despite the special U.S.-British relationship, the relation between the American and German ruling classes provides the key to the American dominance of the capitalist world. It was the German government that blocked the French efforts to dethrone the dollar by accumulating unlimited dollar credits, thereby importing the American inflation into Germany. Under American pressure, Germany three times unilaterally raised the value of the mark, "voluntarily" surrendering the competitive advantage sweated out of the German workers. In the 1950's, German total output and exports grew at a rate of 6.5% and 16% respectively; in the 1960's these rates fell to 4.5% and 9% respectively. The German bourgeoisie accepted these very real sacrifices, out of dependence on American military and political support for German reunification under bourgeois rule and for German ambitions in East Europe. The U.S. was prepared to underwrite German imperialist ambitions in East Europe in return for German support for overall American dominance of the capitalist world.

Graphs Show World Stock Market Responses to Dollar Devaluation





Japanese Resurgence

Immediately after World War II, U.S. policy intended to eliminate Japan as a world power and build up its client state China as the great Asian power. Under the guise of social reform, the American occupation government attacked the great industrial-banking clans, the zaibatsu, by promoting the interests of the Japanese petty bourgeoisie (with land reform, a strong anti-trust law, and cheap money policy). This policy was abruptly reversed with the Maoist victory in China. Beginning in 1948, the U.S. sought to strengthen Japan against China by stimulating the potentially strong Japanese export industry. Significantly, it was the American war with China in Korea that pulled Japan out of its long post-war depression by stimulating Japanese exports to the American mainland and Japanese servicing of the large American army in the Far East. In this period, the U.S. ruling class made the unusual concession of allowing the Japanese government to virtually prohibit direct American investment, partly because at that time there was no great incentive for American enterprise in Japan.

Japanese export competitiveness, like the German, rests on its labor system. Japan's strongly paternalist labor system is rooted in the feudal origins of Japanese industrialism. Guaranteed employment for life, workers demonstrate considerable loyalty to their employing firm. As a result, outside of public employment, combative trade unions do not exist. Cost of guaranteed employment, in turn, forces Japanese industrialists to continually expand sales and accept profit margins below international norms.

Until recently, the U.S. ruling class felt strong enough to open the American market to the aggressive Japanese export drive. Thirty per cent of Japan's exports go to the U.S., with a high concentration of technically advanced products. In the late sixties, protectionist sentiment built up, stimulated by the balance-of-payments deficit and American industries hurt by cheaper imports. Japanese competition in such key American industries as steel, auto and electronics was the immediate cause of the U.S. ruling class' turn toward economic nationalism and the consequent destruction of those institutions created by victorious American imperialism after World War II.

Weakness at the Center

Basic to the current crisis is the weak performance of the American economy relative to the other major powers. Throughout the entire post-war period, the United States has had the most recessions, the highest level of unemployment, the lowest rate of productivity increase (except Britain) and the lowest rate of growth (except Britain and Belgium) of any advanced capitalist nation.

The widely expected "re-conversion" crisis following World War II was averted because of the extremely liquid condition of U.S. business and the purchasing power released with the end of the rationing system. The first post-war recession occurred when the demand generated by this deferred purchasing power petered out in 1948. Only the Korean War pulled the U.S. out of recession. Following the Korean War and a decline of over 30% in the federal budget, the U.S. experienced its second post-war slump and entered a period of stagnation.

Despite popular impression, the Eisenhower years were a period of economic stagnation. In addition to the 1953-54 recession, there were further slumps in 1957-58 and 1960-61. The growth rate for the 1950's was 3.3%, below the historic (1880-1960) norm of 4.0%. The gross (before tax) rate of profit declined steadily from 26% in 1950 to 14% in 1960. The accelerated capital outflow of the late 1950's further weakened the domestic economy, limiting investable resources and producing a serious balance of payments deficit. The Eisenhower administration attempted to meet the deficit with prohibitive interest rates which depressed the economy.

In the early sixties, the low rate of capital accumulation produced its own corrective. By then, new investment could embody many years of technical improvement and produce extraordinary increases in labor productivity. The market forces, strengthened by investment subsidies in the form of Kennedy administration tax incentives, led to the greatest capital spending boom in American history. Investment grew at an exceptional 11% from 1962 to 1966. Despite the predictions by liberals and some "Marxist" utopians about complete automation of the American economy, by 1966 the cost of additional investment offset the gains from increased productivity. In other words, a high rate of capital accumulation had, in the classic manner, driven down the rate of profit and so blocked further capital accumulation. In 1967, the level of investment fell, which should have produced a general economic crisis.

Crisis was delayed by the expansion of the Vietnam war. The military budget increased by over 30% between 1966 and 1968. Despite higher taxes, the war was primarily paid for by inflationary finance—the expansion of bank credit to the federal government. Full employment and a slow rate of investment drove up the money costs of production, and combined with a high level of money expenditure, led to an inflation rate unprecedented in the post-war period. This inflation quickly outstripped money wage increases, geared to the earlier, less inflationary period—and many union bureaucrats had bargained away full cost-of-living adjustments. Suffering falling real wages since 1966, the American working class was determined to "catch up." In a series of militant actions, highlighted by the Midwest Teamster wildcat in spring 1970, the long GM strike in fall 1970 and the steel settlement under threat of an expected strike in summer 1971, the organized working class pushed the rate of money wage increases up to 9% a year, an intolerable rate for U.S. capitalism in its weakened international position. Following the steel settlement, the Nixon administration was faced with the choice of trying to further depress the economy, hoping that rising unemployment would finally break the spirit of the unions, or imposing direct state wage control. He chose the latter.

Labor Under Lock and Key

In the post-war period, wage-price control has been the key economic "reform" of social democracy and the liberal bourgeoisie. Its leading ideologist in the U.S. has been former ADA president John K. Galbraith. Conservative bourgeois opposition to direct state control is primarily a reflection of their lack of influence over the unions, which must be brought to support of controls if they are to be effective. In Europe wage-price control or "incomes policy" has usually been initiated by a social democratic government in the name of "controlling the anarchy of the market by a democratic government" or "socialist planning," with a veiled threat of increased unemployment if the workers don't go along. The influential conservative magazine, The Economist, supported Wilson's Labour Party against the Tories in 1965 on the grounds that Labour could better discipline the unions! Believing that American workers didn't require social-democratic demagogy, Nixon justified wage control in a nakedly pro-capitalist manner, coupling it to investment subsidies, which have rightly been anathema to the labor movement.

That the American labor bureaucracy should buy Nixon's wage control lock, stock and barrel is hardly surprising; after all, Meany was calling for them when Nixon was opposing them. Moreover, Meany stressed that he thought wage and price controls should be administered to guarantee profits: "I want to make it perfectly clear that I haven't the slightest intention of trying to put people out of business. These people must have profits." (Wall Street Journal, 7 Sept. 1971) Meany's show of opposition was designed to make him look good with the ranks, and to make sure that Nixon didn't openly snub the labor leadership, but rather gave them a place of honor in administering the controls. The whole issue of an "independent" Pay Board was pure demagogic hot air. As Meany himself later admitted, the power of the Pay Board rested entirely with the Nixon administration, which created it, and could get rid of it if the decisions weren't to Nixon's liking. The Pay Board is an integral part of the capitalist state bureaucracy and can not conceivably be "independent" of that state. The conservative Business Week gave the show away when it wrote: "On the surface, labor and management appear to be at odds... But the difference seems to be more semantics than substance."

If the reactionary Meany, as expected, betrayed the interests of the workers, the "militant" Hoffa-Fitzsimmons leadership of the Teamsters and the "progressive" Woodcock leadership of the Auto Workers did so even more grossly. Fitzsimmons was the only major labor leader in the country to swear complete loyalty to Nixon the day alter he announced the freeze, thereby exploding the myth of the tough, no-nonsense Teamster leadership determined to get the most for their men by any means necessary. Woodcock, touted by CP- and SWP-style reformists for the leadership of American labor, kept 100,000 aerospace workers on the job without a contract, when even bureaucrats like Tony Boyle of the United Mine Workers and Gleason of longshore (ILA) took their men out, forcing Nixon to publicly attack their unions.

The labor "left," originating in the old Stalinist machine (Fitzgerald of the UE, Livingston of the Distributive Workers, Davis of the Hospital Workers) has once again revealed its subservience to the bourgeoisie. While verbally opposing the controls, they have refused to attack the Meany-Woodcock leadership for administering them and launch a fight within the labor movement. They have refused to organize mass strike action against the freeze and controls. And they have adamantly refused to break with the Democratic Party, the principal political arm of the American ruling class.

The liberal Democrats have criticized Nixon mainly for not applying the controls sooner. In fact, Nixon has stolen the liberals' economic program, and aspiring Democratic candidates like McGovern are desperately trying to manufacture a non-existent opposition to Nixon's economic policy. Proposals like profit and dividend controls and excess profits tax are as meaningless as Meany's "independent" Pay Board. Profits are a residual, the difference between price and labor cost. If the government seriously intended to limit profits, it could easily do so through aggressive price controls alone, cutting prices as labor productivity expanded.

The controls have clearly demonstrated the essential identity of liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans as bourgeois politicians. Where fundamental capitalist interests are concerned, all bourgeois politicians will scrap "ideology" and party interests. Nixon thought nothing of alienating ideological conservatives like the Young Americans for Freedom. The Democrats are prepared to give Nixon the 1972 election by not opposing the basic thrust of his economic policy, despite the deep unpopularity of the freeze among American workers.

The immediate test of the controls will be over the previously scheduled increases and retroactive pay increases falling due during the freeze. Workers feel so strongly about these increases that even Nixon's kept labor leaders are forced to oppose cutting them. Nixon can allow retroactive payments during the three months as a sop to the labor movement, but going ahead with the scheduled increases would undermine the controls in the critical early phase. All experience of state wage controls (including World War II) indicates that the longer they continue the less effective they become, as workers become increasingly discontented and take the controls less seriously.

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AMERICAN EMPIRE SHAKEN

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If the controls are not strongly enforced in the early period, they will be practically worthless for the bourgeoisie. The leaden conservatism of the labor "leaders" must be smashed—now! The 6% scheduled pay increase for the auto workers in late November will be a key test of the power relations between the Nixon administration, the labor bureaucracy and the rank-and-file.

With all wings of the labor bureaucracy and the liberals actively supporting the controls, many workers, despite misgivings, may initially "give the controls a chance." However, as workers experience their wages being held down, with profits and prices rising through endless loopholes, class militancy will destroy the Pay Board's effectiveness and probably force a rift in the official labor leadership. The American ruling class will then face a choice between smashing the power of organized labor, beginning with strong anti-strike laws, or returning to earlier economic policies, which would be very dangerous to U.S. imperial interests.

The Workers and World War III

While Nixon says that his fight against inflation is in everybody's interest, the wage controls are primarily aimed at improving the international competitiveness of the U.S. economy. Their main thrust is similar to the investment subsidies via tax advantages, the higher tariffs and favorable changes in foreign exchange rates.

The international monetary system has broken down because the major powers, notably the U.S., will no longer obey the rules of the game when it works against them. The U.S. has taken an extremely aggressive stance against its main trading rivals. It is demanding the complete elimination of its balance of payments deficit entirely through reduced imports and increased exports, while strongly opposing restrictions on capital movement. The U.S. is thus demanding the right to strip the other capitalist nations of their trade surpluses while simultaneously buying up their industries. The U.S. is demanding the expansion of automatic international credit (so-called paper gold) to pay for its current deficit. It is demanding an exceptional increase in the value of the yen, which will hurt Japan in all its trade relations. To add insult to injury, the U.S. is pressuring Japan to lift its restrictions on foreign investment.

Britain and Germany are generally supporting the U.S., while dickering for particular advantages. On the other side stand Japan and France, demanding a major increase in the dollar price of gold, which would simultaneously devalue the dollar, undermine the U.S. role as world banker and move the world economy from easy credit toward a hard gold basis. The French, as expected, are also pushing for controls to limit U.S. capital exports.

While small concessions will be made (the U.S. will raise the price of gold a little, France will agree to increase international credit a little), the differences are too irreconcilable for a return to a stable international monetary system. The next period will be one of international financial anarchy, quite similar to the 1930's, with managed fluctuating exchange rates (Connally's famous "dirty float"), numerous ad hoc trade and capital controls, bilateral commercial and credit deals and the complete interpenetration of political and financial relations.

Although American economic nationalism will hurt all other capitalist nations, its clear primary target is Japan. The American bourgeoisie is determined not merely to control Japanese imports, but to roll back the existing Japanese inroads. If the existing tariffs and exchange rate changes are not sufficient to stem the flow of Japanese imports they will be made sufficient.

The American action has unquestionably dealt a major blow to the Japanese economy. The week after Nixon's announcement, the Japanese stock market dropped 20% and remains depressed. Japan's important textile industry is laying off workers. Their steel industry expects a drop in output for the first time in a decade, with the Nippon Steel Corp., the world's largest, operating at 70% capacity.

In the wake of the American economic "Pearl Harbor," the Japanese ruling class is naturally fragmented and confused. One tendency, represented by the pro-American Premier Sato, is prepared to grudgingly capitulate to the Americans and work harder along the old lines. Japan's growing right, led by former Defense Minister Nakasone, is calling for the return to an independent great power status with an Asian sphere of influence. Even before the U.S. moves, Japan had been drifting into a rearmament policy, doubling arms expenditure in the current budget. Now the pressures for stepped-up rearmament have increased manyfold. Sato is under heavy attack within the ruling party. In a piece of savage irony, the Japanese Defense Minister offered to help the U.S. balance of payments by increasing arms purchases from the U.S. and volunteering to send Japanese soldiers to Southeast Asia for "humanitarian" missions! The Japanese ruling class is moving toward a second attempt at establishing the "Asian Co-prosperity Sphere," with China again a main target. The economic basis for this has already been laid with heavy Japanese investment and trade in Southeast Asia.

Economic conflicts as intense as those between the U.S. and Japan could contribute to a major inter-imperialist war. And this war would involve all the world's powers, including the Soviet Union and China on opposite sides. We can see the beginnings of a Tokyo-Moscow-Paris axis, since the Soviet bureaucracy has long sought an alliance with anti-American bourgeois nationalism in the advanced capitalist countries. On the other side is likely to be the U.S., China, Britain and West Germany. A third world war, fought with nuclear weapons, would conform to Marx's prophecy that mankind is faced with a choice between "socialism or barbarism."

A criminal responsibility for the greatly sharpened inter-imperialist economic rivalries and the forces leading to World War III rests on the American labor bureaucracy, slavish in its support for U.S. foreign economic policy. When the big bourgeoisie favored free trade, the AFL and CIO with their kept unions in Europe were also free-trade. The AFL-CIO officially became protectionist, under pressure of the important Steelworkers, just about the same time the big bourgeoisie as a whole went over to protectionism, under the pressure of big steel interests. The unions in industries facing import competition have acted as aggressive publicity agents and lobbyists for protectionism, appealing to the worst chauvinist prejudices. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers even campaigned against Asian suits by calling them unsanitary!

Both management and the union bureaucrats, to justify low wages and unemployment, particularly in traditionally low-wage industries like textiles, apparel and leather goods, have exaggerated the effect of imports. But unemployment caused by import competition is real, and as socialists we fight it. But we do not fight it by transferring unemployment to workers in other countries. The key to fighting all forms of unemployment is increasing the total pool of jobs with a labor offensive beginning with a shorter work week and ending with the expropriation of capitalist property and institution of socialist planning. The labor movement must demand the organization of foreign workers to bring them closer to the standard of living of U.S. workers. Such a drive, similar to the fight to organize in the American South so long ignored by bureaucrats, shifts the focus of the fight for jobs from national chauvinism to an expanded fight on behalf of workers of all regions, against the bourgeoisie everywhere.

The international movement of commodities, unrestricted by the vested interests of particular bourgeois states, is an integral part of socialist internationalism. An exception is the backward countries where high tariffs may be necessary for national independence and to counter the monopolistic advantages of the imperialist powers. However, in trade among advanced capitalist countries, labor support for protectionism is an alliance with one's own bourgeoisie against the workers of other countries. Furthermore, the full international division of labor benefits workers in the form of cheaper consumer goods.

By their gross economic nationalism, the American labor bureaucracy puts great pressure on foreign labor movements to create counter-alliances with their own ruling classes. American unions have continually ignored appeals from similar Japanese unions to present a common front on joint problems of trade competition and unemployment, thereby undermining the strong internationalist attitudes of the Japanese working-class movement. In an ominous development, Japanese textile magnates recently organized a demonstration of 30,000 workers to oppose legislation "voluntarily" limiting textile exports to the U.S.

A central task of revolutionary socialists in this period is to prevent the international economic crisis from generating a wave of social chauvinism within the world's working class movements, and combatting the bourgeois belief that workers can avoid impoverishment by supporting the imperialist ambitions of their own bourgeoisies. As revolutionists in the American labor movement we have particular responsibility because it is the American ruling class that is seeking to export its own recession. We must fight to reverse the American labor movement's commitment to economic nationalism and rally the world labor movement against a trade war that could lead to the third world war. Our fight will be absolutely futile if we do not from the beginning struggle to oust the bourgeois agents from leadership of the working class. We cannot possibly accomplish our internationalist task without annihilating the reactionary union bureaucracy, capitalism's tested servants. They will willingly, even eagerly, follow the ruling class on its course toward the mass murder of workers in world war.

Britain's Rulers Took Devaluation Politely

. . . Japanese Were Not So Friendly

The creation of an international proletarian party is essential to the task of fighting chauvinism in the world working-class movement. Without such an international party the common interests of the world's workers appear unreal, permitting labor traitors to rally around their own ruling classes in international conflict. With inter-imperialist conflict boding nuclear catastrophe, the need for proletarian internationalism has never been more urgent. ■

—Joseph Seymour

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LONGSHOREMEN UNDER ATTACK

this time because under its terms the companies would be required to observe the old contract, which they want to scrap. And so the ILA workers with the worst contracts are kept at work, while those with better contracts, who stand most to lose from the companies' offensive, are spared Taft-Hartley now so that the companies can ignore the superior terms of their old contract!

Political Struggle vs. Narrow Unionism

Clearly, longshore workers need to link up with the rest of the working class in a general counter-offensive against the wage freeze and other capitalist attacks. Yet every step toward such joint political struggle is sabotaged by the union bureaucrats. The rank-and-file must organize their own caucus to throw out the labor bureaucracy and open the door to working-class unity on the basis of a working-class political program. Those who fail to recognize this necessary step will only end up as "left" covers for the bureaucracy. Such is the course of the unprincipled Workers League, who in their desire to gain influence by any means in the working class abandon the necessary working-class politics in favor of ordinary trade unionism, e.g., the aborted WL campaigns in auto and steel were built around the "central issue" of wages (in light of the massive layoffs in steel, wages turned out to be not so "central" after all). Since the ILWU strike began on July 1, not one of the WL articles on the ILWU in the Bulletin talks about the need for a political caucus to throw out the bureaucracy; instead the Bulletin exclaims in the 12 July issue, "The ILWU has now taken the lead for the entire class..." and "Bridges must be forced to issue the call to the entire labor movement to join the dockers fight."

After several months' delay, the so-called Workers League issued a "program" for longshoremen (Bulletin, Oct. 11), embodied in the "ILA Committee for a Decent Contract." As the very name implies, the committee is patterned after the abortive WL campaigns in auto and steel, where, instead of political struggle, the WL raised quite ordinary trade union demands (the "central political question" was wages!) Similarly, the ILA Committee for a Decent Contract is formed around 7 points—wages, vacations, pensions, gang size, etc.—all quite important, but hardly political. The political points are listed later in the center-fold article, making it deliberately unclear whether they are positions of the WL only or are also positions of the ILA Committee for a Decent Contract. Yet even the political points, such as a call for defiance of Taft-Hartley, fail to mention the vital point of union opposition to the Indochina war, especially the need for labor political strikes against the war. No doubt this is because the WL, in its opportunist attempt to gain "influence" with bureaucratic tendencies, would find such a position embarrassing, especially in the long-time anti-communist ILA.

Like the Russian Economists Lenin attacked, the Workers League thinks that given an economic crisis, any economic struggle of the working class automatically becomes a political struggle against the government, so the role of the WL is reduced to pressure demands on the bureaucracy for more effective tradeunionism. It is of course true that under present conditions, economic demands cannot succeed unless the struggle becomes political. But the labor bureaucrat, knowing that raising the political consciousness of the ranks would mean his downfall, sets up barricades to the political road by keeping the ranks at the level of bread-and-butter trade unionism and appealing to the bourgeoisie for some deal to get him off the hook. Left to their own devices, the labor bureaucrats would even attempt deals with the fascists, as they attempted in Germany when Hitler came to power, rather than launch political struggle; thus they would lead the working class to utter destruction.

It is up to the communist worker-militants to raise the necessary political programs and organize political caucuses in the unions on that basis. Ironically, where the WL raises political points, they consist of demands on the bureaucracy to lead the political fight, "Bridges must be forced by the ranks to begin an immediate campaign to call a congress of labor to construct a labor party that can bring down Nixon in 1972." (19 July Bulletin.) Nothing about a caucus. The WL wants a labor party led by labor bureaucrats; this can only mean disaster, as the British workers are finding out.

The bureaucracy must be thrown out by the class-conscious ranks, not merely pressured and not merely replaced by younger bureaucrats. This requires a political organization, a caucus, to fight for power in the union on the basis of a working-class program:

1. GOVERNMENT STAY OUT OF LABOR STRUGGLES—NO RELIANCE ON THE CAPITALIST STATE—BREAK THE WAGE FREEZE: FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST NIXON'S WAGE PLAN—REPEAL ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS SUCH AS TAFT-HARTLEY—RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS SUCH AS ANGELA DAVIS AND JIMMY HOFFA
2. FOR LABOR STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR: HALT THE FLOW OF ALL WAR GOODS—FOR IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM S.E. ASIA—FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY; VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION!
3. BREAK FROM THE CAPITALIST PARTIES—BUILD A WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS; TOWARD A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT!
4. END UNEMPLOYMENT—30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY, JOBS FOR ALL! A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES—FULL COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATORS IN ALL CONTRACTS—STRIKES AGAINST LAYOFFS
5. EXPROPRIATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL ■

SPARTACIST NATIONAL TOUR:

Marvin Treiger, a leader of the formerly Maoist Communist Working Collective (CWC) of Los Angeles, which fused with the Spartacist League at its Labor Day Plenum (see Workers Vanguard #1, Oct. 1971) is currently touring the U.S. speaking on the theme:

FROM MAOISM TO TROTSKYISM

The development of the CWC, whose study led it to the conclusion that only Trotskyism, embodied in the politics of the SL, represents the continuation of Leninism, outraged orthodox Maoists and bogus Trotskyists alike. Maoist Bob Avakian denounced the CWC comrades for "corrupting the youth"! Following is Comrade Treiger's tour schedule:

Los Angeles/San Diego	Oct. 23-Nov. 8	Houston	Dec. 10
San Francisco/Bay Area	Nov. 10-13	New Orleans	Dec. 12-14
Seattle	Nov. 15-18	Tallahassee	Dec. 16-17
Portland	Nov. 19-25	Tampa	Dec. 19-20
San Francisco/Bay Area	Nov. 27-28	Atlanta	Dec. 22-23
Los Angeles	Nov. 30-Dec. 2	New York	Dec. 25
Austin	Dec. 7-8		

For further information, call in your area: NY (212) 925-8234, New England (617) 891-6678, South (512) 477-3835, SF/Bay Area (415) 848-3029, So. Cal. (213) 467-6855, Midwest (312) 643-4394.

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PL THUGS ATTACK TROTSKYISTS

a comprehensive transitional program, especially a workers' party, the PL'ers became enraged by their own frustration and inability to answer. Some spoke with irritation of "intellectual discussions" which "obstruct" the "real business" to be done. Soon a PL'er was sent around to each workshop to announce that "disrupters" in the meeting (pointing to SL/RCY comrades) who were talking about "transitional programs" and a "labor party" should not be recognized. An SL'er answered, "You're the one disrupting!" and was immediately threatened by someone holding a bottle in his hand. Finally, in the workshop on "organizing in the unions" an SL trade unionist raised her hand and spoke up in protest after her repeated attempts to get the floor were ignored, and was suddenly seized from behind by a PL'er—the same PL'er who led an attack on SL/RCY leafleters in Sacramento some months ago. Several people immediately joined the assault. When other SL/RCY'ers rushed to defend her, they were quickly grabbed and viciously assaulted. Many comrades were beaten up before they could even get to the exit and hallway stairs, where comrades were further beaten, kicked and pushed down the stairs. PL leader Fred Jerome could be seen among the assailants. Several comrades suffered bruises and cuts, but by sheer luck no serious injury resulted. A few "independents," unfamiliar with either PL or the SL, left the meeting, horrified by the attack.

This assault is the logical conclusion of PL's political bankruptcy—its failure to break from Stalinist methodology. We warn PL: You cannot sustain yourselves with mindless activism and petty gangsterism! Marxist truth and social reality cannot be annihilated by thuggery. We will not be silenced! ■

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LONGSHOREMEN UNDER ATTACK

On October 1, the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) struck, joining the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), which had been on strike for three months. Nixon moved quickly to eliminate the threat to the ruling class of the first massive nationwide dock strike in U.S. history. On Oct. 6, he invoked the Taft-Hartley law against the ILWU, ending the joint strike which union bureaucrats themselves had avoided for three months.

The strikes were triggered by the massive capitalist attack on the working class. Faced with stiffening competition from the rest of the capitalist world, especially Japan, the U.S. ruling class must seek to save its profits by driving down the wages of American workers and increasing productivity through automation and erosion of union powers.

On the docks, the installation of containerized cargo and LASH systems has meant the loss of thousands of jobs. An ILWU publication points out that from 1968 to 1969 containerized cargo on the West Coast jumped from 13% of the total tonnage to 40%; as a result, labor costs per ton decreased from $5.737 in 1966 to $4.389 in 1970 while freight rates have soared. Thus the shipping companies of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) have pulled in profits while employment for longshoremen has dropped steadily. Thanks to the treachery of the Bridges leadership, the 1961 and 1966 5-year no-strike contracts of the ILWU permitted this "modernization" to take place at the dockers' expense in jobs. (See Workers Action #9, July-Aug. 1971 for details.)

Nixon's wage-price freeze—actually a wage freeze—is a bold new capitalist attack on the independent power of the unions. The fact that the ILWU and ILA are involved in major industrial strikes in the middle of the freeze puts the unions in the important position of sounding board for working-class opposition to the freeze. Hence the outcome of this struggle will have far-reaching effects on the future course of struggle for the working class as a whole.

Newark Longshoremen Picket at Beginning of ILA Strike

Bureaucratic Sabotage

Unfortunately, but typically, the brief nationwide dock strike did not occur because of any elemental class solidarity between the ILA and ILWU leaderships. Rather, the joint action occurred in spite of the bureaucratic manipulations of the leaders to avoid confrontations with the employers and the government; it occurred because of blatant employer attacks and massive rank-and-file unrest. On the East Coast, Gleason of the ILA, like the rest of the spineless labor fakers such as Woodcock, was willing to go along with the freeze and stay on the job under the old contract, which expired Sept. 30, until the freeze is over; the employers, however, were not satisfied and wanted to take away gains from the old contract, such as the Guaranteed Annual Wage, thereby forcing the ILA on strike.

Bridges has attempted to counter the PMA offensive by a narrow single-union struggle, at all times attempting to avoid the inevitable political struggle against the capitalist government. His strike program itself already accepts defeats of the union and proposes compromises, e.g.—he proposed to prevent further manning cutbacks rather than restore the basic gang of six men; he proposes to modify Section 9.43 rather than abolish it. (Sec. 9.43 allows the use of "steady men" who work steadily for one company rather than being hired out of the union hall on a daily basis; thus it undermines the union hiring hall, a major source of union strength.) On the key container issue, the Bridges program demands that all the container "stuffing" work, with some exceptions, be brought to the docks under ILWU jurisdiction. Since much of this work has been done by the Teamsters and other workers, the narrow Bridges program poses a jurisdictional dispute—which the PMA has been making use of by pointing to existing contracts with the Teamsters. President Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, meanwhile, has lined up with Nixon in support of the freeze and has called for binding arbitration of the container issue. Needless to say, these bureaucratic traitors could not conceive of a joint struggle of longshoremen and Teamsters against the capitalists to preserve jobs and working conditions. The ILWU could initiate such a joint struggle by demanding that all container work not performed by longshoremen be performed at longshore pay rates, manning scales, etc. The successful fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay would create many new jobs for both unions.

Like all labor bureaucrats, Bridges has strained himself to soften the impact of the strike on the employers so as to avoid a confrontation with the government and to appear "reasonable" in the eyes of the liberals. This has only encouraged the employers and the government to take harder stands in the face of apparent union weakness. Throughout the strike, the ports of Vancouver, Canada and Ensenada, Mexico were allowed to remain open; naturally, scab cargo has increased through these ports so much that the union now might ask the locals there to begin boycotting "hot" cargo. Neither military nor passenger ships were struck. Bridges has also released from the docks cargo which had been unloaded from ships prior to the strike. But the employers are apparently standing firm on their wage offer and length-of-contract demands. To facilitate his dealings, Bridges excluded from the negotiating sessions rank-and-file members of Local 10 on grounds they might cause some "disturbance"; the fact that Local 10 members have been very militant, especially regarding Sec. 9.43, is no doubt the real cause for the bureaucratic move. An elementary demand by rank-and-file members must be to open up the negotiating sessions to all members.

There is a persistent rumor that Bridges has compromised on the container issue by agreeing to acceptance of a royalty tax on all containers not stuffed by longshoremen. As we have pointed out, such monetary penalty clauses are worthless in the long run if they allow the capitalists to eliminate jobs, thereby undermining the union's strength; this should have been the lesson of the 1961 ILWU contract!

Political Confrontation

In his attempt to prevent a confrontation with the government, Bridges exempted military cargo from the strike. All the noble liberal denunciations of the war emanating from the Bridges leadership have proven to be empty rhetoric. In fact, the armed forces are even paying for part of the upkeep of the hiring hall to ensure the smooth flow of military goods! The anti-working-class war in Indochina goes on while Nixon pursues a war against the working class at home as well, and the labor bureaucrats retreat. Instead of calling for a general labor defense of the ILWU as part of a counter-offensive against the freeze, Bridges merely pleads for a special exemption for his own union.

Yet the ruling class is not satisfied and wants to discipline the working class even more; the ruling class at least knows the ILWU is a test case. Thus Nixon sent in a special "mediator" and even stepped into the negotiations personally with the threat — soon carried out — of a Taft-Hartley injunction. Attempting to play off the ILWU against the ILA, Nixon held off on an injunction briefly, hoping that Bridges would complete the betrayal and get the ILWU back to work, leaving the ILA out alone.

Bridges of course is an old hand at stabbing fellow unionists in the back for the government. In 1944, in support of the no-strike pledge and wage freeze, the Bridges leadership endorsed the handling of scab goods during the Montgomery Ward strike. This policy was also endorsed by the Stalinist Communist Party as part of the CP's general policy of collaboration with the ruling class. Following the 1944 precedent, the CP paper Peoples World has not published a single criticism of Bridges' treacherous policies during this strike. As an elementary act of class solidarity, rank-and-file longshoremen must demand that both the ILA and ILWU stay out together, defying government injunctions, until each union has settled all grievances.

Political Struggle vs. Narrow Unionism

It did not take long for Nixon to break the joint action of East and West Coast longshoremen—given the help of "progressive" Bridges of the ILWU who whipped the men back to work under the excuse of the Taft-Hartley injunction. Of course, Bridges assured the ranks that the fight would continue "on the job" (!), but when Los Angeles-Long Beach dockers resisted returning because of the hiring of steady men, the court quickly ruled against the union while Bridges continued to pressure the men to go back. In mid-October employers in Seattle and Tacoma fired 42 longshore gangs for using slowdown tactics, and Bridges quickly rushed in to warn the ranks that "a slowdown won't work." The Bridges leadership stands more nakedly than ever as traitors to the working class—yet the rank and file, betrayed and disorganized, has as yet been unable to mount an effective counter-offensive.

Nixon has so far not invoked Taft-Hartley against the ILA—at the request of the New York Shipping Association. The Association and Nixon's mediators seek a settlement by the ILA on the companies' terms. The employers' optimism is enhanced by the fact that most of the ILA's Gulf ports, except Beaumont, continue to be worked. The guaranteed annual wage for ILA members in the port of New York (and in attenuated form in other East Coast ports), does not exist in the Gulf ports. The drive by the companies to eliminate the guaranteed annual wage, to realize fatter profits from technical advances, does not directly affect the Gulf longshoremen, and the ILA bureaucrats have agreed to work those ports during the wage freeze so long as the old contract is observed. Nixon does not want to invoke Taft-Hartley at

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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PHASE II AND THE PAY BOARD:

WORKERS BETRAYED BY UNION "LEADERS"

AFL-CIO Bureaucrats at Fla. Convention: From left, George Meany, AFL-CIO Pres.; Thomas Gleason, ILA; I. W. Abel, Steelworkers.

The criminal traitors who call themselves labor "leaders" today stand as the main obstacle to a working-class defense against the attacks of the ruling class.

Nixon's New Economic Policy is designed to solve the accelerating crisis of American capitalism by squeezing the American and international working class. The two-pronged attack—driving down the living standards of American workers and curbing the competition of foreign products—can only be accomplished by curbing the combativeness of the trade unions. In short, the success of Nixon's NEP rests on the cooperation of the trade union bureaucracy, and the fact that the bureaucrats have proven so eager to cooperate is indicative of their fear of rank-and-file unrest.

Phase I: Test of Strength

Phase I of Nixon's program was simply a test of the combativeness of the trade unions. Clearly no real price control was intended—the only machinery set up for that was a pool of phone-answerers to field questions. Such machinery could not possibly control the thousands of ways of hiding price increases. The central focus was the blatant abrogation of legal contracts of the large industrial unions such as the UAW, who had scheduled contractual wage increases. The Wage Freeze was eagerly and quickly "administered" by the capitalists themselves, and the workers could not possibly "sneak" in a wage increase as the capitalists have been slipping in price increases. So much for bourgeois legality! In a single stroke Nixon ripped up thousands of contracts, and the only opposition was brief public relations squawks from the labor "leaders".

George Meany had been calling for wage-price controls all along, but suddenly changed his tune to put up a show of opposition for the rank and file. Meany has even suggested that he would give a no-strike pledge if labor was allowed sufficient "representation" in its own repression! What he really would prefer is a wage control administered by Democratic "friends of labor," who might accord him more respect by giving him greater control over administration of the program. When the "friends of labor" like McGovern all rushed to support Nixon's program, Meany was left with nothing but hot air.

The "opposition" of other labor leaders proved also to be non-existent. Woodcock's early talk of a "war" with the government of course never materialized. Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters backed the President from the beginning, not even bothering to make fake statements of opposition. Bridges of the ILWU, caught in the middle of a major strike, merely pleaded for a special exemption, and quickly whipped the men back to work with the help of a Taft-Hartley injunction. The most extreme official opposition was a few token demonstrations organized by some bureaucrats, such as the Detroit AFL-CIO demonstration in late September.

Phase II: Second Punch

Nixon thus had the green light to proceed with the second wave of his attack against the working class—Phase II, which represents an attempt to make permanent the wage controls, with the active collusion of the labor leaders. The participation of the five major labor figures (Meany, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, Abel, Smith) on the Pay Board

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Their Real Enemy Behind Them, Indian Troops Advance in Pakistan.

FOR REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM ON BOTH SIDES IN THE INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR!

Once more the power rivalry between India and Pakistan has broken out in war. Seeking control of all Bengal and elimination of Pakistan as a significant rival, India has absorbed under its direct command the military forces of East Bengal (Bangla Desh), entirely subordinating the just Bengali struggle to the ambitions of the Indian bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois nation building era of capitalism's youth is long past. In the 19th century one might have given cold-eyed critical support to a drive by the Indian bourgeoisie to unify the subcontinent under its hegemony correspondingly advancing the growth, organization, and power of the proletariat. But in the era of imperialism only proletarian revolution offers the masses a road forward. For the Bengali masses only the international client relationships of their masters will change through an Indian victory. The Indian bourgeoisie vies with the Pakistani in viciousness toward national minorities and perhaps exceeds it in hypocrisy. It is a ruling class without a future. But a proletarian revolution which turns the guns of both armies against their own rulers will be a brilliant giant leap forward in the world struggle for socialism.

As Bogus International Unity Stands Exposed —

FOR PRINCIPLED UNITY AGAINST REVISIONISM!

FOR LENINIST INTERNATIONALISM!

IC Fraud Explodes:

Reconstruct the Fourth International!

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WORKERS BETRAYED BY UNION "LEADERS"

merely veils the fact that the Board is a weapon of the capitalist state against the unions. Meany no doubt knows that the five "public" members, hand-picked by Nixon, will vote against labor on the key questions. After all, who are these "public" members? They include: William Caples, a college president, director of the First Knox National Bank of Mount Vernon and executive of Inland Steel from 1946 to 1968; Neil Jacoby, an "economic adviser" who presently directs Occidental Petroleum Corp.; Arnold Weber, the man who worked under Secretary of the Treasury Connally to set up Phase I; and so on. These "public" members are merely professional administrators of the capitalist system.

It was therefore no surprise when the Pay Board voted 10 to 5 to deny retroactive pay to labor. Meany's threat to walk off the Board if retroactive pay was denied turned out to be just a bluff. Similarly, his earlier threat to walk off if the Board did not have final say in rulings was empty rhetoric—what did it matter, since the Board itself is stacked against labor? Paul Schrade of the UAW recently threatened a "general strike" against the NEP, though his own union supports the NEP through Woodcock's presence on the Pay Board!

Not surprisingly, the Price Control program is full of holes for the capitalists to walk through. For instance, officials admit that nearly one-fifth of the goods and services making up the average worker's cost of living are excluded from any price control, such as homes, used cars, taxes, interest rates, and raw agricultural products. Furthermore, the 2.5% limit on price raises is intended only as an overall goal, not a limit on individual businesses, which are allowed to increase prices to compensate for "higher costs" (the reason always given for raising prices!). Meany & Co. have called on unions and individual workers to form "watchdog committees" to check on price rises, but they do not explain how working people are supposed to distinguish a "legal" price rise from an "illegal" one. The entire price control program is buried in complicated-sounding economic formulas which in effect leave it to businesses to decide what is a "legal" price rise.

Meany and the other bureaucrats know all this. Meany himself served on wage control boards during World War II, when the labor bureaucrats gave a no-strike pledge and agreed to enforce wage controls. This policy of class collaboration, endorsed by the Stalinist Communist Party, led to the impoverishment of the working class as prices skyrocketed ahead of wages. It was only a rank-and-file rebellion reluctantly led by John L. Lewis which broke the wage controls and brought some economic relief through a series of strikes beginning in 1943 and blossoming in 1946. (The rank-and-file of the UMW appear again to be the leaders of a defiant revolt against the bureaucrats and government controls. In their tradition of "No Contract, No Work," the coal miners struck on September 30 and have won wage and benefit increases far in excess of the Pay Board "guidelines," and many have remained on strike demanding Pay Board approval of their contract!)

The Taming of the Trade Unions

One cannot understand the spinelessness of the labor "leaders" without understanding the nature of trade unions. To the extent that trade unions are organizations of struggle thrown up by the working class, they represent a potential source of working-class political power opposed to the rule of the capitalists, who hold power through the state apparatus. On the other hand, to the extent that the trade unions accept capitalist property forms and merely bargain for crumbs, they become institutions of capitalism. This contradictory nature of trade unions is a reflection of the existence of contending classes—working class and bourgeoisie. The capitalists may permit the union movement to exist so long as it acts to discipline the working class, but in times of crisis they will seek a way to abolish the unions to remove all potential sources of independent working-class power. Ultimately either the working class takes political power in its own name, or the capitalists will wipe out all the gains of the working class in order to "solve" the capitalist crisis.

The great contradiction of the American working class has been its extreme militancy in the economic sphere—typified by the great CIO strikes of the late 1930's—combined with barrenness and backwardness in the political sphere, reflecting low class consciousness. This backwardness was developed into a policy by the Stalinist Communist Party around 1936, when the CP began to call for labor support to the "progressive" bourgeoisie in the form of FDR and the Democrats. The privileged bureaucracy which immediately arose in the formative years of the CIO quickly entrenched itself through the systematic suppression of independent working-class politics and the limitation of the trade unions to "bread-and-butter" issues.

The merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955 was a reactionary development crowning the firm entrenchment of the conservative labor bureaucracy through the suppression of political life within the unions. The two top posts went to narrow-minded craft union leaders from the AFL, especially George Meany. The merger was the culmination of a witchhunt in the unions to drive out all militants and possible political oppositionists; a whole series of unions were expelled from the CIO in 1950 for "Communist influence" (ILWU, UE, etc.) and the labor bureaucrats bowed to the government's "right" to purge the unions of militants through such laws as Taft-Hartley. The class-collaborationist policies of the CP helped feed the reaction by disorienting militant workers. The AFL-CIO constitution codified the witchhunt, dropping previous references to class struggle in favor of anti-communist clauses. The bureaucrats would bargain for economic concessions; political power they conceded to the government, and policed their unions on the government's behalf.

Political Struggle Essential

Thus in the political sphere the labor bureaucracy tends to merge with the capitalist state, and both react in common hostility to any signs of rank-and-file independence. In return for their service the bureaucrats receive tremendous privileges. The creation of the breakaway ALA by Reuther in no way represented a break from the bureaucracy, but only an attempt to put on a new face—Woodcock today joins Meany on the Pay Board. The bureaucrats dare not admit that the state is owned and run by the capitalists; that would be to admit the necessity for socialist revolution. As Trotsky noted:

> "... In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labour aristocracy and the labour bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism. The labour bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensable they are in peace-time and especially in time of war. By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism.... The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —from Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay

George Meany

Harry Bridges

Leonard Woodcock

in this period of general capitalist crisis, it becomes impossible for the bureaucrats to draw a line between the political and economic sphere, as the capitalist state intervenes directly to roll back union gains. Yet the bureaucrats today are incapable of launching a unified political assault on the capitalist state, since such an assault would unleash forces which would sweep away the bureaucrats as well. The bureaucrats fear the development of proletarian political consciousness and sabotage working-class unity at every turn. The ILA, for instance, went on strike in spite of the wishes of Gleason, who supports the NEP and was content to stay on the job under the old contract; only blatant employer attacks and rank-and-file unrest forced a strike. Yet through lack of any elemental class solidarity between leaderships, the nationwide longshore strike was quickly divided by Taft-Hartley injunctions and other government intervention (see Workers Vanguard #3). The only political alternative the bureaucrats can come up with is more support to the Democratic "friends of labor"—the same "friends" who are rushing to back Nixon's program.

The AFL-CIO Convention in Florida was a disgusting display of the decay of the trade union movement. The Convention should have been the place to map out a strategy for a working class counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie, and the publicity should have been used to expose the lie of Nixon's program. Instead, the bureaucrats invited in the bourgeoisie to present its views on national television. Meany & Co., despite their widely publicized row with Nixon, allowed the convention to be used literally as a forum for Nixon to defend his policy. After Nixon, they featured a speech by Senator McGovern, the "friend of labor" who supports Nixon's NEP. Thus the labor bureaucracy took a further step toward merger with the capitalist state.

The Pay Board's approval of the contract settlements of the coal miners and railroad signalmen, far exceeding official guidelines, demonstrated how easily Nixon's guidelines can be broken, and how much the NEP depends on the labor bureaucrats' cooperation to succeed.

Clearly, for the organized working class to move forward, there must be a rank-and-file movement with a political program to throw out the bureaucrats and break the stranglehold of the capitalist government. Rank-and-file union caucuses must fight against government interference in the unions and for independent working-class political action through a workers' party, opposed to the two capitalist parties, to fight for a workers' government. Most immediately, all militants must demand that the labor "leaders" immediately resign from the Pay Board, since their presence on the Board masks its real function as a weapon of the capitalists. Militants must demand a general strike against Nixon's program and for all retroactive wage increases. A fight must begin now against the drift toward World War III, manifested by the capitalists' attempt to stir up resentment against "foreign" workers and the rush for greater armaments. The bureaucrats are eagerly lining up with the capitalists in the demand for trade curbs on imports, which merely shift unemployment to the working class of other countries, expecially Japan, and strengthen nationalist hatreds. Instead there must be an international working-class fight to increase the total pool of jobs through the shorter work week and ultimately through the expropriation of industry under workers' control and a govern-

continued on next page

Centrist Debacle in Bolivia

The issue of the role of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario in the recent Bolivian events has become inevitably a factional football in the power fight between the Healyite (SLL-WL) and Lambertiste (OCI) wings of the now split International Committee. But in addition to providing a test of the revolutionary capacity of both wings of the IC, the lessons of Bolivia are important in their own right, as a verification, in the breech, of the lessons of the October Revolution of 1917.

The POR is an avowedly Trotskyist organization under the leadership of Guillermo Lora, which since 1970 has claimed agreement with the anti-revisionist avowals of the IC. Despite its opportunist policy following the 1952 Bolivian uprising in conciliating the left wing of the bourgeois nationalist MNR government of Paz Estenssoro, the POR is an organization which must be treated seriously because of its considerable implantation in the most militant sector of the Bolivian proletariat, the tin miners.

People's Assembly

The POR played an active role in the People's Assembly which came into existence under the bonapartist regime of left militarist General Juan Jose Torres, which was overthrown by the rightest coup of General Hugo Banzer in August. The People's Assembly was composed of a majority of representatives from working-class organizations and included representatives of the significant left political organizations. The basis for adherence to the People's Assembly was defined as support to the Theses of the Fourth Congress of the Central Obrera Boliviana, the main trade union federation, which is heavily influenced by left nationalists and Stalinists. The People's Assembly pledged to lead the struggle against imperialism and for socialism:

> "The People's Assembly is a revolutionary anti-imperialist front led by the proletariat, constituted by the Central Obrera Boliviana, the trade union confederations and federations of national character, the people's organizations and the political parties of revolutionary orientation.
>
> "It recognizes as its political leadership the proletariat and declares that its program is the Political Theses passed by the Fourth Congress of the COB, held in May 1970....
>
> "The People's Assembly constitutes itself as the leadership and unifying center of the anti-imperialist movement and its fundamental goal consists in attaining national liberation and the establishment of socialism in Bolivia.
>
> (from the statutes of the People's Assembly, reprinted in the POR organ Masas of 13 July 1971)

According to the POR, the People's Assembly was a body of the soviet type which had the potential to become an institution of dual power—i. e., that it was an embryonic workers government within and in contradiction to the bourgeois government under Torres. Masas engaged in occasional sharp criticism of the CP for pursuing a "rightist and pro-government line" in the Assembly but did not systematically expose the CP and the other reformist parties for their betrayal of the working ctass in attempting to subordinate the Assembly to Torres, devoting at least as much emphasis to praising the Assembly and defending it against "leftist" detractors.

Centrist Vacillation

Even on the basis of insufficient documentation, what emerges clearly is a pattern of centrist vacillation on the part of the POR. For example, in an article written by Guillermo Lora after Banzer's coup is the admission:

> "At this time [October 1970] everybody thought—including we Marxists—that the arms would be given by the governing military team, which would consider that only through resting on the masses and giving them adequate firepower could they at least neutralize the gorila right. This position was completely wrong...." (Bulletin, 27 September 1971)

To have placed any confidence in Torres to arm the masses shows the most severe disorientation on the part of the POR over the crucial question of the class nature of the state. Torres was a bonapartist seeking to balance between the working class, roused by a foretaste of power and eager to struggle for its own class rule, and the reactionary generals—at the head of a bourgeois state. Although forced to grant concessions to the masses, Torres, as Lora points out:

Armed Bolivian Miners Arriving in LaPaz

> "...preferred to capitulate to his fellow generals before arming masses who showed signs of taking the road to socialism and whose mobilization put in serious danger the army as an institution."

The issue is clear, but the attitude and role of the POR is not. For in the 31 May 1971 issue of Masas we find a call for the formation of independent workers and peasants militias and the categorical assertion that: "General Torres will never arm the workers and peasants militias."

An article in the SLL's Workers Press of 24 August quotes POR leader Filemon Escobar:

> "...we will work for political objectives that help radicalize the present process—for example, worker-participation in COMIBOL [Bolivian Mining Corporation]."

And Lora's Bulletin article speaks of "the danger to the state that majority working class participation in COMIBOL would mean." Yet a major article in the 31 May Masas exposes the plan for "worker-participation" in COMIBOL as "the point of departure for the bureaucratization and political control over the 'worker-managers' on the part of the state," counterposing to this the demand for "workers control with veto rights" and pointing out that workers control does not obviate the class struggle.

A severe blunting of a hard Leninist edge is apparent in an article in the 9 May Masas which states:

> "...the fundamental contradiction in Bolivia is nothing else than that which exists between the proletariat and imperialism."

Our question is simple: what role does the national bourgeoisie play in this schema? For the fatal illusion fostered by the nationalist-Stalinist cabal was precisely the conception of the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie as an ally. What was required of the POR was precisely to break the working class from subordination to the "revolutionary," "anti-impertalist" regime of Torres. To Marxists, the counterposed class forces are the working class supported by the peasantry on the one side and the bourgeoisie—both the puppets of imperialism and the "progressive" nationalist wing—on the other.

The OCI's response to the grave accusations levelled against the POR is an attempt to bluff it out. The 19 September statement declares:

> "...the coup d'etat organized by the CIA and the military dictators of Brazil and Argentina and facilitated by the action of the Torres government is the proof that the policy carried by the POR was fundamentally based on the interests of the Bolivian proletartat....
>
> "...All those who attack the POR through this, represent the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They take the sides of imperialism and Stalinism. They are agents of counterrevolution and are enemies, conscious or unconscious, of the Fourth International."

This kind of argumentation can simply be dismissed out of hand. As Trotskyists, we have listened too many times to the hysterical accusations of Stalinists of all stripes along the same lines: the ferocity of U. S. imperialism's aggression against the NLF and the North Vietnamese regimes proves that their leaderships have not sold out; all those who attack Chairman Mao are taking the side of imperialism; Trotsky was a conscious or unconscious agent of fascism; those who stand in opposition to the United Secretariat are against the Fourth International; ad nauseum. We note only that this "defense" of the POR proves nothing about the POR but a great deal to the discredit of the OCI.

The OCI asserts that the People's Assembly was "under the leadership of the Trotskyist party, the POR." This statement is open to question. In an interview in the 9 August Bulletin, POR leader Victor Sossa states that "the POR represented only around 20 per cent of the delegates, perhaps a little more." Yet he expected that the Assembly, still predominantly influenced by Stalinists, bourgeois nationalism and "ultra-left adventurist petty-bourgeois groups," to do the following:

> "In the case of a coup the People's Assembly will call a general strike, will assume the military and political command of the masses. The decision to go over to the systematic organization of militias is geared to this perspective and prepares the working class for the inevitable confrontation, the fight to fully install its own government, the workers and peasants government."

The question here is not whether the POR had already established its hegemony over the workers organizations, but whether it was struggling to do so—whether the POR's perspective was to expose the reformists' and nationalists' treachery before their supporters by demanding that the Assembly counterpose itself to the regime, breaking all ties with the regime and struggling to establish a workers and peasants government—i. e. the dictatorship of the proletariat. It would appear that the POR placed political confidence in the Assembly under its existing leadership.

Soviets: Form and Content

What was the role of the POR within the People's Assembly? The OCI notes that:

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ment of workers in their own ctass interest:

1. GOVERNMENT STAY OUT OF LABOR STRUGGLES—NO RELIANCE ON THE CAPITALIST STATE. BREAK THE WAGE FREEZE; FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST NIXON'S WAGE PLAN. REPEAL ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS SUCH AS TAFT-HARTLEY. RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS SUCH AS ANGELA DAVIS AND JIMMY HOFFA.

2. FOR LABOR STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR: HALT THE FLOW OF ALL WAR GOODS. FOR IMMEDIATE UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM S.E. ASIA. FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY: VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION!

3. BREAK FROM THE CAPITALIST PARTIES—BUILD A WORKERS' PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS. TOWARD A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT!

4. END UNEMPLOYMENT—30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY, JOBS FOR ALL! A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES—FULL COST OF LIVING ESCALATORS IN ALL CONTRACTS. STRIKES AGAINST LAYOFFS.

5. NO TRADE PROTECTIONISM, NO GOVERNMENT CREDITS FOR BUSINESS—SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS FIGHT TO CREATE AND ORGANIZE JOBS!

6. EXPROPRIATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. ■

IC Fraud Explodes—

RECONSTRUCT THE

The "International Committee," which for nearly two decades proclaimed itself the embodiment of authentic revolutionary Trotskyism opposed to the Pabloist revisionism of the "United Secretariat," has now crumbled under the weight of years of gross political deception perpetrated against the international Trotskyist movement. The IC combination sought to present itself as a political tendency but was in fact a rotten bloc between the political bandits of the Socialist Labour League of Britain and the left centrists of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste of France. Years of jockeying for hegemony within the IC while seeking to preserve the criminal fiction of basic programmatic agreement came to a head as the OCI increasingly gained the whip hand, especially by the affiliation to the IC of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Bolivia, which was lined up from the first with the OCI against the SLL. The IC has finally broken apart completely in open rupture, with the OCI-POR on one side and the SLL (and its U. S. sycophants, the Workers League) on the other. The split in the IC—together with the increasingly strained relations within its major international competitor, the United Secretariat—represents the fragmentation into chaotic chunks of the organizational configurations of ostensible Trotskyism which have existed essentially since 1953.

The SLL-OCI split is at once inevitable, unprincipled and opportune. Its inevitability was obvious to anyone familiar with the wide political distance separating Gerry Healy's SLL from the OCI of Pierre Lambert, joined in agreement not to disagree. The internationalist masquerade thinly concealed the reality of unprincipled bloc between two power centers with keen competing appetites for satellites. The split, accomplished by calculated SLL-WL provocation over the issue of the policies of Guillermo Lora's POR of Bolivia, is as unprincipled as was the erstwhile posture of unity. The split can be of great objective assistance in rebuilding the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky, by breaking unprincipled combinations as a prerequisite for political clarification and internal political struggle within national groupings previously insulated by the comforting assurance of "internationalism"—i. e. membership in one of the unprincipled international blocs.

But the rebuilding of the Fourth International does not proceed automatically from the collapse of the ersatz, revisionist and centrist conglomerations. The possibilities for revolutionary regroupment in authentic democratic centralist international tendencies defined by programmatic cohesion are sharply enhanced in the present period of heightened class struggle and growing instability in the imperialist world order; but the dangers of new unprincipled combinations built upon congruent appetite rather than principle likewise increase; only a vigorous fight by the revolutionary Trotskyists can prevent the creation of some new centrist swamp to trap and disillusion militants and breed revisionist confusion.

Healyite Provocation

The IC split was precipitated by the British and U. S. Healyites' public attack on the policies pursued in Bolivia by the POR in the events which culminated in the August rightist military coup. The denunciation, appearing in the U. S. for the first time in the 30 August issue of the WL Bulletin, was a device for accomplishing quickly the desired break with the increasingly powerful OCI wing. By 8 November the Bulletin was able to print documents confirming the split, with the SLL-WL and smaller associates claiming to be the majority.

According to the Healyites, however, the "real" issue is not Bolivia. Bolivia is a "smokescreen"; the real issue is Essen, the youth conference called by the OCI in July 1971, during which the two centers of the same "international" voted against each other's motions. In a sense Healy is right—for reasons which hardly redound to his credit! Healy, accustomed to the organizational whip hand in the IC, was understandably chagrined to find himself opposed and outvoted by the OCI supporters; perhaps the unkindest cut of all was the presence (afterwards apologized for by the French) of a Spartacist League observer. Having lost organizational control, the Healyites determined upon split, and chose to strike an orthodox Leninist pose over Bolivia as an excuse for a precipitous break. No, Bolivia was not the "real" issue, Comrade Healy; that it was not is shown by your own egregious opportunism over popular frontism in Ceylon and Chile, as documented below. It was only when the POR's policies came to their inevitably disastrous fruition in a rightist coup, and when the SLL-WL needed a factional stick to beat the OCI-POR, that the Healyite bandits rediscovered Trotskyism for Bolivia. In this they are strikingly reminiscent of their supposed polar opposites, the Hansen-SWP wing of the United Secretariat, which suddenly remembered Leninist orthodoxy in order to polemicize against the petty-bourgeois guerrillaist adventurism of Mandel-Maitan.

Will the Real IC Please Stand Up?

That the main impetus for the split was a power fight can be seen in the hilarious gyrations of Tim Wohlforth and his Workers League over the POR—not over its politics but over the question of its putative IC membership. In the 19 July Bulletin the POR, then riding high, was described simply as the "Bolivian section of the International Committee." By 30 August the connection between the POR and the IC had been disappeared:

> "... Lora was carrying forward a political course begun over a decade ago, from which he has consistently refused to veer. At every point this course has received support within the Fourth International or forces claiming to represent the Fourth International...."

If the reader knew who the suddenly organizationally anonymous Lora was—well, okay. If not, Wohlforth wasn't telling.

The United Secretariat's Intercontinental Press was, of course, delighted to be able to point out that the man Wohlforth was denouncing was a member of Wohlforth's own IC. On 4 October the Bulletin attempted to reply to the charges of unprincipled combinationism and sectarianism, but did not deny the POR's affiliation although such a denial would have been the most effective answer to the attack. But the 24 October SLL-WL statement declares that the POR "is not a section of the International Committee." The OCI has consistently claimed that it is. The treatment of this question—at first boasting of the link with the influential POR, then ignoring the connection, then not denying it when asserted by the United Secretariat, then denying it later when a Healyite "majority" in the split is needed—not only casts doubt on the present SLL-WL claim but, much more importantly, illustrates the utter hollowness of the IC pretense of Leninist internationalism. A prerequisite for any genuine organization, obviously, is knowing who is in it! Nothing illustrates more clearly the rottenness of the IC—bordering on organizational non-existence, which claimed to be an international (and the Fourth International, at that)—than its inability to agree on its own membership.

In fact, the IC never even managed to agree on its own name. According to the SLL, it was "the IC of the Fourth International"; the OCI has always called it "the IC for the reconstruction of the Fourth International." Two fundamentally different evaluations of the very nature of the IC were expressed in the difference over nomenclature: the British held the IC to be the simple, linear political and organizational continuity of the international founded by Trotsky; the French insisted that the international had been destroyed by Pabloist revisionism and the central international task of Trotskyists was to wage a struggle for its rebuilding. This difference was debated at the 1966 London IC Conference and an internal exchange occurred between the SLL and OCI over this question in 1967; yet both wings continued to insist that their adherence to "the IC" was a priori proof of their internationalism (one might paraphrase "the IC position" as: the Fourth International no longer exists and we are it!). The SLL position is merely another example of its much-vaunted "method"—the creation of cynical and shabby Potemkin villages by which it seeks to dupe its followers—in this case simply sidestepping the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International by a dogmatic and sectarian assertion that the task was completed in the form of the IC. And the French were content to coexist with the Healyites despite their numerous differences, not the least of which was what their common organization was and who was in it!

The IC: Rotten Bloc

Healy and Wohlforth are now seeking to create an orthodox Leninist image for themselves against their picture of the OCI as unprincipled centrist maneuverers. But the mask keeps tearing, revealing the ugly features of an organization qualitatively worse than the grossly defective OCI-POR. For on every issue on which they indict the Lambertistes, the SLL-WL have in their readily verifiable history swung far to the right of their former bloc partners, in response to the most trivial appetites, ignoring even the limitations on opportunism observed by intelligent reformists in pursuit of the "main chance." The OCI is a serious political current with a persistently centrist thrust—i. e. an opportunist practice; the SLL-WL are both hilariously sectarian and egregiously opportunist.

The chief opportunist sin of the OCI is precisely the one with which the Healyites will never charge them: their service for years in shoring up Healy's claims to internationalism. The grave charges which both sides are now flinging at one another include not only sharp differences over current and recent issues, but positions of years' duration—public positions of the competing wings when both sides claimed adherence to the same IC as proof of their internationalism! The main SLL-WL statement, dated 24 October, denounces the OCI for supporting a wing of the Algerian nationalist bourgeoisie, the MNA, in the 1950's; the 19 September OCI statement included a veiled attack on the Healyites ("those who attack the POR... are the same people who...") for having "characterized Ho Chi Minh as a revolutionary" and having "subordinated the Palestinian resistance to Nasser, then to the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Palestine resistance."

We ask the OCI: If these things disturb you now, how is it that you remained in an international bloc—which you foisted off on the world movement as a political tendency—with Healy and Wohlforth who shouted from the housetops their capitulation to Vietnamese Stalinism and Arab nationalism? The Bulletin's laudatory obituary for Ho Chi Minh, which painted him as a sincere revolutionary betrayed by Stalin, glossing over his own role in the repeated Stalinist sellouts and the murder of Trotskyists, was no more than a vulgar but consistent extension of the SLL-WL's years-long policy of critical (and sometimes not so critical) political support, rather than principled military support against imperialism, to the NLF. This position was of a piece with the Healyites' shameless enthusing over Mao's "Red Guards" in the 1968 "Cultural Revolution" intra-bureaucratic fight, treating Mao's mobilization

E FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Gerry Healy

Tim Wohlforth

of the student youth (and the army) as a surrogate for political revolution in China. The SLL-WL's campaign of political support to the so-called "Arab Revolution"—i. e. the Arab government's attempt to deflect the aspirations of the Arab working masses for social revolution into wars against Zionist Israel—was in flat contradiction to the OCI line of revolutionary defeatism for both sides; where was the OCI outcry then? It is not enough to have published your own positions while for years lending your weight to the cynical fiction that the IC was a disciplined international body. Such unprincipled combinationism contradicts the OCI's pious assertions of its commitment to struggle "for the reconstruction of the Fourth International."

OCI and NSA

The conduct of the OCI at their Essen youth conference on 3-4 July demonstrates that on the question of the relationship between the youth and the working class the Lambertistes' rightist course places them on common ground with the past and present practice of the Healyites. Under the guidance of the OCI and its youth affiliate, the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme, the call was put forward for "the Revolutionary Youth International":

> "Youth wants to live, in hope and freedom, and in order to live it must struggle. Youth aspires to life, youth needs exhilarating perspectives. Bureaucrats and bourgeois offer only a sordid life, unemployment, misery, failure, war and suffering."

A main slogan of the conference was "Long live the struggle of the youth against the Stalinist bureaucracy and imperialism!" The posing of the struggle against Stalinism and capitalism as equivalent reflects not only a persistent tendency on the OCI's part to fail to distinguish political revolution in the Sino-Soviet states from social revolution in the capitalist states, but also a capitulation to current moods among petty-bourgeois radical youth. The conference and the propaganda surrounding it constituted an adaptation to youth vanguardism; the very concept of a "youth international," unless it is indissolubly linked with and politically subordinated to an international proletarian party, can only be at best an illusion, and at worst a capitulation to anti-Leninism. "The youth" are not a class: proletarian youth are generally one of the most militant sectors of their class; student youth are the most volatile sector of the petty-bourgeoisie, many of whom can be won over to a proletarian revolutionary perspective but only by becoming in effect traitors to their own future class interests. Thus the youth movement must be linked—in conception, program and organization—to the revolutionary party, which is firmly rooted in the working class and encompasses the historical and living experience of previous generations of proletarian militants. In short, a "revolutionary youth international" cannot be independent of the vanguard party and it cannot be anything less than Trotskyist. The OCI line over the Essen conference is an accommodation to youth vanguardist and spontaneist moods in the petty-bourgeois student milieu.

Moreover, at Essen the Lambertistes were openly courting the Spanish POUM and even the U.S. NSA. (The NSA was in the past disgraced by the receipt of CIA funds. In projecting the NSA as a likely seedbed for the U. S. revolution, the OCI has compounded its opportunist appetites by gross ignorance.) While chasing after rightist elements, the OCI committed a gross violation of workers' democracy by forcibly preventing an oppositional Trotskyist tendency, the International Communists of Germany (IKD), from distributing outside the hall a leaflet criticizing the OCI's refusal to base the "revolutionary youth international" on an explicitly Trotskyist program. Although it lacks the Healyites' world-wide reputation for thuggery, the OCI shares with the SLL-WL the reprehensible position that the use of force and recourse to the capitalist state are legitimate means for settling disputes within the workers' movement.

The Healyites in effect boycotted the Essen conference—they sent a delegation of perhaps two dozen headed by Cliff Slaughter (by way of contrast, the SLL-WL demands that virtually the entire WL membership turn out for yearly rallies in England)—while bringing in an "orthodox" motion that the youth international must base itself on revolutionary theory, the Fourth International and the IC, which the Lambertistes voted down.

Healy and YSA

That the Healyite opposition to the OCI's policies at Essen was a provocation empty of principle is shown by the SLL-WL conduct of many years' standing. The abysmal political level of Healy's own model youth operation, the Young Socialists, is well known and exposes his newfound concern for the importance of Marxist theory among the youth as a fraud from start to finish. The WL's several ill-fated attempts to build a youth group in the U. S. have been notable for their singular absence of anything resembling Trotskyist politics; having once launched a short-lived youth group called "Revolt" whose program was determined by what the WL thought would be most attractive to Maoist street confrontationists, the Wohlforthites' most recent exploit is a call for "a Conference of Revolutionary Youth" based on an economist "Program for Youth to Fight Back" whose section on the Vietnam war does not even mention military support to the NLF against U. S. imperialism.

The Healyites now denounce the OCI for its appetites toward the NSA, but their own orientation for the U. S. is no better. An internal WL Political Committee directive dated 15 March 1970 earnestly explained the need to tone down criticisms of the SWP's Young Socialist Alliance because:

> "The perspectives document agreed to in England proposed that the road to the American working class is through the YSA and it meant just that."

One wonders what the SWP oppositionists, rebuffed in their campaign to make the SWP adopt even the most rudimentary working-class orientation, would think of this apparent affirmation of the YSA's proletarian credentials!

The Healyites' chase after the Pabloists—perhaps motivated by the awareness that their own international rotten bloc was coming unstuck—reached its high point in the summer of 1970 when, on Healy's initiative, they approached the United Secretariat leadership with a proposal for private discussions toward the aim of joint work and the holding of a joint international conference. The overture, which had the effect of shoring up the Pabloists' Trotskyist pretensions at precisely the time when they were experiencing significant left splits in several countries, was spurned by the United Secretariat as Joe Hansen, lavishly covering himself in orthodoxy, explained that such discussions without a firm basis in a deepening programmatic agreement would not be principled. The incident illustrated the symbiotic relationship between the IC and the Pabloists, each episodically making the other look good by comparison.

From Red Guards to Stalinophobia

At the national convention of the SWP's anti-war front group last July the Wohlforthites pledged their physical support to the group's sponsorship of bourgeois speakers in the anti-war movement and joined the SWP goon squad in beating and evicting the militants, including supporters of the Spartacist League, who were vociferously protesting the presence of a U. S. senator. The slogan under which they justified this capitulation to popular frontism to their membership was "Stalinism vs. Trotskyism"—which in this case meant excluding the (ex-Maoist, now theoretically state capitalist) Progressive Labor and the (Trotskyist) Spartacist League, in the service of the (ex-Trotskyist) SWP and the (pro-Moscow) Communist Party. (This convenient Stalinophobic pose rests very uneasily on the WL, which enthused over the "Red Guards" maneuver and the Stalinist NLF and in its frenzy of appetite toward PL once went so far as to justify an incident of gross PL violence against SWPers.) Now Wohlforth—who at the time of the 24 April anti-war demonstration categorically ruled out seeking a united front, based on a class line against the war, with left-wing Stalinists ("In any event we will not have joint actions with Maoists")—is castigating the OCI for... Stalinophobia!

Where will the components of the former IC go from here? The Healyites, endlessly veering from egregious sectarianism to blatant opportunism, have never shown themselves loath to abandon any and every one of the ostensible principles in pursuit of new allies, dupes or masters. The OCI, in the past more stable in maintaining connection with a fundamental class line, but now loosed from its IC moorings by a rotten split—in which it cast itself as a left cover for the POR debacle—and launched on a youth vanguardist capitulation, may find itself moving further to the right than most of its cadres ever dreamed. The only perspective which can open the road to authentic Trotskyism for these militants is intransigent internal struggle. Only by a ruthless examination of the IC split and its roots in unprincipled combinationism can the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International go forward! ■

Continued from Page 3

Centrist Debacle in Bolivia

"... the setting up of the People's Assembly expresses the fundamental trend of the period, the will of the proletarian and peasant masses to enter into the struggle for power."

But Allende's Popular Front government in Chile, for example, also without doubt represents "the will of the proletarian and peasant masses to enter into the struggle for power"—yet we know that the Chilean masses have been terribly deceived and they are likely to pay for their misleaders' promises in blood. The willingness of the working masses to struggle is not in dispute. In Bolivia, as in Chile, Spain, Vietnam and dozens of other instances, the question is whether their combative heroism has been betrayed.

The OCI declares:

"It is the unity in and around the People's Assembly, organ of dual power, which under the leadership of the Trotskyist party, the POR, dominated the whole revolutionary process before and after the confrontations of August 20-23."

What does it mean to acclaim the "unity in and around the People's Assembly"? If the People's Assembly was indeed an embryonic soviet form, how was the struggle for its leadership carried out? A soviet is a united front of the working class raised to the level of struggling for power. There is nothing sacred about the soviet or any other united front form. Soviets arise, even spontaneously, in revolutionary crises as the proletarian axis in the dual power situation, with the potential under revolutionary leadership to oust the bourgeois state power and become the agency of working-class rule—i.e. to consummate the revolution on the national plane. They are the best arena in which the Bolsheviks can demonstrate their superiority in carrying forward the tasks implicit in the soviet as an embryonic form of the state of a different class: the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. A Menshevik-led soviet, for example, may indeed be an authentic soviet—but it will inevitably betray. Thus a Leninist call for the formation of soviets, for power to the soviets, must contain within it the perspective of struggle within the soviet: in order to demonstrate to the workers that it is they, unlike the revisionists and reformists, who have nothing to fear from soviet power and that only their policy can achieve and defend it. The existence of a soviet is in itself no guarantee of revolutionary principle. (Even the Stalinists have called—bureaucratically, to be sure—for the formation of soviets in their "left" zigzags, after having doomed the workers in advance by their policies—policies which guaranteed the ruin of the soviet.) Without the presence of revolutionaries intransigently struggling at every point to expose before the working class the traitorous misleaders within its ranks, the People's Assembly offered no more promise for the Bolivian proletarian revolution than George Meany's AFL-CIO raised to the political level. Does the OCI really want to boast that the POR expounded "unity in and around the People's Assembly"?

When questions of power politics between the wings of the IC were not so clearly and ultimatistically posed, the OCI was willing to take a more critical attitude toward the POR on precisely this question. A letter to the POR leadership dated 30 July 1970 and later published in the Lambertistes' public theoretical magazine discussed the COB Theses which the POR had helped prepare and voted for. The sections of the COB document singled out for sharp criticism by the OCI include the following:

"In order to attain socialism, it seems necessary first of all to make a unity of all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. The people's anti-imperialist revolution is linked to the struggle for socialism. The people's front is an alliance of related classes, and the unitary instrument for making the revolution. ... The expulsion of imperialism and the realization of national and democratic tasks will render possible the socialist revolution."
(La Vérité, October 1970)

What this paragraph sets forward is the Menshevik theory of stages, pure and simple—first national liberation, then socialist revolution. It is the classic reformist rationale for class collaboration, which has led to the most bitter and bloody defeats for the working class. And yet the POR supported this resolution and continued to acclaim it in Masas. Instead of struggling around this question, the POR compromised around a contradictory hodge-podge document which contained affirmations of internationalism, condemnations of class collaboration alongside praise of the so-called "socialist" nations and clear popular frontism.

It speaks well of the Lambertistes that they were willing to raise to the POR and subsequently make public their criticisms of the POR's departure from principle. Now, however, the OCI's opportunism has gained the upper hand, and so all critics of the POR become "agents of counter-revolution"!

And what of the POR's conduct since the coup? The 6 December issue of the SWP's Intercontinental Press reprints a declaration signed by the POR—along with the Communist Party, the "POR" of the Moscoso Pabloists, left nationalist groups and General Torres himself! The document again pays lip service to "the leadership of the proletariat, the ruling class of the revolutionary process" but the tone of the document is nationalist-populist ("revolutionary priests," "revolutionary officers," "patriots," "the power is now in the hands of foreigners," etc.) and its core is the following:

"... Therefore, the need is undeniable to build a fighting unity of all the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces so that the great battle can be begun in conditions offering a real perspective for a popular and national government. ...
"This is not a battle that concerns only one sector of the exploited people, or one class, institution or party. ... Any form of sectarianism is counterrevolutionary. Let us be worthy of the sacrifice of those who fell August 21 defending Bolivia." (our emphasis)

In fact, the declaration is a classic popular front which subordinates the working class to alien class forces and ideologies to which it is in fundamental and irreconcilable opposition.

Healyite Pop Frontism

For the political bandits of the Healyite SLL-WL, the OCI's decision to march in lockstep behind the POR is a godsend, a cheap way to assert their Leninist orthodoxy and cast themselves as the principled left wing in the IC split. But the real difference between the Healyites and the POR on proletarian policy toward a "leftist" bourgeois government is that the POR has had the opportunity to wreck a pre-revolutionary situation and the Healyites have not. Healy-Wohlforth have seized on Bolivia as a pretext for ridding themselves of the OCI, which was increasingly playing a dominant role in the IC—and that's all. For although they would now prefer to bury it, the Healyites have a shining example of how they would deal with a Popular Front bourgeois government: Chile.

The 21 September 1970 Bulletin advised the workers of Chile:

"There is only one road and that is the revolutionary road of the October Revolution. ... as a step in this understanding the workers must hold Allende to his promises. ... "

Wohlforth's road is not that of the October Revolution, but of those Bolsheviks, Stalin prominent among them, who very nearly ruined the chances for October by their policy—denounced by Lenin and Trotsky—of support for the bourgeois Provisional Government "insofar as it struggles against reaction or counterrevolution." Wohlforth's statement parallels the notorious Pravda articles capitulating to Menshevism in February and March of 1917, filled with statements like the following:

"The way out is bringing pressure to bear on the Provisional Government with the demand that the government proclaim its readiness to begin immediate negotiations for peace."

Against this policy Lenin declared: "To turn to this government with a proposal of concluding peace is equivalent to preaching morality to the keeper of a brothel." And Trotsky, in Lessons of October, said:

"The programme of exerting pressure on an imperialist government so as to 'induce' it to pursue a pious course was the programme of Kautsky and Ledebour in Germany, Jean Longuet in France, MacDonald in England, but never the programme of Bolshevism."

One must be sharply critical, as was Trotsky, of those Bolsheviks who would have let slip a revolutionary opportunity if it had not been for the sharp correction of Lenin. But more than criticism is merited by the Healyites, who claim to stand on the shoulders of the Bolsheviks, to have assimilated the "lessons of October."

Lenin expressed his policy in an uncompromising formula:

"Our tactic: absolute lack of confidence; no support to the new government; suspect Kerensky especially; arming of the proletariat the sole guarantee; ... no rapprochement with other parties."

Against Lenin's policy stand both the centrism of the POR-OCI and the Healyite pseudo-Leninist posturing.

And now the Healyites sanctimoniously denounce the POR-OCI for the same kind of Pop

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Third Period Healyism—
LEARN TO READ—LEARN TO THINK

The SLL-WL, seeking to make factional capital out of the disastrous policy of the Bolivian POR, have adopted a sectarian posture which only muddies the waters and sows confusion before serious militants seeking to understand the crucial lessons of the Bolivian defeat. Prominent among the Healyite charges of class treason heaped upon Guillermo Lora of the Bolivian POR was this from Wohlforth in his 30 August Bulletin:

"Together with the Stalinists the POR supported the position of threatening a general strike and military action in defense of Torres!" [emphasis in original]

Such is Wohlforth's conception of treachery against the working class. The most charitable interpretation is that Cde. Wohlforth was sorely pressed for time in grinding out turgid copy for his weekly Bulletin. More likely, Wohlforth didn't know that he had scrapped a basic Leninist tactic for defeating counterrevolution and making proletarian revolution. In his self-proclaimed fight for the continuity of the Fourth International, Wohlforth would do well to re-establish continuity with the views of Trotsky:

"The party came to the October uprising... through a series of stages. At the time of the April 1917 demonstration, a section of the Bolsheviks brought out the slogan: 'Down with the provisional government!' The Central Committee immediately straightened out the ultraleftists. Of course, we should popularize the necessity of overthrowing the provisional government; but to call the workers into the streets under that slogan—this we cannot do, for we ourselves are a minority in the working class. If we overthrow the provisional government under these conditions, we will not be able to take its place, and consequently we will help the counterrevolution. We must patiently explain to the masses the antipopular character of this government, before the hour for its overthrow has struck. Such was the position of the party....

"Two months later, Kornilov rose against the provisional government. In the struggle against Kornilov, the Bolsheviks occupied the frontline positions. Lenin was then in hiding. Thousands of Bolsheviks were in the jails. The workers, soldiers, and sailors demanded the liberation of their leaders and of the Bolsheviks in general. The provisional government refused. Should not the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks have addressed an ultimatum to the government of Kerensky?—free the Bolsheviks immediately and withdraw the disgraceful accusation of service to the Hohenzollerns—and, in the event of Kerensky's refusal, have refused to fight against Kornilov? This is probably how the Central Committee of Thaelmann-Remmele-Neumann would have acted. But this is not how the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks acted. Lenin wrote at the time: 'It would have been the most profound error to think that the revolutionary proletariat is capable, so to speak, out of "revenge" upon the SRs and Mensheviks for their support of the crushing of the Bolsheviks, the assassinations on the front, and the disarming of the workers, of "refusing" to support them against the counterrevolution. Such a way of putting the question would have meant, first of all, the carrying over of petty-bourgeois conceptions of morality into the proletariat (because for the good of the cause the proletariat will always support not only the vacillating petty bourgeoisie but also the big bourgeoisie); in the second place, it would have been—and this is most important—a petty-bourgeois attempt to cast a shadow, by "moralizing," over the political essence of the matter....

"It is precisely this 'petty-bourgeois moralizing' which Thaelmann & Co. engage in when, in justification of their own turn, they begin to enumerate the countless infamies committed by the leaders of the Social Democracy." ["Against National Communism," reprinted in The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany]

Wohlforth is counting—not for the first time—on the ignorance of his supporters. He hopes that his own "petty-bourgeois moralizing," cataloguing the horrors of bourgeois regimes and the crimes of the reformists who participate in them, will cover his inability to handle them. Trotsky's devastating critique of the policies of the Stalinists and ultra-lefts in pre-Hitler Germany, "conducting politics with blown-out lanterns," applies with equal precision to the "Trotskyist" Wohlforth. More from The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany:

"One might have said, 'For Bolsheviks, Kornilovism begins only with Kornilov. But isn't Kerensky a Kornilovite? Isn't he crushing the peasants by means of punitive expeditions? Doesn't he organize lockouts? Doesn't Lenin have to hide underground? And all this we must put up with?'

"...I can't think of a single Bolshevik rash enough to have advanced such arguments. But were he to be found, he would have been answered something after this fashion. 'We accuse Kerensky of preparing for and facilitating the coming of Kornilov to power. But does this relieve us of the duty of rushing to repeal Kornilov's attack? We accuse the gatekeeper of leaving the gates ajar for the bandit. But must we therefore shrug our shoulders and let the gates go hang?' Since, thanks to the toleration of the Social Democracy, Bruening's government has been able to push the proletariat up to its knees in capitulation to fascism, you arrive at the conclusion that up to the knees, up to the waist, or over the head—isn't it all one thing? No, there is some difference. Whoever is up to his knees in a quagmire can still drag himself out. Whoever is in over his head, for him there is no returning."

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Frontist capitulation which they themselves espoused for Chile!

Healy Covers for the LSSP

But perhaps an even purer example of Healyite hypocrisy is the question of Ceylon. The 30 August Bulletin declares:

"...Though less known than the evolution of the LSSP in Ceylon, the role of Lora and the POR has been no less treacherous and important."

For years, in endless articles, the Healyites have used the betrayal of the Ceylonese masses by the LSSP—which tail-ended the bourgeois nationalist party of Mrs. Bandaranaike and when it came to power in 1964 entered the government—as an exposé of the United Secretariat Pabloists, who covered for the LSSP until the last moment. (The Bulletin has just concluded yet another four-part series on the subject.) And rightly so, for their role over Ceylon was an important verification of the SWP-United Secretariat's departure from Trotskyism. But what the Healyites are unlikely to mention is that they themselves are tarred with the same brush!

In May 1960 the SWP, then affiliated with the IC as was Healy's SLL, began to get increasingly nervous about the line and conduct of the LSSP. On 17 May Tom Kerry addressed a letter on behalf of the SWP's Political Committee to the LSSP. It states:

"We are greatly disturbed by the parliamentary and electoral course now pursued by the leadership of the LSSP....

"Your policy of working for the creation of an SLFP government appears to us to be completely at variance with the course of independent working-class political action which you have always promoted in the past as a matter of principle....

"Your new political course also appears to us to be a form of 'popular frontism' of the kind promoted in many countries by the Stalinists since 1935—that is, class collaboration between the working-class parties and a section of the bourgeoisie...."

Despite their concern the SWP leadership hesitated to raise this betrayal in the public press.

On 8 August James Robertson, then a member of the SWP, wrote to the Political Committee:

"I am addressing you on the matter of our party's public silence concerning the recent and continuing betrayal of the Ceylonese working class and of the world Trotskyist movement by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. I refer, of course, to that party's entry into a 'Popular Front' electoral pact with the Stalinist party and with the left bourgeois nationalist party represented by the widow Bandaranaike.

"In raising this matter privately with several members of your body I was told that letters have been sent the Ceylonese and that your view is that for the present a greater advantage is to be gained by revolutionary Marxists in the LSSP through our remaining publicly silent. I must disagree and urge you to reconsider..."

The letter concludes:

"Comrades, that you condemn the Ceylonese ex-Trotskyists I have no doubt, but your failure to raise this publicly and with great seriousness does the movement internationally a disservice."

And what was the position of Gerry Healy, who now proclaims himself the world's only consistent anti-Pabloist? After having written to the SWP that delicate maneuvers among the Pabloists were required in Ceylon, Healy on 14 August wrote to the SWP's Joe Hansen:

"We discussed at some length... the proposition concerning the situation in Ceylon....

"We think that it is necessary to write again asking for the fullest possible information concerning the present situation in the party in Ceylon.

"There is no doubt that they are in a severe crisis but if we take their situation and recent events in Europe it is not improbable that there will now be important developments inside the Pablo camp. This is all the more reason for us to proceed with caution—as you have in the past so rightly insisted.

"We are going to cable them tomorrow for information and we suggest you do likewise and hold up for the time being publication of anything in the Militant."

Rebuild the Fourth International!

It is their own sordid history which gives the lie to the Healyites' claims of internationalism and anti-revisionism. If the Lambertistes—who in 1952 launched the struggle against Pabloism—never transcended centrism and have now hardened themselves in opportunism by their line on Bolivia and their conduct at Essen, the Healyites' pretensions of principle have always rested on sand.

Only the Fourth International—rebuilt in the process of struggle against all varieties of Pabloist revisionism, including the inverted Pabloism of the IC—can provide the way forward toward the decisive victory of the international working class.

PL BOGGED IN "CENTER" SWAMP

In keeping with their new "anti-sectarian" line, the Progressive Labor Party called a "united front" demonstration in Boston on October 30. The demonstration around "30 for 40," "Fight Welfare Cutbacks," and "Support the Attica Prisoners' Demands," was one of several organized by PL around the country. For PL, which by "united front" understands "left-center coalition," October 30 was an exercise in trying to ally with any "center" organization it could dredge up from the swamps of reformism. At the same time, it assiduously avoided approaching competing working-class tendencies, thus abdicating in the struggle to unite the class and expose the revisionist and reformist betrayers. This concept of a "left-center coalition" put forward by PL stands in sharp contrast to the Leninist tactic of the united front. It is nothing more than the old "anti-monopoly coalition" of the CPUSA barely refurbished, and leads to the same policies of revisionist betrayal.

Trotskyist Intervention

The Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth intervened in Boston on October 30 in order to counterpose a sharp Marxist line, and to establish that Trotskyists will not be cowed by the goon squad attacks and threats we have experienced at the hands of PL (see Workers Vanguard, #1 and #2). We will not stand idly by, tolerating assaults on democratic rights within the workers' movement.

Drawing upon its growing membership in the Boston area, and aided by comrades from New York City, the SL organized a strong contingent, tightly disciplined and ready to defend itself if attacked. In addition, comrades of the Socialist Labor Committee and the Communist Tendency blocked with us militarily to defend the principle of proletarian democracy. Facing a determined contingent of eighty people, and eager not to alienate their "honest center" friends, PL carefully avoided provocations throughout the march and rally. The SL and RCY marched under slogans such as "For Labor Political Strikes Against the War and Freeze," "Break With the Capitalist Parties, For a Workers' Party," and "Support to Attica Prisoners, Smash the Capitalist Prisons," drawing the class line sharply and boldly.

PL Flirts With NPAC

More confirmation of PL's flip to the right came the next day at regional meetings of SDS and the University Action Group (UAG). Within these self-styled "center" organizations, PL members argued for co-sponsoring the popular front anti-war demonstration on November 6, provided they were given a speaker! They strongly opposed the SL-RCY call for a united front on November 6 around opposition to the presence of bourgeois politicians in the anti-war movement, for the independent mobilization of the working class against capitalism and the imperialist Vietnam War, and for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. This they thought too sectarian! So instead PL, through SDS, gutlessly caved into chasing after the same liberals as the YSA, going so far as to adopt the SWP slogan, "Freeze War, Not Wages"!

This craven capitulation to petty bourgeois pacifism is simply the expression of PL's Stalinist methodology, which prevents it from even learning the lessons of its own experiences. Failing to come to terms with Trotskyism, the continuation of Bolshevism, PL is condemned to oscillate in typical centrist fashion between sectarianism and the opportunist implications of the left-center coalition.

Drawing the Class Line on Nov. 6

To sharply counterpose ourselves to PL's vacillations and the SWP's betrayal, and to indicate the way forward in the class struggle against the imperialist Vietnam War, the Boston Area Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth called for a united front contingent on November 6 around the three anti-capitalist demands indicated above. Marching in the contingent with the SL-RCY were the National Caucus of Labor Committees, the Socialist Labor Committee, The Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee, and the Allston-Brighton Community Tenants Union. Marching with the pitifully small labor contingent organized as part of the SWP's recent "proletarian orientation" for the anti-war movement, over 100 people marched in opposition to the presence of the class enemy in the anti-war movement, and for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. At the rally the SL and RCY chanted their opposition to the speech of the liberal imperialist Ernest Gruening, ex-U.S. Senator and ex-High Commissioner to Puerto Rico. Chants like "U.S. Out of Vietnam! U.S. Out of Puerto Rico" and "No Liberal Speakers! Labor Strikes Against the War! Labor Strikes Against the Freeze!" drove many of the petty-bourgeois pacifists to hysterical red-baiting. In sharp contrast to the left-wing thrust of their protests against Senator Hartke and Victor Reuther at the July 4 NPAC Convention, PL-SDS this time stood by in silence, apparently fearful of alienating "center" forces.

Only through the resolute fight against the class enemy and its collaborators in the anti-war movement can the struggle against imperialist war go forward. Progressive Labor must repudiate the Stalinist methodology which led it to reject its flawed revolutionary proletarian line as sectarian, and now leads it to chart a course away from "sectarianism" to mass influence through the revisionist-liberal swamp. ■

SL-RCY-Organized Contingent Marches in Boston "United Front" Demonstration.

Third Period Healyism—
LEARN TO READ—LEARN TO THINK

Continued from Page 7

For the Smarter Ones

On "critical support" advocated by Lenin "as a rope supports a hanged man," Wohlforth says: "Is it necessary to point out that Lenin was referring to support to social democratic parties and not to bourgeois governments and certainly not to military dictators?"

Correct. But Lenin was referring to political support, not military defense against counter-revolution—which is at issue in the "military action in defense of Torres" for which Wohlforth condemns Lora. Leninists defend the policy of fighting militarily alongside Stalinist, social-democratic, and even bourgeois forces against fascist or rightest military uprising, while maintaining the complete independence of the working-class movement. That is the whole lesson of the Kornilov affair, and of the policy Trotsky urged to save the German workers from Nazism. But Wohlforth apparently cannot understand the difference between a policy of unified military defense with political independence and military defense with political capitulation to alien classes and class collaborators.

Further, Wohlforth's acknowledgement of Lenin's policy of critical political support to reformist working-class parties—which is not the issue in the case of military defense of the bourgeois Torres regime against the right—is peculiar in its own way, since Wohlforth (in sharp contrast to his past positions) is recently on record as refusing to engage in united front political action with Stalinists, particularly Moaists. Are the Stalinists worse than the social democrats, Cde. Wohlforth? If you claim they are, you are in your haste to score cynical factional points embracing a "method" which Trotsky ceaselessly fought against: Stalinophobia. Wohlforth's position against any common action with Stalinists is blind sectarianism, the obverse of the U. Sec. capitulation to such currents, reminiscent of Stalin's own "Theory of Social Fascism" according to which the Communists were ordered to avoid any common action with the Social Democrats, who were held to be as bad as the Nazis. When will the Healyites openly label their current position the "Theory of Social Stalinism" or "Third Period Healyism"?

The POR must, through unsparing criticism of their own history and scrapping the centrist program and leadership which led to the defeats in 1953 and 1971, discover the Leninist road to power (see article on page 3, "Centrist Debacle in Bolivia"). They can expect no help from the Healyites shouting their Leninist orthodoxy and "continuity" to cover their limitless opportunism, blind sectarianism and ignorance. ■

Marxist Bulletin No. 10

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Turn the Guns the Other Way!

NEW MASTERS FOR BANGLA DESH

SYNDICATION INTERNATIONAL

Not for Long the Cheering—Bengalis in Jessore Greet Indian Army.

The power rivalry between Pakistan and india has once more broken out in war. Using the pretext of the just Bengali struggle for self-determination and the refugee problem, India took control of the fighting, with the connivance of the Awami League, in order to accomplish its design of eliminating Pakistan as a serious rival and establishing "Bangla Desh" as a client state.

Standing behind these tinpot imperialists are the various big imperialist powers and their allies, the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states. The U. S. and China are banking on the stability and strength of the Pakistani militarists; the USSR and to a lesser extent Britain pin their hopes on indira Gandhi's ability to consolidate a state out of the oppression and exploitation of countless minorities inside india, and now, through expansion, into the rest of the subcontinent.

As of this writing, the indian army has established an iron hold upon the East Bengalis waiting only for the right moment to complete the disarming of the loosely knit Mukti Bahini—guerrilla arm of the collaborationist Awami League.

India plans a long military occupation of East Bengal to achieve the aim of transforming East Bengal into a client state with formal independence. The Soviet bureaucracy is falling all over itself to offer "aid and technicians" to help the impoverished indians consolidate their rule in Bengal while extending Soviet influence into the area. The crucial rail links, classic artery of British imperial plunder, have been reopened between Jessore and Calcutta for the transfer of prisoners of war.

In the West, Ali Bhutto has now replaced Yahya Khan to "reconcile the army and the people" and institute a few reforms in the face of an intransigent oligarchy of 22 families who control the economy of West Pakistan. Bhutto presently enjoys the confidence of the oligarchy as the man to quiet the mass outbursts which have rocked Pakistan in the wake of the military disaster in the East. The U.S. is backing Bhutto in the hopes that a facelifted regime will preserve the Pakistani army as the main U. S. strategic mainstay in the region.

In all of these maneuvers and intrigues and especially in the indian military operation, one fact emerges with crystal clarity: the just struggle of the Bengalis was entirely subordinated and integrated into the interests of the predator India at the expense of the predator Pakistan.

Under these conditions to call for support to the Bengali independence struggle is to play into the hands of indira Gandhi and the Bengali national traitors. Revolutionary defeatism, the policy that calls upon both armies to turn their guns

continued on next page

OLD GARBAGE, OLD PAIL:

Fake Lefts Tail After NPAC

The December 3-5 National Peace Action Coalition conference held in Cleveland reconfirmed the rightward drift of the U. S. left into the pacifist swamp of class collaboration. Cannon once said of pacifism that "in the face of actual war it thrusts the workers like sheep, unarmed and defenseless and without a program, into the slaughter." The American worker, who is not yet class conscious, is also no fool, and has been conspicuous in the peace movement by his absence. He is understandably reluctant to participate in peace marches which demonstrate only the respectable, middle-class and impotent character of the left, and to sit through interminable harangues by strike breakers and wage freezers like Lindsay and Hartke or sellout piecards like Reuther and Livingston.

NPAC "Discovers" the Working Class

Five years of tumultuous strike activity by U.S. labor, contrasted with five years of impotent peace crawls, have finally driven home to the left that something is missing from the struggle against the war, namely the working class. Virtually every political tendency at the Cleveland NPAC conference—from the student-vanguardist Socialist Workers Party to the police-vanguardist Workers League—called for a drive to recruit workers to the next peace crawl. The SWP called for more leaflets at the factory gates; the non-SWP leadership of NPAC (Gage-Colby, Lafferty, Gordon, Williams) and the international Socialists called on NPAC to call an anti-war congress of labor and to build a labor section; Progressive Labor merely wanted NPAC to proclaim that unemployment is bad and trashing ROTC buildings good; and the Workers League called on NPAC to take the fight against war into unions by calling for union leaders off the Pay Board, a general strike against the war and the wage freeze and a labor party in 1972, demands which the Workers League claimed "posed the question of power for the working class." None of these groups which in the past have episodically attacked NPAC for class collaboration—like PL, the WL or IS—saw fit to do so at this conference. IS and the WL, famous for their fits of Stalinophobia, now respectively call on this Stalinist popular front formation (with Senator Vance Hartke on its steering committee) to call labor congresses or build labor parties. Such a "labor congress" or "labor party"—unless based on a clear break from class collaboration, could only have as its purpose deepening the class' political ties to the liberal bourgeoisie.

While the IS, PL, and the WL project the road to power through NPAC, the Labor Committee submitted its latest "How to End a Depression in a Day" resolution which projects the road to

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In this issue: pages 4-5

RISE AND FALL OF THE PANTHERS

Continued...

NEW MASTERS FOR BANGLA DESH

against their own rulers, is the only policy which can achieve the aspirations of the working masses.

In order to understand the basis for opposing the India-Pakistan war and determine a consistently internationalist proletarian policy, it is necessary to review briefly the history and class alignments in the region.

Divide and Rule

British imperialism did its work well. "Divide and rule" was conscious British policy in India since the early nineteenth century. Lieutenant-Colonel Coke, Commandant of Moradabad, laid down the principle: "Our endeavor should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavor to amalgamate them. Divide et impera should be the principle of Indian government."

The main instrument of this policy, inaugurated in 1909-10 by Lord Minto, then Viceroy of India, was the system of separate communal elections based upon religion and providing the minority Moslems with special privileged representation.

This Indian version of "community control" was the perfect handle to sharply stimulate national antagonisms. The "preferential" treatment of oppressed Moslems further fanned communal hatreds. The ruling stratum and their British masters could then intervene as the arbiters over the unruly antagonisms of the "barbarous" and "uncivilized" masses.

The ultimate fruit of these policies was the Partition of 1947 which meant the deaths of hundreds of thousands in the greatest cross-migration of history. The Partition created the multi-prenational state of India and the anti-national theocracy of Pakistan.

West Pakistan's economy is dominated by 22 families who control 66% of industrial capital, 70% of all insurance and 80% of all bank capital. The newness of industry, its dependence upon state licensing and the dominance of the landlords and gentry in a swollen military and bureaucracy have combined to give the old aristocracy and the generals great political weight.

With Partition, the Hindu landlords and moneylenders fled East Pakistan (East Bengal) to Calcutta where they remain in waiting to this day. Following their exodus, land redistribution effectively destroyed feudalism and created a small landholding peasantry.

The land reform itself was undermined in the fifties and sixties through depressed agricultural prices and adverse terms of trade channeling the already meagre peasant surplus into West Pakistani rather than Hindu pockets. Especially during years of poor crop yields, indebtedness grew and the countryside became polarized once more. In this milieu no new indigenous national bourgeoisie or big landlord class developed.

The Awami League

The leading class in East Bengal today is a national petty bourgeoisie of professionals, traders, shopkeepers, intellectuals, rural kulaks and functionaries. The Awami League, servile and reactionary from birth, is the political representative of this class.

The Awami League's founder, Suhrawardy, supported the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956 and was ardently pro-American during his brief tenure as Pakistan's Prime Minister. Awami League "volunteers" moved physically against left-wing parties on many occasions. Unable to break West Pakistani dominance through electoral activity on an all-Pakistan basis, the Awami League, still faithfully constitutionalist, advanced a program of regional autonomy.

The December General Election gave the League an overall majority in the country. On March 25, Yahya Khan moved 70,000 troops of the elite Pakistani army into East Bengal while mass hatred and opposition reached a fever pitch. The troops committed wholesale slaughters, turning millions into refugees who fled across the border into West Bengal.

The Awami League temporized, delayed, and when it became clear that the hour to move had already past, threw itself into the open arms of the Indian bourgeoisie.

Socialist support to the military victory of the independence struggle, even under the miserable leadership of the Awami League, would be principled and obligatory so long as that struggle remained under Bengali control although receiving aid from bourgeois regimes or deformed workers states. The Awami League, however, crossed over the line when it handed full military control over to the Indians and became a mere pawn in the chauvinist appetites of the Indian bourgeoisie.

In the epoch of imperialist decay, the national bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations (not to speak of the national petty bourgeoisie) will always prefer some form of imperialist dominance to arousing the very force which can sweep it out of existence.

It must be remembered that the ruling classes of India and Pakistan appeared on the scene during the long shadows of imperialism's decline. Hemmed in by the imperialists, neither Gandhi, Bhutto, nor the Awami League are able to complete even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution.

The perspective of permanent revolution begins from the premise that the proletariat alone can shoulder and bring to completion both the democratic and socialist tasks of the colonial revolution. Only when the proletariat provides a clear pole of attraction can the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry as an ally in the democratic struggle, be drawn along in its wake.

To Catch a Thief . . .

The bureaucracies in the deformed workers states vie with one another in abasement before the bourgeoisies of India and Pakistan.

Chou En-Lai made China's position clear as far back as April when he stated unequivocally: "Your Excellency [Yahya Khan] and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan have done a lot of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and prevent it from moving towards a split.... Here it is most important to differentiate the broad masses of the people from a handful of persons who want to sabotage the unification of Pakistan." Chou went on to object correctly to India but in the service of the now defunct Yahya Khan: "At the same time we have noted that of late the Indian government has been carrying out gross interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan by exploiting the internal problems of your country."

The Real "Heart of the Struggle": Indian Troops Advancing on Jessore.

Pravda, with equal obscenity, attacks China for "shameless interference" in India's internal affairs and for "giving moral and political support to adventurist, extremist groupings." These counterrevolutionary bureaucracies can offer the peoples of the subcontinent only new betrayals and no way out.

Subcontinental Proletariat

The subcontinent's first great labor struggles coincided with the first militant national wave against British rule in the period of 1906-10. The strike wave reached its height with a six-day general strike in Bombay. The Bengali working class was even then pushed to the forefront of the struggle in the railroad strikes, especially the strike in the Eastern Bengal State Railway and the strikes in the Government Press at Calcutta.

In the modern period, Yahya Khan replaced Ayub Khan in the face of mass riots and continuous strikes in early 1969 east and west in Dacca, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Chittagong. Again the railway workers displayed exemplary militancy with sitdown strikes and other actions for which they paid with their lives. It was during these struggles that the Chinese bureaucracy stepped up its support to the Pakistani ruling class and blacked out all reportage of the workers' struggles. It should be noted that during the army repressions of March 1971, despite the absence of an organized mass movement, workers in Lyallpur, a Punjabi industrial stronghold, seized factories, hoisted the red flag and were forcibly ousted.

The real center of the Bengali class struggle is Calcutta and not Dacca. It is there that a better organized, larger and more class-conscious workers' movement exists. While in East Bengal there are no mass left parties and the various Maoist groups are small and profoundly disoriented by the Chinese stand, in West Bengal there are a number of mass parties including the CPI (M), a quasi-Maoist party which severely compromised itself when it entered a coalition government; there are also small but militant Naxalite groups operating in the countryside.

Bengal itself is divided between East and West. The Indian central government oppresses the West Bengalis as thoroughly as Pakistan oppressed the East Bengalis. Serious support for self-determination in Bengal includes the right of reunification of all Bengal upon the abrogation of Partition.

If the West Bengali counterparts of the Awami League were to call for the Pakistani army to "liberate" the West from India, what should be our stand? "Critical support" for the Pakistani army—the present stand of the Healyite "International Committee" on the Indian intervention? In either that case or the one which has already occurred, self-determination becomes a fiction and the so-called independence struggle a sham.

Bengal may prove to be the weak link in the subcontinental chain, and might be the spark to the socialist revolution in that region. The Calcutta proletariat as part of the all-India proletariat linked to East Bengal by national ties, could with a correct policy advance the world revolution enormously. Lenin in "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up" observed: "The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene."

To the East Bengalis we must say: Do not be fooled. Break the hold of the Awami League which is putting you under the control of a new oppressor. To the Indians: Oppose the victory of "your" army but use the opportunity to fraternize with your class brothers and advance the all-India revolution. To all Bengalis: An all-India revolution is the shortest route to a genuinely independent Bengal if that is your desire. To the Pakistanis: Losing East Bengal is losing a rope around your neck. Your ability to take power in your own hands is advanced by this defeat suffered by your rulers.

For revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the India-Pakistani war! Down with the national betrayers of the Awami League! For the right of secession for East and West Bengal; for the right of both sections to abrogation of Partition and a united Bengal! For a socialist federation of the subcontinent!■

WAR, REVOLUTION AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The American left in general has responded to the India-Pakistan war with gross opportunism conditioned but hardly excused by abysmal ignorance of the Leninist attitude toward self-determination struggles. The supposed "Trotskyists" of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers League are no exception, both falling into step as the "vanguard" of the Indian army rearguard. (The SWP, as we shall see, has at least the "excuse" that it stumbled over such an issue thirty years ago, long before the tail-ending of bourgeois-led "mass" movements of betrayal came to constitute the core of its politics.)

In the 24 December issue of the SWP's Militant, Tony Thomas hails the Indian victory:

> "Pakistan's reactionary occupation troops are being routed in Bangla Desh by the combined strength of the Indian armed forces and the Bengali freedom fighters.... [who are] cheered by the Bengali masses, who hope this will mean an end to the bloody terror...."

Cheering aside, the real balance of forces in the "combined" operation is clear to the bourgeois press, which has reason to be thankful for the Indian army. The 11 December Economist assessed the significance of the "mass participation":

> "For the moment the Mukti Bahini have been pushed to one side. Indian commanders have given the credit for some small defeats of Pakistani troops to the guerrillas—credit which almost certainly was undeserved. But the guerrillas have a use: in guarding captured roads and installations which would otherwise consume valuable regular troops, in acting as guides and in causing trouble behind the Pakistani positions. The politicians of the Awami League are following in the baggage train of the Indians—from where, no doubt, they will be whisked into prominence at the moment of triumph."

The issue is not the extent of mass jubilation over the Pakistani defeat, but the meaning for the working masses of the forces which entered the war and the outcome of their conflict. Everyone knows what the meaning of the Indian victory must be: (1) Pakistan's elimination as a serious threat to bourgeois India's hegemony over the subcontinent, and (2) control over Bangla Desh for India. The Militant, in fact, refers to the war as one in which "both sides are fighting for their predatory interests...." And further:

> "Capitalist India has intervened for its own interests—interests that evidence shows are not the same as those of the Bangla Desh struggle for self-determination. It intends to impose a moderate government subservient to India and will use its military presence to accomplish that objective."

Despite this, and despite India's own record of vicious suppression of minorities which the Militant duly notes, we are supposed to conclude that the Indian war has

> "...nonetheless provided an opening for the Bangla Desh national liberation struggle to receive important assistance in ridding Bangla Desh of the tyranny that has forcibly kept it part of Pakistan."

And:

> "Although India did not impose the demand for separation on the Bengali masses, it is true that its war with Pakistan helped bring that separation about. The Bengali freedom fighters correctly utilized this objective situation to help get the Pakistani tyrants off their backs."

The Militant has done a poor job of kicking sand over its opportunist tracks, not because it is unskilled in covering a betrayal with "criticisms," but because in this case its betrayal is so egregious. The question fairly cries out for answer: What "objective situation," what "important assistance," i.e., what big neighbor's bourgeois army should now come to the "aid" of the Bengalis to rid them of their new masters? The truth is that the Bengalis are now stuck with an occupation army which is bigger, better armed and logistically more favorably situated than Pakistan's army ever was.

For the SWP, of course, the touchstone is the "mass participation" in the struggle for self-determination, despite the military and political control of the movement by the Indian government. "At the heart of the war," says the SWP, is "the struggle of Bangla Desh for self-determination." Further:

> "The significant degree of mass participation in the armed struggle against the capitalist rulers of Pakistan and the independence of the struggle has given it a revolutionary character surpassing anything seen on the subcontinent since the independence struggle against British imperialism. It therefore merits the unconditional support of all who call themselves socialist."

The SWP assures us that self-determination for Bangla Desh is "at the heart of the war" and applauds "the independence of the struggle." Less skillful opportunists might have actually attempted to prove these crucial claims; the SWP just asserts them, confident that those who over the past years have swallowed "progressives" Leroi Jones and Vance Hartke will have learned by now not to scrutinize too closely the latest "progressive," "revolutionary" force—the Indian bourgeoisie.

The East Bengali masses have been deceived and betrayed; their struggle has become a pawn in the war of one bourgeois power against another—so the SWP and the Workers League support the capitalist hangmen of tomorrow against the capitalist hangmen of yesterday.

Of course the aspirations of the masses for independence are important. Their fulfillment is impossible with any policy but that of revolutionary defeatism on both sides. That is the only policy for anyone to whom the sacrifices of the Bengalis mean more than an opportunist justification of their present plight facing Indian tanks.

Healyite "Principles" Oil the Tanks

We appreciate the frankness with which the "International Committee of the Fourth International" (now reduced to the Anglo-Saxon international of Healy and Wohlforth—see Workers Vanguard No. 3) has proclaimed itself waterboy for the Indian bourgeoisie's army. The SWP "merely" justifies the capitulation of the Bangla Desh leaders to the Indian army; the Healyites openly support the Indian army. The 20 December Bulletin declares:

> "The International Committee of the Fourth International was the only organization to support in a principled manner the right of Bangla Desh to secede from Pakistan."

What "principled manner"? The answer is soon forthcoming:

> "We critically support the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh."

Lest the statement appear to be a sellout, the statement flops back onto orthodox ground within a few lines:

> "At the same time the ICFI urges Indian and Bengali socialists to place no confidence whatever in the capacity of the Bengali and Hindu bourgeoisie to carry through any of the tasks of the Indian democratic revolution."

And that, comrades, is undoubtedly not only "principle" but "method." We can have it either way, or both. The Indian bourgeoisie cannot, of course, "carry through any" of the democratic tasks—presumably including, of course, national self-determination! Yet the statement talks of "critical support" and terms India's role in Bangla Desh "military and economic aid." "Military aid" is generally understood to mean, for example, selling or giving arms to another country. To describe the Indians as providing "military and economic aid to Bangla Desh" is about like

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Lenin on Nationalism "of the Worst Sort"—

THE LIMITATIONS OF SELF-DETERMINATION

In 1916 Karl Radek argued against self-determination since in his view it meant that "it is allegedly the duty of Social-Democrats to support any struggle for independence." Lenin answered:

> "From the standpoint of general theory this argument is outrageous, because it is clearly illogical: first, no democratic demand can fail to give rise to abuses, unless the specific is subordinated to the general; we are not obliged to support either 'any' struggle for independence or 'any' republican or anti-clerical movement. Secondly, no formula for the struggle against national oppression can fail to suffer from the same 'shortcoming'. Radek himself... used the formula... 'Against old and new annexations.' Any Polish nationalist will legitimately 'deduce' from this formula: 'Poland is an annexment, I am against annexations, i.e., I am for the independence of Poland.' Or I recall Rosa Luxemburg saying in an article written in 1908, that the formula: 'against national oppression' was quite adequate. But any Polish nationalist would say—and quite justly—that annexation is one of the forms of national oppression, consequently, etc.
>
> "However, take Poland's specific conditions in place of these general arguments: her independence today is 'impracticable' without wars or revolutions. To be in favour of an all-European war merely for the sake of restoring Poland is to be a nationalist of the worst sort, and to place the interests of a small number of Poles above those of the hundreds of millions of people who suffer from war. Such, indeed, are the 'Fracy' (the Right wing of the P. S. P.) who are socialists only in word, and compared with whom the Polish Social-Democrats are a thousand times right. To raise the question of Poland's independence today, with the existing alignment of the neighbouring imperialist powers, is really to run after a will-o'-the-wisp, plunge into narrow-minded nationalism and forget the necessary premise of an all-European or at least a Russian and a German revolution....
>
> "...The Polish Social-Democrats cannot, at the moment, raise the slogan of Poland's independence, for the Poles, as proletarian internationalists, can do nothing about it without stooping, like the 'Fracy', to humble servitude to one of the imperialist monarchies. But it is not indifferent to the Russian and German workers whether Poland is independent, or they take part in annexing her (and that would mean educating the Russian and German workers and peasants in the basest turpitude and their consent to play the part of executioner of other peoples).
>
> "The situation is, indeed, bewildering, but there is a way out in which all participants would remain internationalists: the Russian and German Social-Democrats by demanding for Poland unconditional 'freedom to secede'; the Polish Social-Democrats by working for the unity of the proletarian struggle in both small and big countries without putting forward the slogan of Polish independence for the given epoch or the given period."
>
> —"The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," Collected Works, Vol. 22, pp. 349-351.

—The Black Panther, 27 Feb. 1971

RISE AND FALL OF T

END OF THE

The spectacular and violent split in the Black Panther Party can be viewed as the symbolic end to a period in American radical politics. The impact of the Panthers, in vast disproportion to their actual size and strength, indicated the pervasive black nationalist mood of which they were the most militant expression. Following the collapse of the liberal-oriented civil rights movement, virtually all U.S. radicals saw the struggle of black people against racial oppression as the central and overriding contradiction within American capitalism. The Panthers' popularity, enhanced by the vicarious black nationalism of white-guilt liberal circles, coincided with the rejection by impatient petty-bourgeois radical students of a perspective based on the revolutionary role of the working class, black and white. The current split, with tragic implications for the defense of jailed Panthers, certainly gladdens the hearts of racists and cops, but has far-reaching implications for the left as well. No longer can the Panther leadership use unquestioned moral authority to claim automatic allegiance from militant black youth and uncritical support from radical whites regardless of their particular experiences and views.

It is important to recognize that the Panthers came into being at the ebb of the mass black civil rights movement, as a selection of the best black militants in the battles waged over the corpse of the movement. The particular character of the Panthers was shaped by two interrelated developments which marked the death of the respectable civil rights movement of King, Farmer and the early SNCC. One was the movement's obvious failure to change the living conditions of the black masses—in particular, its inability to do anything about the terrorization of the ghetto population by the cops, the armed force of the bourgeois state. This point was driven home by the anti-cop "riots" that swept the ghettos from 1964 to 1967, which proved that militant blacks were through with the non-violent reformism of the SCLC and CORE. The other major development was wholesale ruling-class purchase of black leaders—not only moderates like Farmer but also self-styled black power advocates. The sordid fate of the black power movement was personified in individuals like Roy Innis, who drove the whites out of CORE and later hustled tickets for the Frazier-Ali fight in partnership, with General Electric. Another example is Leroi Jones, black power ex-beat poet, who became aide to His Honor Mayor Gibson and prominently assisted in his attempt to destroy the Newark Teachers Union. The Panthers were thus defined negatively, in reaction against the dying civil rights movement on the one hand and the rise of "pork chop" nationalism on the other.

Ghetto Uprisings and the Myth of Urban Guerrilla Warfare

It was clear to all that the ghetto uprisings, which began in Harlem in 1964 and continued with undiminished intensity until Newark in 1967, marked the end of the old civil rights movement. What was not clear was how the uprisings affected the future of the black movement. Rather than recognizing the ghetto outbursts for what they in fact were—the final spasm of frustration and fury in the wake of a movement that had raised great hopes and activated enormous energy only to accomplish nothing—the left wishful-thinking saw in the ghetto-police battles the beginning of mass revolutionary violence which presumably had merely to be organized in order to be made effective. The notion that the ghetto was a base for urban guerrilla warfare was common not only among black nationalists, but was accepted by most of the left, from serious Maoists like Progressive Labor to the pundits of Monthly Review. The Panthers were outstanding in their willingness to face jail and even death for their theory.

The ghetto uprisings did not give the black masses a sense of their own power. They did just the opposite. During the rioting, it was blacks' own homes that were burned down and the cops who went on a killing rampage. The riots proved that police brutality was not an isolated injustice that could be eliminated through militant action. The cops are an essential part of the armed force of the state; if defeated locally, they came back with the National Guard or Army. To drive the cops out of the ghetto and keep them out was equivalent to overthrowing the American state; thus as long as the majority of white workers remained loyal or only passively hostile to the government, black activism could not liberate the ghetto. It was not their lack of formal organization but a sense that they really could not win that gave the ghetto uprisings their spontaneous, consciously self-sacrificing character.

The Panthers chose to make a stand on their ability to purge the ghetto of police brutality when experience had shown the black masses that this could not be done given the existing over-all balance of political forces. The Panthers, realizing that the masses could not be organized to aggressively confront the police, developed a conscious policy of substituting their own militants for the organized power of the masses. In so doing, they developed a self-image of a band of warrior-heroes avenging the historic injustices visited upon the downtrodden black population. Adventurous black youth joining the Panthers did not see themselves as building a successful social revolution, but anticipated "leaving the Party in a pine box" with a dead cop to their credit, having done their share to avenge the centuries-old oppression of their people.

The Panther leadership knew they were standing up to the cops in isolation from the black masses. In his essay, "The Correct Handling of a Revolution," Huey Newton contended that armed Panthers would set an example which the rest of the black people would follow. Written after thousands of blacks had battled the cops and lost in Harlem, Watts and Chicago, Newton's argument had a forced and unreal quality. History was about to give Newton a swift and deadly counter-argument.

The Panthers Pick Up the Gun and Are Defeated

Taking advantage of California's liberal gun laws, the Panthers applied their theory. At first their tactics appeared successful. Newton's armed patrols in Oakland went unmolested. The Panthers held an armed rally in Richmond commemorating the murder of Denzil Dowell by a deputy sheriff, and faced the cops down. Most spectacularly, Bobby Seale led a group of armed Panthers to the State Capitol during a debate on gun control, and received only a light prison sentence. Taken aback by the Panther flamboyance, and uncertain how much support they had in the ghetto, the authorities at first demurred. But beginning with the wounding and jailing of Newton in October 1967, and gaining steam with the killing of Bobby Hutton and the arrest of Cleaver in April 1968, a coordinated national campaign to wipe out the Panthers was launched by local police and the FBI operating in many cases with the assistance of cultural nationalist groups (the murder of Los Angeles Panthers by members of Ron Karenga's US). Over the past few years, the murders of Panthers have continued and virtually the entire leadership has been imprisoned on capital charges.

Contrary to Panther theorizing, the crackdown on them did not provoke mass ghetto rebellions. In fact, the Panther's real weakness can be seen by comparing the response to their persecution with the spontaneous eruptions of ghetto rage at the assassination of Martin Luther King.

The Panthers' feeling of desperate isolation as the police rifle sight zeroed in on them is expressed in a moving account by Earl Anthony, a former Deputy Minister of Information who later split from the Party in the direction of mainstream nationalism. Writing after the Battle of Montclaire, where three Panthers were killed by the cops in Los Angeles, Anthony reflects:

> "I kept thinking to myself... about the ease with which the Panthers were being killed, and I coudn't do anything about it, and nobody I knew could do anything about it. And I thought about the thousands upon thousands... of black people who have been murdered, and nobody could do anything about it.... What really burned me inside was that I was forced to realize the untenable position the Party and other blacks who dare to put their toe to the line are in. I knew that white people didn't really care that Little Tommy, Captain Steve, and Robert were gone, or that the pigs were scheming the murder of the rest of us.... I had learned to accept that attitude from whites. But the painful reality was that many blacks had it too. When you got down to it, we were pretty much alone. Not many people really cared...."
>
> —Earl Anthony, Picking Up the Gun, pp. 138-39.

The Panthers Defend Themselves and Move Right

Isolated, with repression bearing down on them, the Panthers shifted the focus of their activities to legal defense work in an effort to gain the broadest possible support. The Panther alliances with white radicals were not motivated by any realization that American society could only be revolutionized by an integrated working-class movement, but by the material needs of their defense campaign. As Seale openly admitted, the Panthers' support for the ill-fated Peace and Freedom Party was not based on a desire to establish an integrated radical third party, but by a belief that the PFP was a convenient vehicle in gaining left liberal support for defense of Newton. The other widely divergent groups supporting the PFP, such as Progressive Labor and the Independent Socialist Clubs (now the International Socialists) were no less opportunistic, although in their case the motivation was chiefly a desire for a recruiting vehicle.

The Panthers' tendency to move closer to liberalism, implicit in their support of the liberal program of the PFP, was made explicit in the equally abortive United Front Against Fascism, launched in 1969. Guided by the Communist Party's legal apparatus, the UFAF was an attempt to create an alliance of everyone to the left of Nixon-Agnew on an essentially civil libertarian basis. The UFAF's main programmatic demand—community control of the police—combined liberal illusions over the nature of the bourgeois state with black nationalist illusions that the oppression of black people can be ended through "control" of ghetto institutions.

The Panthers' overtures to the liberals were not very successful since the Panthers were too notorious for defense by bourgeois politicians. A few West Coast black Democrats, like Willy Brown and Ronald Dellums, protected their left flank by coming out for the Panthers. Some politicians like Cleveland's Carl Stokes, questioned whether the police might not have actually violated the Panthers' rights! The Panthers were somewhat more successful in garnering support and money from the cultural wing of the liberal establishment, as indicated by Leonard Bernstein's famous party where the "beautiful people" met the Panthers and paid handsomely for the titillation of exposing their bourgeois sensibilities to the black revolution in safety, an expensive delight somewhat recalling the Roman arenas. But despite their efforts to present themselves as simple anti-fascists, the heat continued to come down on the Panthers.

Although the Panthers since 1969 have clearly given up street patrols in favor of defense rallies

THE PANTHERS:

BLACK POWER ERA

Eldridge Cleaver Greeted by "Anti-Imperialist Prince" Sihanouk.

and soirees, they have not officially abandoned their claim to be the vanguard of urban guerrilla warfare. In the current split, the Cleaver wing points to this contradiction and claims with some truth that Newton's Oakland group has deserted the original Panther banner.

Along with their turn toward the liberals, the Panthers launched a series of ghetto social work programs, exemplified in their "breakfast for children" drive. The new activities were designed to gain support from the black masses who had not rallied to the confrontationist image, as well as give the Panthers a more humanitarian image when facing white middle-class juries. Thus, Panther attorney Lefcourt forced the undercover agent in the New York 21 case to admit that the defendents spent most of their time doing good works in the community and not plotting to blow up buildings.

The "breakfast for children" program is also a rather ridiculous attempt to apply literally the standard Maoist "serve the people" strategy. While Mao's Red Army could give some real material aid to the Chinese peasants in protecting them from rapacious landlords, helping with the harvest and the like, the notion that the Panthers could compete with the Welfare Department or the Baptist Church in feeding the ghetto poor is simply ludicrous. But the fundamental flaw in the "serve the people" line is not that it doesn't work, but that it strengthens the paternalistic character the Panthers already present in their self-image as avenging angels of the black masses seen as grateful clients of a revolutionary organization, not as potential conscious revolutionists in their own right.

The Panthers' need for activities like the "breakfast for children" program to improve their image in the ghetto destroys the myth that they are a spontaneous expression of black militancy. Some radical groups—notably the International Socialists, who followed the Panthers right up to the gates of Peking Stalinism—contended that one should support the Panthers regardless of their politics because they were the highest organic expression of ghetto political consciousness. In contrast, the Panthers have always regarded themselves as a highly self-conscious vanguard tendency. On the one hand, they sought to win the loyalty of the ghetto youth from competing groups, mainly the cultural nationalists. On the other, they beat the ghetto life style out of their new recruits (while glorifying it in their press), recognizing that a lumpenized life style is incompatible with serious and sustained revolutionary activity. The contention that lax political standards should be employed in judging the Panthers because they are an authentic cry from the soul of the black masses is not only factually false but reflects a patronizing attitude toward blacks that borders on racism.

Glamor and Terror

The Panthers' serious internal difficulties, manifested not only in the present decisive split but also in the endless series of expulsions, reflects the impossibility of building a revolutionary organization with street gang methods. Because the Panthers recruited adventurous youth without a stable axis, they could only prevent the disintegration of their organization into competing warlordisms through the imposition of a kind of military terror. New recruits were assigned fifty push-ups for failing to memorize the Panther program, and pressure was put on them to do two hours of reading a day. It is argued that such coerced internal political life is necessary in any radical organization not composed primarily of middle-class intellectuals. But the history of the proletarian socialist movement in the U. S. and elsewhere yields many examples of organizations in which articulate and politically able industrial workers though often lacking formal education, shaped policy, and did not merely memorize a program by rote, like a prayer. This was possible because the socialist movement recruited workers to a comprehensive program for long-term political goals. The Panthers, on the contrary, recruited on the basis of a radical street gang mentality, with its attendant personal, ethnic and geographical loyalties. The Panther program did not shape their organization and its activities, but was treated as a decoration like icing on a cake.

Soul Shake: Chicago's Mayor Daley and Jesse Jackson.

The Panthers' concept of rule through terror, and its application to internal factional struggles as well as relations with other radical groups, can no longer be ignored by the opportunists who tailed after the Panthers and their popularity, hoping it would rub off. In discussing the factional struggle with Cleaver, Newton simply said "We'll battle it out" and "...I have the guns," to which Cleaver replied, "I got some guns too, brother." (Right On!, 3 April 1970) In a like manner, the Panthers responded to criticisms of their "United Front" with the CP and liberals by physically throwing the critics out of the UFAF conference (see Spartacist West, #18) and making repeated public threats against all left critics. At no time has the Panther leadership reacted to criticism by seeking to politically discredit their opponents within the radical constituency. At no time have they recognized that building a revolutionary party requires methods in any way different from conducting a street gang rivalry.

Apart from terror, the main element holding a street gang together is a power mystique, manifest in the warrior-hero cult of the Panthers. Seale testified to the importance of glamor to the Panthers in noting that a number of members left the Party when ordered not to wear their uniforms except on Party assignment. The best expression of Panther glamor-mongering is the ascending order of hero worship, culminating in the cult of Huey Newton which appears even more absurd than the Stalin and Mao cults because of its imitative character.

The disastrous effect of building an organization through hero worship is apparent in the split, which has been dominated by personal rivalries and clique politics. The split originated not in clear political differences, but in accusations that Chief of Staff David Hilliard was playing favorites in allocating defense funds and expelling out-of-favor Panthers, like "Geronimo" Pratt, to avoid the responsibility for their defense. But there are political differences implicit in the split. Each faction occupies one of the two poles around which Panther politics have revolved. The Cleaver group represents the anti-cop confrontationism characteristic of the early Panthers while Newton's group reflects the liberalism and social-work do-goodism of the defense campaigns. In terms of internal dynamics, the Algiers group tends toward reconciliation with mainstream Black Nationalism, while the Oakland group has gravitated toward liberal reformism sometimes more naked than that of the Communist Party. The actual faction fight has touched these differences only marginally, and has been conducted almost entirely in terms of competing heroes, character assassination and counter-retailing of atrocity stories (e.g., the claim that Cleaver is keeping his wife prisoner, the accusation that Hilliard is doping Newton). The main programmatic demand of the Algiers group is a call for collective leadership and an attack on the personality cult, while the Newton group has defended itself by asserting the personality cult, namely Newton's own.

Sections of the left have of course attempted to find a qualitative political superiority of one wing over the other, as a rationale for drawing close to it. Perhaps the crudest attempt to paint one of the wings as "Marxist" or close to it was that of the assertedly Trotskyist "Workers League" of Tim Wohlforth. Wohlforth hailed Newton's proclaimed embracing of the dialectic in a fit of organizational appetite early last year. Newton very soon thereafter announced his peace with black capitalism and the church, teaching Wohlforth again that "dialectic" is a word of four syllables and "method" of two, and that it takes much more than the mouthing of the two words to make a Marxist, or even a potential Marxist. To make his short-lived praise of Newton more grotesque, Wohlforth printed fulsome praise and carefully selected revolutionary proletarian quotes from Newton in the same article in which he defended, against SWP-YSA criticism, his view of the New York police "strike" as "a reflection of a very general, deep and profound movement of the working class"! (15 February Bulletin) "Only the Workers League"... dares to suck up to the Panthers and defend the "job action" of their mortal enemies, the cops, in the same issue of the same publication.

Hero worship is one of the ways bourgeois ideology enters the revolutionary movement and destroys it. Its corrupting nature is evident in Huey Newton's $650 a month penthouse, paid for out of Party funds raised in defense campaigns, while rank-and-file Panthers hide from the police in rat-infested hovels. The Panther paper justifies Newton by noting that he had "stood up and faced the pigs (from which he was wounded and spent two years in prison)" and that he had "put his life on the line in the fight to end this racist, exploitative system." The paper went on to state: "Huey and his generals of staff should have the best as they plan their party's strategy." (The Black Panther, 27 February 1971) The belief that the past sufferings of militants entitle them to the good life at rank-and-file expense is an important subjective justification for bureaucracy in the labor and radical movement. Moreover, left-wing leaders can continue to enjoy the good life only with ruling-class cooperation, obtainable by holding back the organizations they are supposed to lead against it. Many present leading AFL-CIO bureaucrats were beaten, shot at and jailed in their youth. Newton's penthouse and the Party's defense of it indicate a deeply anti-socialist attitude. The revolutionary movement is not like a

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medieval joust where the best knight gets the castle. Its purpose is to destroy the castle.

Lumpens, Hippies and New Left Ideology

An analysis qualitatively superior to the Workers League's general pattern of alternating denunciation and grovelling before the Panthers was written by "L'il Joe" for the 15 March 1971 Bulletin. The author, no longer with the Workers League, well analyzed the tension between the "national" and "class" orientation of the Panthers:

"The Black Panther Party was organized as a nationalist organization. Unlike the other nationalist groups, however, it was organized for the most part, by ghetto Blacks—the most oppressed sections of the ghetto youth—the unemployed and if employed, employed in low paying industry. As nationalism is a middle class ideology of 'unity of race or nation' rather than 'unity of class,' the Black Panther Party, organized by and for Black working class youth necessarily took on a class character.

"Hence in its earliest development the Black Panther Party was thrown into conflict with nationalism itself. The Black Panther Party, however, externalized this struggle by declaring itself 'Revolutionary Nationalist' as in primary opposition to that which they described as 'Cultural Nationalism.'

"What the Panthers would not do was confront the fact that 'cultural nationalism' and ultimately 'Black Zionism' under the guise of 'Pan Africanism' was the logical conclusion of Black nationalism by virtue of the fact that Black people in America share not a national, but a cultural or racial identity.

"By externalizing their struggle against 'Black nationalism' or 'cultural' nationalism, the Black Panther Party was able to prolong, to 'put off,' an inevitable explosion within the Black Panther Party itself. While denouncing 'Cultural' nationalism and maintaining itself as a racial rather than a class organization—'Revolutionary Nationalist'—the Black Panther Party was able to make criticisms of sorts, while at the same time bowing to the pressures of the Black middle class 'nationalists' themselves."

To avoid the Marxist contention that the organized working class is the key revolutionary element, the Panthers came up with the theory that black lumpens are the revolutionary vanguard, and that all employed workers, black and white, have been bought off by the ruling class. The Panthers' "theory" of lumpenism is a mixture of self-aggrandizement and impressionism. Its role is similar to the theories of "student power" and the "new working class" that were popular in SDS a few years ago: our revolutionary organization consists largely of lumpens (or students); therefore lumpens (or students) must be the vanguard of the revolution. This kind of "theorizing" unfortunately does not merit serious consideration.

A lumpen life style has very different social roots among ghetto black youth and middle-class whites; but in both cases youth rebel against the prospect of holding down a meaningless job, raising a family and suffering a deadly "respectable" life. Such rebellious attitudes are not merely justified, but are the subjective raw material out of which revolutionary consciousness is made. No one will be a revolutionist who does not hate a society that makes life for working people boring, trivial, deadening and often beartbreaking. But a political movement which isolates itself in a social milieu hostile to normal work-a-day society must become irresponsible, individualistic and ultimately cynical and contemptuous of the mass of working people. It is precisely that task of revolutionaries to penetrate the mainstream of social and economic life and explode "normal work-a-day" society on the basis of its terrible oppressiveness—the very oppressiveness which drove individuals to become revolutionaries in the first place.

The Left's Panther Cult

The Panther split is another nail in the coffin of the New Left. For years, the U.S. left has defined itself in terms of supporting this or that militant action or opposing particular acts of oppression and injustice. Within the issue-oriented movement, support for the Panthers has been one of the few common elements that prevented the left from fragmenting completely through "doing one's own thing." The net effect of the Panther influence on the left was negative, not only because the Panthers' own politics never transcended black nationalism and crude Stalinism, but because Panther-worship and uncritical concentration on their defense campaigns prevented the political interaction essential to revolutionary program and strategy. It was Cleaver's presence at the head of the ticket that enabled the PFP to bring together a collection of left McCarthyites, Yippies, orthodox Maoists (Progressive Labor) and "third campers" (IS) into an unprincipled, liberal-program "unity" for a time. In a like manner, uncritical support for and from the Panthers was one of the few concrete issues the diverse anti-labor elements in the old SDS could unite around in expelling the "Worker-Student Alliance" tendency. The Panther split proved once again that hero worship and tail-ending are no substitute for the struggle for Marxist clarity as a foundation of a revolutionary party.

Since their inception, the Panthers have been a test for the predominently white American left as a whole—a test of its ability to apply Marxist analysis, and a test of its consistency and courage. The absence of a Leninist vanguard party made the ruin of the Panthers likely if not strictly inevitable. Lacking a link to the revolutionary party of the working class, organizations fighting special oppression stand isolated from the rest of the working class and endangered by the problems and backwardness of their particular, isolated areas of struggle. The extreme result of such a situation is "self-determination for everybody" with every organization and particular struggle competing for a larger share of the capitalist pie.

It is important to note the significance of how the Panthers were defeated. That the Panthers were defeated physically by the state rather than politically through the intervention of the vanguard party means, in effect, that many of the lessons of their demise will surely be lost. It means that more despair and less consciousness of what went wrong has been created in many of the best subjectively revolutionary elements. On a smaller scale, the difference is not unlike that between the destruction of a bureaucracy like, say, the North Vietnamese by American tanks and bombers instead of by the North Vietnamese workers in political revolution.

But did any of the various left organizations show by their attitude toward the Panthers the fitness, the right (or for that matter even any intention) to construct the vanguard party which was lacking? Nearly all self-proclaimed Marxist organizations failed the test, most of them repeatedly on a variety of issues and occasions. The gutless IS, loudly proclaiming their anti-Stalinism, tailed the Panthers throughout the process leading to their embrace with the Stalinists and their liberal allies in the United Front Against Fascism. The SWP-YSA, the most vociferous "Marxist" proponent of black nationalism, consistently ignored the Panthers' systematic errors and violations of proletarian ethics until, we presume, they became scared. They refused to sign a protest issued by the Spartacist League against the beating and exclusion by the Panthers of radical tendencies selling their literature outside a Panther "Birthday Party" celebration in Berkeley, California, in February 1970. Their proclaimed reason for refusal was their unwillingness to intervene in Panther internal affairs—as if physical attacks on competing radical tendencies were an "internal affair"! But they were shortly to repudiate the Panthers as part of their general "orthodox" shying away from the guerrilla warfare line they had preached—for others—for years. (See Spartacist No. 20, April-May 1970, "World Trotskyism Rearms" for an analysis of their newly-discovered Leninist opposition to guerrilla warfare strategy when their European co-thinkers proposed that the U. Sec. implement its pro-guerrilla stance.) The SWP's new criticism of the Panthers whom they supported for so long, is fundamentally criticism from the right, expressed CP-fashion in orthodox-sounding rhetoric about the need to rely on the movement of the masses. The SWP criticized the Panthers also for not being nationalist enough; the scattered references in Panther leaders' speeches to class struggle (of which the Workers League briefly made so much) were too much for the thoroughly reformist SWP to swallow. In an article "Which Way for Black Liberation" in the December 1969 Young Socialist, the YSA leadership condemned the Black Panthers for "waving the little red book, or calling this the year of the gun" instead of "reaching out to the broadest masses of the community" around "the questions of black control of the schools, ending police brutality, better jobs"—precisely the issues the liberals can campaign on. The YSA's critique is thus not a critique of the crude Panther brand of Maoism, but an attack on their attempt to popularize their conception of communist consciousness as opposed to the SWP's classless community reform line.

From Black Power to Communism

If the Panther split is disorienting for the "white" radical movement, it is devastating for the black radical movement. With the demise of the Panthers as a united organization, no national black organization exists which can claim the allegiance of large numbers of radical blacks. The civil rights movement, which attracted young militants through its social activism and a sense that it was engaging in decisive political battles, is long dead and buried. The mainstream black nationalists are openly and unashamedly on the payroll of "the man." Localized and ad hoc groups like black student unions or tenants' unions cannot have serious revolutionary pretensions, whatever their members might think. The Panthers were the only organization which could seriously claim to be both black and subjectively revolutionary. And now the Panthers are no more. Two competing apparatuses exist in disarray, stripped of moral authority. The only black organization now existing which can claim both a degree of militancy and rudiments of national structure is the Black Workers' Congress. BWC leader James Forman, assertedly converted to anti-imperialism from his SNCC liberalism, expounds a policy of separate organizations of black workers and a view of Marxism as handbook of how-to-run-an-organization-and-be-serious. The BWC appears at this time to be capable of sowing considerable revisionist confusion especially among unionists, but not likely to acquire the widespread moral authority enjoyed by the old Panthers. There is now no place for a black revolutionist to go... except the integrated proletarian socialist movement.

The shrivelling of the civil rights movement in the fires of Watts and Detroit, the rise of pork-chop nationalism and the external and internal destruction of the Panthers cannot be explained in terms of the problems of particular organizations

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West Coast editor: Mark Small.
New England editor: George Foster.

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SELF-DETERMINATION...

terming the U. S. Army in Vietnam "advisors"!

Marxists support the right of movements of self-determination to seek aid from the deformed workers states and from bourgeois states. We do not support them when the struggle becomes no longer their own, when it becomes transformed into an instrument of an oppressing power's aggrandizement. And in no case can we support, however "critically," the very policy by which a large nation's bourgeoisie takes control of the struggle through overwhelming military force and subordinates it to its drive for expanded hegemony—precisely the case in the India-Pakistan war, as only a political child could fail to see.

For the edification of any political children in the Pabloist and Healyite camps—that is, those whose position is rooted in ignorance and not deliberate betrayal—we suggest a look at the front page of the 26 December New York Times under the headline "LONG OCCUPATION OF EAST PAKISTAN FORESEEN IN INDIA":

> "All the evidence indicates that the Indian Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi would like to remove the Indian Army from the eastern region if only because of the heavy expense. But beyond that, the Indians are politically embarrassed by the leadership vacuum there and the large role India must play—since this feeds the arguments of critics that India wants to annex East Pakistan.
>
> "Virtually all foreign diplomats here share the Indian assessment of the volatile situation and the need for keeping the army on. They regard as myopic, for example, the Nixon Administration's call for immediate withdrawal of the Indian troops, since they believe that without the soldiers there probably would be massacres by Bengalis seeking revenge against those who collaborated with the Pakistani troops."

Clearly the Indian military presence is intended to prevent the unrest in bone-poor Bangla Desh, temporarily stripped of a solid bourgeois state apparatus, from taking root among the proletariat and peasantry and spreading to uneasy West Bengal. In other words, Comrades Healy and Wohlforth, Indian troops entered the war to expand Indian hegemony and prevent social revolution, and they stay in Bangla Desh for the same purpose. And further, comrades of the SWP, that is also precisely why the "leaders" of the Bengali struggle have been so quick to cooperate.

In a front-page article on the conflict (Workers' Power, No. 48) the International Socialists correctly analyze India's aim as the creation of a client state in Bangla Desh. But true to form the IS dares not swim against the stream of petty-bourgeois liberal-radical opinion, and so it concocts a metaphysical theory of "two wars going on simultaneously": one for Bengali self-determination, the other between India and Pakistan. This enables the IS, while opposing both India and Pakistan, to refrain from having to explain in plain words that the self-determination struggle has been decisively subordinated to Indian appetites for unquestioned hegemony over the subcontinent. The IS "two wars" position is simply a convenient way to disappear the problem. Consider this hypothetical analogy: "In the U. S. there are two anti-war movements—that of the working class and that of the liberal wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie." But the problem is precisely that the latter element entirely dominates the anti-war movement. The task facing the Marxists is nothing other than to pose clearly the essential class character of such a political formation and to raise demands which break the working class from subordination to the bourgeoisie, not to think up a comforting rationale that the Bengali self-determination struggle is alive and well, suspended above the class realities in some other astral plane.

In a polemic with the SWP in 1942, it fell to Max Shachtman's lot to place the general principle of support to self-determination struggles within a context of Leninist regard for concrete reality. The issue was China. Should socialists support China's war against Japanese imperialism on the grounds of self-determination for China, or had such support become merely, as Shachtman charged, back-handed assistance to U. S. imperialism which not merely assisted, but controlled the Chinese forces? Shachtman's Workers Party held that

> "with the spread of the World War to the East, the just struggle for the national independence of China has been decisively integrated into and subordinated to the reactionary inter-imperialist war and that it can therefore no longer be supported by the revolutionary Marxists."
>
> —"China in the World War," The New International, June 1942

John G. Wright of the SWP had sought to bolster his case for continued support to China with the analogy of foreign interference in the American Revolution and Civil War. Such interference, he argued, did not make Marxists renounce those just struggles, and neither should U. S. aid to Chiang deprive him of military support from socialists in the war against the Japanese. Shachtman effectively disposed of the analogy:

> 'If we go back to Wright's fabulous historical instances, the answer to our present problem becomes still simpler. The Russo-French rivalry did not dominate the American Civil War; the Anglo-American war with Japan does dominate the war in the East, and only a purblind dogmatist or a man in a haluk [whirling dervish's trance] can regard it as a sort of minor side-show in China's war with Japan.
>
> "Baron von Steuben was a great drill-master of the American colonial army and Rochambeau and his French monarchist forces were a most valuable aid to the American colonial bourgeoisie; but the latter was at all times the real master of its political and military position. On the other hand, the American General Stillwell, as head of the Chinese general staff, symbolizes the decisive subordination of China's struggle to the interests and exigencies of the imperialist war between Washington and Tokyo...." —Ibid.

What Lenin Really Said

What then are the guidelines for socialists who seek to support self-determination struggles but, unlike the "International Committee" and the SWP, do not want to give direct or indirect aid to the bourgeoisie? The answer lies in one of the sides of Lenin's thinking on the question which has been systematically obscured, and which must be largely unknown today to most radicals.

Lenin argued for support of self-determination struggles in general. Most radicals are familiar with this, the predominant side of his emphasis, outlined especially in his polemics with comrades like Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Radek. But Lenin also clearly described cases in which the right to self-determination and other democratic demands were overshadowed by larger considerations—when an existing, supportable struggle for national independence became absorbed into and subordinated to another thing entirely, when it became merely an arm (even if a "popular" or "mass" arm) of imperialist aggrandizement.

According to Lenin, socialists could support the Serbian struggle—even though bourgeois-led—for freedom from Austria until that struggle became, as happened by 1914, merely an appendage of the Tsarist war with the Hapsburgs. To continue raising the demand for Serbian independence under those concrete conditions would simply be service by socialists to the Tsarist military, diplomatic and propaganda effort. Under the conditions of the imperialist war among the big powers, the Bolsheviks did not prate of self-determination for Serbia. They did not talk, SWP-fashion, of the Serbian "freedom fighters" correctly utilizing the "objective situation" of Tsarist ambitions in Europe "to help get the [Austrian] tyrants off their backs." They supported Serbian independence no less in general, but the question had become for the time being abstract. Toward Poland during World War I the Bolsheviks took a similar stand. In the particular case, Lenin argued, support for Polish "independence" became actual support to whichever imperialist side happened at the moment not to possess Poland and hence was willing to "free" it.

> "Nicholas the Bloody, Khvostov, Chelnokov, Milyukov and Co. are, of course, entirely in favour of Poland's independence—they are heart and soul in favour of it now, when this slogan, put into practice, means victory over Germany, the country which has deprived Russia of Poland. Let us not forget that before the war, the creators of 'the Stolypin labour party' were wholly and unreservedly opposed to the slogan of the self-determination of nations and Poland's right to secede.... Now that Poland has been taken from Russia they are in favour of the 'independence' of Poland (from Germany; but on this point they maintain a discreet silence)....
>
> "But how can we help liberate Poland from Germany? Isn't it our duty to do so? Of course it is, though never by supporting the imperialist war waged by Russia, be it Tsarist, or bourgeois, or even bourgeois-republican, but by supporting the revolutionary proletariat of Germany, by supporting those elements in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany who are fighting against the counter-revolutionary labour party of the Sudekums and Kautsky and Co."
>
> —"Peace Without Annexations and the Independence of Poland as Slogans of the Day in Russia," Collected Works, Vol. 22, pp. 138-140

The achievement of the democratic and socialist aspirations of the working masses of the Indian subcontinent can only come through proletarian revolution and, ideally, through a united socialist federation of the area, including present-day India, Pakistan, Bangla Desh and Ceylon. As a step toward such a solution the demand for self-determination and opposition to all "great nation" encroachments must be raised. The proletarian revolution in the existing nations of the subcontinent will be the easier to achieve as their workers free themselves from the necessity imposed by their ruling classes to oppress other nationalities and religious minorities. Pakistan's defeat in East Bengal is in itself a step in this direction—but the victory of the Indian bourgeoisie constitutes an equal step in the opposite direction. The cheering in East Bengal will not last. The workers and peasants will learn the lessons of their betrayal; the opportunists who tailed after their treacherous "leaders" and now capitulate directly before the Indian bourgeoisie can learn only new avenues of betrayal. ■

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and the defections of particular leaders. Rather, these developments prove the impossibility of building a black liberation struggle independent of the rest of American society. The civil rights movement failed because the oppression and degradation of black people is deeply rooted in the American economy and society and cannot be eliminated through legalistic reforms. Only a socialist economic system can lift the ghetto masses off the bottom of the economic order. That the black power protests of H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael produced a movement of Uncle Toms in dashikis and professional strike-breakers was not because the movement was always composed of corrupt opportunists. The black power advocates realized the ghetto was not economically viable. If black power meant more black principals, welfare department heads and police chiefs, then only the ruling class could finance a substantial increase in the black bureaucracy. And the ruling class always demands a return on its money. The Panthers could not defeat the cops because the cops are an essential part of the capitalist state and the Panthers could not defeat that state. Given that fact, the Panthers could only alternate between the bitter consequences of heroic adventurism or appealing to the liberal establishment.

The oppression of the black people cannot be ended by black activists alone, but only by the working class as a whole. The breakup of the Panthers' organization and authority creates greater opportunity—but only opportunity—for the struggle for an integrated proletarian socialist vanguard party. The process is in no sense inevitable; there will always be plenty of hustlers and romantic rebels to attempt endless repetition of the old mistakes and betrayals. But the intervention of Leninists among radical blacks can stimulate the understanding that the liberation of black people will be both a great driving force of the American proletarian revolution, and a great achievement of the revolution in power. That revolution will be made, not in the name of black power, but of working-class power—communism.

For Union Rights Under Any Flag!

NEW YORK—On December 15, members of the National Maritime Union demonstrated in front of the Federal Building to publicize their opposition to legislation permitting the sale of five laid-up passenger ships to foreign-registered companies. This "runaway shipping" means increasing unemployment for NMU seamen as the companies increase their profits by employing low-paid foreign seamen and maintaining sweatshop conditions. The demonstration was called by the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus, an opposition group within the union, in order to highlight their militant alternative to NMU President Joe Curran's policy of appealing to Nixon and the "friends of labor" on the grounds of patriotism.

The protesters carried placards and distributed literature calling for strike action and solidarity among all the waterfront unions to enforce demands for U.S. union-scale wages and job conditions for all seamen while in American ports, the organization of a militant international maritime union, nationalization of shipping without compensation under workers' control and with the right to strike, the restoration of full manning scales on all ships and a workers party based on militant trade unions.

The fight for these demands means the fight against the wretched labor traitors of the Curran machine, which offers NMU seamen only class collaboration, national chauvinism and endless sellouts. The September-October issue of the NMU's official organ, the Pilot, offers an extreme example of the attempt to salvage a membership base through dividing the world working class. Curran's column, "Passing the Word," bemoans the loss of jobs in American industry and its implications for American empire. He declares:

> "What we as a nation do in this area—to protect our economy and our standards of life and decency against sweatshop competition from these multi-national international conglomerates—will largely determine the future of American transport and most of the rest of American industry. It will, in fact, largely determine the future of our nation as a world leader."

With his patriotic speeches Curran can only appeal to the very interests who prefer a healthy profit to "the national interest." In place of strong union action, Curran prefers to beg favors from his friends in Congress by the same lobbying tactics used by the shipping interests, despite Joseph Curran, Jr.'s acknowledgment that "we just don't have the same amount of money to throw around."

The New York Times of 10 December noted that:

> "In 1970, for example, the [shipping] industry gave Representative Edward A. Garmatz, a Maryland Democrat who is chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, more than $30,000. Mr. Garmatz ran for re-election unopposed."

Curran's tactic is to invoke his patriotism, the importance of "American flag" shipping for "defense" and "the future of our nation as a world leader," and drums up public support from fellow bureaucrats, organizations like the American Legion and "citizens" like Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago. These are perfectly willing to rally 'round the flag—it isn't costing them anything.

Curran's bright idea is to demand that "foreign industries, insofar as their commerce with us is concerned, conform to the same standards of health and decency which we require of our own industry" and hastens to add "I mean labor standards as well as safety standards." But what is to implement and enforce these noble sentiments except union action? Curran makes his appeal to the interests who are in the shipping business for profits and nothing else. He is eager to demonstrate that he has their best interests at heart: "We do not advocate government ownership or excessive government regulation. Certainly that would not answer the workers' problems." Curran's "answer" to "the workers' problems" would seem to be nothing else but the patriotic good will of their employers!

NMU Militants Demonstrate at Federal Building in New York.

The problem, of course, is real. The Pilot notes that U.S. shipping has sunk to seventh place in the world, with the number of ships down to 699, and quotes a Federal Maritime Commission official that the "U.S. flag merchant fleet will sink to 400 ships."

Seamen must fight runaway shipping, but they cannot do so by appeals to the shippers who seek cheap labor and the government which protects the companies' profits. They must demand U.S. union-scale wages and conditions for any ships entering U.S. ports and enforce that demand by united labor action. Curran's inaction and patriotic rhetoric mean not only the loss of NMU jobs, but also the depression of the wages and working conditions of the entire working class, and the fanning of national antagonisms which cripple the class in the face of capitalist attack. Once the bureaucracy is ousted, seamen, with their wide international contacts and past traditions of militant struggle, can play a leading role in a united, international working-class fight. ■

Marxist Bulletin No. 10

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NPAC

power through the Federal Reserve Board. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced not to "the crisis of revolutionary leadership" as in the Transitional Program, but to the crisis of inflated paper money. What the Labor Committee presented was not a program for socialist revolution but for "socialist reconstruction" which is a jazzed-up version of the pacifist biblical exhortation to turn swords into plowshares. The Socialist Labor Committee handed out a leaflet titled "Dissolve NPAC" but which actually called for dissolving the Old Left and replacing class struggle with psyche struggle. Like the disillusioned Wilhelm Reich, they repudiate Marxism; only time will tell whether they follow the footsteps of their mentor into the warm bosom of the Republican Party. To quote Trotsky:

> "If socialism aimed at creating a new human nature within the limits of the old society it would be nothing more than a new edition of the moralistic utopias. Socialism does not aim at creating a socialist psychology as a prerequisite to socialism but at creating socialist conditions of life as a pre-requisite to socialist psychology."

NPAC Splits (?)

Most of the actual debate of the conference was taken up with a "disagreement over tactics" expressed in the two resolutions of the NPAC leadership: the SWP and the Gage-Colby—Lafferty—Gordon—Williams proposals—a "struggle" whether to parade up Fifth Avenue or down Pennsylvania Avenue! The divergence in the NPAC leadership was obviously a result of the poor turnout for November 6. In addition, the Gage-Colby & Co. resolution called for a labor anti-war congress, but this was hardly mentioned in the discussion. The SWP's main argument was that the greater the distance from the White House the more "independence" the action would have, while Gage-Colby & Co. claimed that the closer to the White House, the more impact. IS meekly reminded the adversaries that if they were really worried about the "independence" of the anti-war movement from bourgeois political parties, they might try not inviting bourgeois political speakers, but IS' participation in NPAC as loyal builder of the next action was not made conditional on excluding bourgeois speakers. The Workers League as usual played attorney for the SWP by lambasting Gage-Colby & Co. for "crossing over to reformism, crossing over to Stalinism"—as if the SWP was not doing the same thing. Subsequent coverage in the WL Bulletin sought to exaggerate the division among the NPAC tops—between those who want to make the anti-war movement more frankly a tool of the liberal electoral campaigns and those who want to preserve its nominal "independence"—as a significant political rupture, rather than a tactical falling out among thieves.

Ironically, though the conference took place under the slogan "Hands Off Kent State," two SDSers from Kent State were physically excluded by NPAC marshals for allegedly having made verbal threats to disrupt the conference and allegedly having told an NPAC supporter at Kent State to take down his literature table. Certainly the latter action, if true, constitutes an indefensible violation of democracy within the movement, but if the NPAC conference were to constitute itself a trial body of the left for gangsterism, then the first groups to go would have to be the SWP and the WL for their participation in the beating and physical expulsion of the SL-RCY and PL-SDS at the July NPAC conference in New York City.

As might have been expected, the WL, IS and PL (and needless to say the SWP) copped out on the basic revolutionary internationalist obligation to support the military victory of the NLF forces against U.S. imperialism—although they all claim to support this position! All were too busy distorting their supposed principles in order to make themselves more acceptable to the NPAC leadership. The fight waged by the Spartacist League-Revolutionary Communist Youth for class struggle and internationalism stood out in sharp relief against this background of class collaboration and pacifist social patriotism on the part of the fake-left conciliators. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 15¢

Number 5 February 1972

NY LOCAL IN SIXTH MONTH OF STRIKE

Phone Workers Continue Defiance of Sellout

After six months of stubborn determination by telephone workers, the New York phone strike suddenly seemed to come to life, seemingly with the blessings of all the leaders. Mass picketing of Bell installations, "education" of scabs, and militant marches through the streets of Manhattan and Brooklyn by masses of phone workers expressed new spirit. The New York strike is yet another example of the great capacity of the American workers for sacrifice on behalf of their class, and the role of the bureaucracy as an essentially fragile lid atop potentially enormous force. The furious determination of the leading strikers reveals again the hollowness of the old rationale for the left's opportunism toward the union bureaucracy: that the workers are not prepared to take the extreme steps necessary to oust the bureaucracy and overthrow the condition for its existence—capitalism.

The CWA international leadership under Joseph A. Beirne, which has attempted to sabotage the strike in the interests of maintaining the nationwide settlement of last July, has switched tactics. Beirne bought a full-page ad in the New York Times (2 Jan.) which backed the membership and vowed, "CWA will not violate its rules and 'order' its members back to work." Beirne knows that N. Y. Telephone, which has managed to keep working with its operators and out-of-state scabs, plans to keep stalling until the strike exhausts itself; yet suddenly he encouraged street demonstrations and militancy. The reason for this is no mystery, and it's certainly not a change of heart on the part of Beirne.

Beirne's "Rules of the Game"

The only "rules" Beirne will never "violate" are the rules of power—and the Phone Co. has power. In 1968, CWA workers in Michigan also voted to stay out after rejecting the sell-out national contract of that year (which Beirne himself later implied was "small potatoes"). Beirne's response was swift: he split the locals and cooperated with the company, to deprive them of their dues check-off so that he could put them in a position of total dependence on the International. Local 4016 president William Moultrie was blacklisted from the company for doing no more than New York Local 1101 president Carnivale is doing now. In July 1971 Beirne promised not to stop the strike without a membership vote, but five days later, having accepted a pre-strike company offer, he announced the decision of the International Executive Board to end the strike (see Workers' Action, Sept. 1971). By using a mail ballot instead of the more democratic, less controllable live membership meetings, Beirne hoped to minimize opposition to the rotten contract. Of the many locals around the country that initially rebelled against this betrayal, only the New York state locals, mainly because of the power of the New York City rank and file and the state-wide unity, were able to hold out against Beirne and the company.

Beirne's real role, like the rest of the labor "leaders" both reactionary and liberal, is to discipline the workers to safeguard exploitation of labor by the corporations; his only real "rules"—keep the struggle safe for capitalism! In order to do this, however, the bureaucrats must maintain some credibility as leaders. Beirne, particularly, needs to cover his bets for the next CWA convention. If he appears to abandon New York while Carnivale leads the strike, he could eventually be stampeded out of office. By appealing for militancy now, he puts the blame on Carnivale if the ranks exhaust themselves in the streets and achieve nothing. Or, if New York Bell is preparing to offer some minor concessions on local issues, a burst of activity now, giving the membership the feeling of having won some kind of "victory," may be a trick designed to put over a new sellout. Either way, the result is essentially the same—six months out for another betrayal.

Learn the Lessons of the Past!

This familiar pattern explains the extremely high rate of turnover of CWA local leaderships. Carnivale, who was recently elected as a militant and "good guy" on a wave of dissatisfaction with the old leadership, is presently popular. He will probably try to maintain a militant image kept within the bounds of Beirne's "rules." His militant posturing will not bring results, and he will take the rank and file down to defeat with him. Without a rank-and-file struggle against the entire bureaucracy, from Carnivale to Beirne, and a serious attempt to shut down the Phone Co. completely, the most militant street demonstrations will not prevent defeat.

What Is Needed to Win

The real issues of the strike call for economic and political solutions beyond the imagination of Carnivale and Beirne, and show where they have failed. To begin with, the limits imposed by the national sell-out must be broken. The official settlement of a 12.4% wage increase retroactive to May 1, 1971 and a pathetic 3% each of the two succeeding years does not even catch up on the wages lost through inflation and taxes since the 1968 settlement! The so-called cost-of-living increase in the last two years of the contract is insignificant. Many CWA operators (at the bottom of the scale) are getting less than 10% the first year. In light of recent wage settlements by coal

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—New York Daily News

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Phone Workers....

miners, aerospace workers and longshoremen—and a possible longshoremen's strike to break the wage controls—12% increases each year is minimum for a decent CWA contract.

The decisive part of the settlement as far as the leadership is concerned is the "modified agency shop" provision, which fattens the bureaucracy's treasury without really strengthening the union by allowing them to collect dues from non-members. Furthermore, town classifications, and area wage differences, with different contracts for different sections of the country (corresponding poorly or not at all with actual living cost differentials), only serve to pit workers from one area against another, and to keep all wages low. There should be a union shop and one nationwide contract and pay scale with equal wages for equal work, including an unlimited cost-of-living escalator. The New York workers must mobilize CWA ranks across the country behind this.

—New York Daily News

Organize Operators!

Local issues center on grievance procedure, upgrading (the question of seniority vs. hiring off the street), absence control, etc. Important as these are, Beirne will grab at the smallest "local issue" bone tossed out by the company that he thinks he can get by with, to avoid confronting the decisive issue of breaking through the limits of the national settlement. After a strike as long as this one has been already, such an end would be a grotesque insult.

More vital is a "local issue" of a different kind—the question of the operators, whose company union is not honoring the strike. Furthermore, some of the women CWA members in clerical and other titles have scabbed, feeling they have been left at the bottom too long by the CWA leadership. This disunity enables Bell to keep going no matter how militant the strikers are on the streets. Organizing travelling pickets against the out-of-state scabbing is acceptable to Beirne and Carnivale to a certain extent; but organizing the operators would require organizing on the basis of a struggle against the CWA bureaucracy. It was Beirne's betrayal last July that turned the tide among the operators against the CWA in the subsequent representation election. But the "militant" Carnivale refused to tackle precisely this task of organizing the operators, despite pressure from the ranks, out of fear of Beirne's retaliation for breaking the "rules."

The United Action caucus in Local 1101, heavily publicized by Workers' Power of the International Socialists (IS) has failed utterly to fill the need for hard, alternative leadership based on a working-class political program. Carnivale is apparently too popular right now for United Action to dare more than a one-sentence swipe at him for "careerism" in its 3 January issue. The most political article of the issue, entitled "Beirne Must Go!" practically invites Carnivale to join: "If the CWA is to be effective, rank and file groups must organize in each local to make our leaderships fight the company and the international" [emphasis ours].

While these phonies refuse to challenge "their" "good guys," they also refuse to really fight "bad guy" Beirne when they get a chance, as revealed in "What Beirne Really Said..." in the same issue, a report of an "impromptu" meeting with Beirne in Washington, D. C. The article—the entire issue, in fact—contains no mention of the slightest political challenge to Beirne by United Action on any aspect of the need for a rank-and-file caucus, a fight to overthrow the bureaucracy, or transitional demands—despite Beirne's reported statement that he "is seeking intervention by various political figures to mediate the issue." Beirne's subservience to the political handmaidens of the giant corporations stands in marked contrast to the attitude of the ranks of 1101 at a recent street demonstration, in which a Brooklyn Assistant to the Borough President was booed and shouted down amid general condemnation of "politicians." The indivisible marriage of the trade union bureaucracy to the bourgeois politicians, particularly the Democratic Party, is central to their role as the bosses' policemen within the labor movement. United Action's silence in the face of the open betrayal of inviting these enemies to interfere in labor affairs is typical of IS's craven cowardice and opportunism.

The 21 January Workers' Power can do no better than to note a byproduct of rank-and-file-determination to act (in this case, sending "flying squads" of pickets to installations in surrounding regions and Detroit) in spite of bureaucratic sabotage: "determined rank and file militants can force the labor bureaucracy to do certain things, including get out of the way.... With a strategy and an understanding of what the real power relationships are, mass rank and file action can change things." IS has noticed that the labor bureaucracy will go further under pressure than they will go without pressure. A profound insight! But the bureaucracy can bend to "determined rank and file" militancy until it is exhausted in the absence of a programmatically distinct caucus fighting for leadership. Concessions from bureaucrats can best be won by the real threat of an opposing caucus with a revolutionary transitional program, in the same way as greater reforms are won from the bourgeoisie by a revolutionary threat than by reformist pressure.

On a larger scale, the effect of policies like those of United Action would be disastrous for the political consciousness of the workers. Many of the most militant would come to see the "left" caucuses in their unions as a brake upon achieving what they want, as a pusillanimous left cover for the bureaucrats. The result would be increasing spontaneist attitudes among the workers, leading to heroic actions and inevitable disorganized defeat. In the present case, IS chooses a time when the workers have demonstrated willingness to go to extreme lengths, for their talk of "forcing the bureaucracy to do certain things"! When the opportunity is lost, and the workers exhausted, they may revert to a more far-reaching perspective, since then they will have no worry about being taken too seriously and possibly being faced with the responsibilities of providing revolutionary leadership accruing from smashing the bureaucracy.

The lesson of this strike must be the realization that a fight for a contract that satisfies the needs of the CWA membership necessarily means a struggle to oust the rotten leadership locally and nationally. The bureaucrats maintain their position by limiting the struggle to the narrowest range of economic and trade union issues and by keeping the workers confused and divided into separate, competing unions and locals. But the workers are confronted every day with an entire range of social and political issues that directly affect their lives and future: unemployment, wage controls, inflation, war, racism, sexual discrimination. The interests of the working class as a whole, internationally, in these and other questions stand diametrically opposed to the interests of the corporations and banks ruling most of the world. Therefore, any organized opposition in CWA or any union must fight for a full range of class demands if it is not to be still another device for some hustler's career. The program must include ending unemployment through a shorter work week at no loss in pay, decent contracts, union democracy, an end to discrimination against racial minorities and women, labor off the pay board, strike action against war and a working-class political party to smash the influence of the bosses' political lackeys and lead the labor movement out of the hands of their reformist bureaucratic friends.

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SET THE BASE AGAINST THE TOP!

Hungarian Workers Destroy Stalin Statue, 1956

The differences expressed below between the "Anti-Stalinism Study Group" (ASG) and ourselves have a significance beyond the issues discussed (which are of sufficient importance in their own right). By itself, the ASG is but a small group in northern California which publishes the newsletter Tsūshin, and with whom we have had comradely relations. But the ASG is a direct expression of a major and characteristic section of the very important Japanese revolutionary left, in particular the Kakumaru faction of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League led by comrade Kuroda. Given the profound contradictions of Japan and in the context of the mounting world crisis, the capacity theoretically, politically and organizationally of the Japanese revolutionists can well determine the outcome in victory or defeat of the Japanese proletarian revolution, itself an issue of overwhelming importance in East Asia and of first magnitude in global impact.

But the Japanese movement is disoriented, as illustrated by the Kakumaru faction's "world revolutionary strategy of 'anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism.'" This view, originating in superstructural parallels, implicitly equates the vastly different phenomena of capitalist imperialism and the essentially derivative Stalinist bureaucracies. It leads logically and practically to incapacity in the struggle against Stalinism within the workers' movement. Without smashing Stalinism the Japanese revolution will surely miscarry.

The Japanese revolutionary left arose out of the Stalinist party after the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and attempted to interpret that event essentially on the basis of national recent experiences alone. The official "Fourth International," deep in its own revisionist decomposition, only damaged and further disoriented the Japanese comrades. The essential task facing the Japanese comrades is to take as the central axis of their movement the organically assimilated experiences of the international communist movement: the Leninist first four Congresses of the Communist International, of the subsequent International Left Opposition and of the present struggle toward rebirth of the Fourth International.

Only through critical and searching internal struggle, necessarily as a component part of the world Trotskyist movement, can the Japanese comrades overcome the particularities of their own origins and win a Leninist clarity. Many will fall by the wayside, but out of the process will emerge the Japanese vanguard party, section of the Fourth International.

Letter to the Editor:

The symposium on "August 6 and International Anti-War Struggles" sponsored by our group had as its main purpose the promotion of revolutionary anti-war struggles from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. Convinced that the experiences of the Japanese revolutionary Left is extremely relevant, we presented an outline of the development of the Japanese anti-war movement, with specific emphasis on the Japanese anti-Stalinist Revolutionary Left which has been taking a militant stand in the forefront of these struggles.

In organizing the symposium, we were guided by two principles. First, it is our opinion that only those organizations in the U. S. which base themselves consciously on an anti-Stalinist orientation will be capable of leading the American anti-war struggles in a revolutionary direction. Secondly, while there is a necessity for these revolutionary groups to engage in common struggle, it certainly should not be done to the exclusion of ideological confrontation between themselves so as to sharpen the basis for promoting a revolutionary movement here in the U. S.

Despite the elemental militancy which is frequently displayed by groups which have embraced Stalinist politics, we do not believe that such groups can possibly function as even a potential vanguard of the American revolution nor hardly of the world revolution which must sweep aside both imperialism and Stalinism. For our August 6 symposium, we called upon speakers from their position as anti-Stalinists to present their perspectives on international anti-war struggles and concerning Stalinism. (Since the S. L. was well aware before August 6 of the specific groups from which we were requesting speakers, we think that if the S. L. was sincerely interested in inviting P. L., they might have brought up this issue with our group before August 6. Yet, the first we heard about this was in the pages of Workers' Action in late September!)

Socialism in One Country

Although we do not deny the superficial militancy of the P. L. and its pro-working class orientation, we know that P. L. has never broken with Stalinism and is merely another of the all-too-familiar left-wing Stalinist sects. We have seen many of them in Japan and are not at all impressed by them. We further cannot agree with you in defining the essence of Stalinism as being "class collaboration." Our understanding is that the ideology of Stalinism is essentially characterized as being the theory of "socialism in one country" —the idea that it is possible and necessary to accomplish the revolution in a single country and to construct "socialism" in a single country. Thus, Stalinism amounts to an abandonment of the very concept of world revolution and of the Marxian concept of world socialism. Stalinists may or may not engage in class collaboration; they may advocate peaceful coexistence or armed struggle; they may simultaneously arm themselves with nuclear weapons while seeking out negotiations with the imperialists.

We do not use the word "Stalinism" as a mere curseword; our definition is quite precise. Although we are willing to work together with P. L. in the attainment of certain immediate goals where there is elementary agreement, we do not delude ourselves into believing that they have broken away from Stalinism.

"Anti-Imperialism, Anti-Stalinism"

In your article, you referred to the Kakumaru's "general slogan" of "anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism" and an "earlier slogan" of "Down with US-USSR Nuclear Testing!" This is an error. The "slogan" "Anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism" is a concise formulation of the world revolutionary strategy of the Kakumaru faction. The slogan opposing US and USSR nuclear testing was a concrete application of this world revolutionary strategy, as it is applied to the conditions of today's world, characterized by the vicious cycle of nuclear tests between the Eastern and Western blocs. In raising this slogan, the Kakumaru faction was exposing the corruption of all the existing Left, which was symbolized by their willingness to oppose nuclear testing by American imperialists but their inability to resolutely oppose the testing by the USSR, just as they had been unable to denounce the USSR's suppression of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. The position of the Kakumaru faction is that the essential aims of anti-war struggles at the present stage are "to expose the corrupt realities of the contemporary world itself, which consists of reciprocal repulsion and reciprocal dependence between the imperialist bloc and the Stalinist USSR bloc, and to create an organizational power aiming at the fundamental overthrow of these contradictions and the realization of true peace. In other words, to create a revolutionary current containing within itself also a breach with Stalinism in the form of transcending the existing peace movement—this is the central task of anti-war struggles at the present stage." Consequently, this slogan of opposition to both US and USSR nuclear testing contains within it an impetus urging the masses to understand not only the essence of imperialism, but also the anti-proletarian nature of contemporary Stalinism. (On this point, see Kuroda Kan'ichi, "What is Revolutionary Marxism?" pp. 77-78.)

Armed Force

Even if one were to view the Stalinist rulers as a "counter-revolutionary bureaucratic caste" sitting on top of revolutionary gains, this would not prevent one from protesting resolutely against the counter-revolutionary policies pursued by the Stalinist bureaucracies. One of these policies is the exclusive reliance on escalation of armed force (nuclear weapons, the arms race) coupled with summit talks and negotiations. This two-faced policy is consistently adopted by the Stalinist bureaucracies, who are unable and unwilling to lead the world proletariat towards the proletarian revolution. We feel that it is essential that the revolutionary Left consistently confront, and resolutely and courageously expose this anti-proletarian policy by the entire world Stalinist movement.

In today's world, weapons are consistently used by the Stalinists in a manner inimical to the revolutionary struggles of the masses. The uprising of the Hungarian workers was crushed by Soviet tanks. The rebellion of the population of East Pakistan, the armed struggles of the youth and students of Ceylon, have been crushed with Chinese arms. Someday, even the nuclear weapons of these countries may be put into use to suppress the revolutionary struggles of the working people. Are we to defend each and every counter-revolutionary policy of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucrats because of some imputed "revolutionary gains" said to be inherent in the nationalized means of production? Are we to refrain from exposing the counter-revolutionary policies of the USSR-Chinese bloc because this would be to deny these Stalinist countries their weapons and to invite imperialist attack? We say No! The Stalinist bureaucracies, the Stalinist parties, and the Stalinist ideology must be thoroughly exposed and smashed everywhere in the world. It would be criminal to foster any illusions about the "progressive" or "revolutionary" nature of any Stalinist group or party, and to refrain from struggle to overthrow Stalinism on the strength of illusions

continued on page 6

PRESSURE MOUNTS IN NYC UNION RANKS

As the election year opens, and John Lindsay begins his hoped-for leap from Mayor to President, the crisis he is trying to leave behind in New York City has developed into a catastrophe for the working class. The imposition of government wage controls nationally has combined with the inflation, the lifting of rent controls, cutbacks in city services, deliberate city-created unemployment, another transit fare hike and skyrocketing tolls and taxes to force the problems of the capitalist system into a ferocious attack on labor. The "leaders" of labor, meanwhile, have cooperated as usual.

Compulsory Arbitration Imposed

Lindsay has finally capped the onslaught with a crown of rare "achievement" in a "labor" town like New York—a compulsory arbitration bill for city employees which, combined with the state's anti-labor Taylor law, effectively hamstrings the most important city unions and sets a dangerous precedent for labor in every city. Until now only Vallejo, California and Eugene, Oregon had similar laws. It fits in well with the need of the ruling class nationally, in its present crisis, to break the strength of the labor movement, and is an important feather in Lindsay's cap in his bid to be the Washington representative-in-chief of the bourgeoisie.

Response to this imposition of "public" (read capitalist) dictatorship over the workers (by City Council vote of 34 to 3) from the buzzards in the halls of labor was predictably nauseating. Most gave it back-handed support by their silence or refusal to fight it, while Victor Gotbaum—head of DC37 of AFSCME, the largest union of city employees, and one of the most ambitious fakers in labor—openly endorsed the bill at Lindsay's signing ceremony. He tried to bail out Lindsay by blaming Rockefeller: "State law gave us no alternative..." Only one city union head, John DeLury of the Sanitationmen's Association, opposed the bill flamboyantly on TV—but said he would go along if he could name the arbiter, thus giving himself an opening to sell higher later. In order simultaneously to expose his contradictory role and drive the struggle ahead, the ranks of labor must raise demands on DeLury for action against compulsory arbitration; Gotbaum stands already exposed, since he has entirely suppressed his role as labor leader in favor of 100% support of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Lindsay: Club-Fisted Strikebreaker

The record leaves no doubt as to why Lindsay took this step or why the labor bureaucracy has sunk to such an abysmal depth of treachery as to welcome what is intended as labor's death warrant. From its inception, the Lindsay administration has been nakedly anti-labor and clumsily provocative in its strikebreaking. Lindsay's very first act in office was to provoke the first transit strike in the history of the TWU by ordering his flunkies to refuse to negotiate, then jailing TWU President Quill for violating the Taylor law (which outlaws strikes by public employees). In the 1968 sanitation strike, when other city employees refused Lindsay's orders to scab on the garbage collectors, Lindsay tried to call in the National Guard, and was only stopped when Rockefeller intervened! He next provoked a teachers' strike in which he used the Ford Foundation and black "community" demagogy to try to break the union.

Urged on by complaints from such quarters as the anti-labor New York Times about the "insufficiency" of the laws against public-employee strikes, Lindsay has worked toward compulsory arbitration to fill this "gap" and make up for his own club-fisted incompetence in dealing with strikes. He was preparing as early as 1969 a bill to strengthen the Office of Collective Bargaining (OCB), which now administers the compulsory arbitration.

Playing the Game

The labor "statesmen," for their part, have been helping Lindsay out all along. Gotbaum successfully headed off a powerful build-up toward a general strike, spearheaded by city workers in 1971 when the state legislature broke precedent by refusing to approve pension gains negotiated with the city by his union. He called a dramatic two-day action in which bridge workers stopped traffic by locking the bridges into Manhattan open, but he then gave up on every single issue involved, referring to the promise of a new legislative budget discussion the following year—which is standard—as a "victory"! He thereby drew the steam off the general strike build-up and handed city and state governments the precedent that they can annul collective bargaining agreements at will (see Workers Action #9, July-August 1971). Labor is now contending with the full application of this principle. A slick maneuverer, Gotbaum has always used "inside" connections while opposing open struggle, enhancing his personal power while the workers face abject defeat. In the key test of Lindsay's campaign to save city credit and bondholders' profits by laying off city workers, Gotbaum refused to fight the first such firings since 1935, thereby paving Lindsay's road ahead.

DeLury, though he speaks gruffly at times and plays his cards more closely to his chest, plays the same game. He was one up on Gotbaum in 1971; not only did he let the precedent of legislative action against a contract get by, but he actively aided the state by ordering sanitation trucks to cross the pension strike picket lines! (This tough-talker had only three days earlier threatened a general strike if any city workers were laid off as a result of budget cuts!) In due course the identical pension gain was lifted from DeLury's sanitation contract, signed later the same year, on the precedent of Gotbaum's "victory." DeLury's mostly verbal role-playing as the "tough" labor leader has about as much meaning in its outcome to the workers as Gotbaum's inside maneuverings, yet his posturing also directly reflects the thrust of the rank and file against the reformist limitations he helps the capitalist system set for them. He won't soon forget the time a few years ago when he was physically assaulted by his own ranks outside City Hall as he emerged to announce the great "victory" he had just extracted from the mayor.

"Urban Crisis"

Lindsay's portrayal of the political issue as his struggle on behalf of the afflicted cities for more help from the tight-fisted states and federal government is so much snake oil. Since the Roosevelt New Deal, the cities have been forced to assume more and more services, many once provided by private companies, in transportation, health, housing, education, etc. These services are vital to the capitalists for re-creating the labor power they need in the form of people who are minimally fed, rested, cured, educated, and at the place of work on time. Yet the costs for this are shifted onto the backs of the working people in order to help the capitalists beat the crisis of their ever-narrowing profit margins. In 1915 business taxes made up 96% of the New York City budget with real estate taxes paying 92% of the total; by 1934 real estate had dropped to 84% and stands today at 24%! Meanwhile city employment together with government employment in general has increased, as important sections of employment in private industry have contracted due to automation, farm mechanization, layoffs, etc.

The interest of the working class lies in increasing employment and services by forcing the capitalists to pay for the re-creation of labor power. But financial interests, often the same capitalists who bled the services dry in a private capacity, have reaped extra profits at the workers' expense through interest on the loans and bonds by which the city bought and maintained the services. In New York, the big banks—First National City, Chase Manhattan, etc.—are losing confidence in the city's ability to pay back this ever-mounting, interest-bloated "deficit" (over $700 million!). Their program called for an end to "rampant" expansion of expensive services, which jeopardized the city's ability to pay, from a tax base limited by workers' opposition. The old Democratic political machine, relying on paternalism, graft, etc., to keep the working-class vote, was undependable in this regard—too likely to favor more services for electoral appeal.

Lindsay, besides being a "clean-up" man who would end machine corruption, vowed to put the city right financially. He was the bankers' boy! Lindsay's regressive tax proposals have continued to throw the burden for services on the workers and poor, but his plan to reduce the city budget by eliminating as many as 90,000 city jobs through layoffs and a process of "attrition," is the centerpiece of his table of benefits for the bankers. The debt service comes first, services second. Welfare workers are enraged as job attrition drives up their case loads and recipients must spend hours, sometimes days, on line to see someone. A heavy snowstorm in 1968 revealed that half the city's snow removal equipment was out of repair. "Breakdown" maintenance is the subway rule despite the transit workers' struggle for increased hiring to perform the preventive maintenance necessary for safety and dependable functioning. To prevent the resulting suffering from finding powerful expression through organized labor, Lindsay must break labor's power in the city. Lindsay's "solution" to the urban crisis will destroy human living conditions for the city's workers and unemployed completely unless the working class mobilizes against him, his banker-capitalist employers, and the reformist labor fakers!

Transportation Bond Swindle

Rockefeller, who was acclaimed a "humanitarian" shortly after committing mass murder at Attica, jousts with Lindsay over the electoral spoils in a sickening public display of ruling class hypocrisy. Their essential unity on all issues in the class struggle—which are the real political questions—is typically displayed in the shell game of transportation bond issue, subway fare hike, and tax package. Each choice contains the same reactionary imposition of service costs on the workers, who can decide democratically how they are to be bilked.

Lindsay and Rockefeller, capitalists and "labor" (read bureaucrats) lined up behind the bankers' swindle of the bond issue to "save the fare" by re-financing the subways and lining the bankers' pockets with workers' tax money later. Despite the "unanimity," the voters overwhelmingly rejected the bond issue in last November's elections because—as everyone noted—they wanted no more taxes. "Democracy," chirp Lindsay-Rockefeller; has ordained that "we" need a fare hike, increased bridge tolls, and more taxes! What we need is a working-class political movement and party to replace the Lindsay-Rockefeller, Democrat-Republican medicine men and their hustler-friends in the labor movement as well!

Transit Strike Dud

A unique opportunity to blow apart this ruling class labor bureaucrat hypocrisy was missed when the Guinan-Gilmartin leadership of the Transport Workers Union sold out for a miserable contract, in the face of a clear membership mandate for a strike voted a few days before the New Year deadline. A revolutionary labor leadership was lacking to mobilize the discontent, which burst into mass picketing and demonstrations at the

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Crackpot Social Democracy

these countries into the train of Ben Bellas, Nassers, etc. and to in turn use these regimes to lay the basis for reorganization for healthy internal agricultural development, and in turn the imperialist exploitation of these countries."

—Conversations With Wohlforth, Seventh Session, p. 2

And in 1967 we are told:

"In order to open up the Southern Hemisphere for direct internal market investment, a new 'Marshall Plan' would have to be launched..."

—Marcus, The Third Stage of Imperialism

Once again Marcus' theories collide head-on with reality, and hence with Marxism. He is wrong on the magnitude of U.S. "aid," wrong on the effect such "aid" has or conceivably could have, and utterly wrong about the class consciousness and the options open to the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Despite the "Alliance for Progress" and "Development Decade" rhetoric, U.S. foreign aid increased from a trivial $1.9 billion in 1960 to an equally trivial $2.2 billion in 1965. The Kennedy and Johnson administrations were both deeply hostile to nationalist economic policy by the underdeveloped countries, although they didn't say so in State of the Union messages. At the important 1964 U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, the U.S. voted (often as a minority of one) against compensation for worsening primary product terms of trade, against preferential tariffs for industrial exports of backward countries, and against using funds released by disarmament for development aid; it abstained on supporting protective tariffs for industries in backward countries. The international financial policy of Kennedy and Johnson was extremely conservative. The International Monetary Fund regularly demanded domestic deflation (e.g., in Chile) as a condition for renewing loans. Failure to repay IMF loans on time was an important factor leading to the overthrow of Sukarno and particularly Goulart.

What does the "aid" that is given consist of? Around half is military and virtually all the rest is absorbed by the local ruling elites and their apparatus. Any "development" funds that do increase production are purely demonstrative, if not accidental. Even the bourgeois press of all shades recognizes this and documents the siphoning off of "aid" funds in endless exposés, usually without saying, of course, that such is the intended fate of the funds. The "development" money poured into South Vietnam is unusual only in amount, otherwise typical of the entire "aid" system: increased purchases of (American) barbed wire is the approximate extent of the economic development fostered there.

Behind Marcus' swallowing of liberal international rhetoric is his total inability to understand what bourgeois class consciousness and rule are all about. For Marcus, capitalism is a rational, although inferior, system rationally maintained through changing institutions to meet various kinds of problems. Apart from the fact that this view qualitatively overestimates the influence of the capitalist state over the world market, it completely misunderstands the nature of bourgeois class consciousness. Bourgeois class consciousness is necessarily a false consciousness, organically incapable except within very narrow limits of understanding the contradictions in the capitalist system and reacting to them in a rational way. The bourgeoisie responds to social crises and revolutionary movements by retreating into obscurantism and barbaric fantasies epitomized in—but in no way limited to—fascism.

One would look long and hard to find any evidence of the reasonable-sounding policy of sucking the workers and peasants into support of "managed social revolutions" laying the "basis for reorganization for healthy internal agricultural development," etc., in the key test of U.S. imperialist policy over the last decade—in Vietnam. American policy in Vietnam has without exception been the exact opposite of the "enlightened" imperialism Marcus describes. It has been expensive, embarassing, hopelessly misinformed and unintelligent, to the exasperation of important sections of the bourgeoisie. The French bourgeoisie, led by de Gaulle, was forced to carry out a coup, with all its dangers for them, because the dominant wing of the ruling class clung obstinately to the madness of maintaining direct French rule over Algeria; a bonapartist regime was required in order to buy off the nationalist-limited struggle by granting Algeria national independence while continuing economic domination by French capital.

Beyond the fundamental irrationality of their order, the bourgeoisie faces an additional, secondary but politically vitally important stumbling block: the most willing and persuasive political representatives of the bourgeoisie must often be those (like Johnson or Nixon) stupid or narrow-minded enough to believe in their own rhetoric—their policies, if not checked in time, can carry the entire ruling class to the brink of disaster. Fascism naturally best epitomizes this danger to the bourgeoisie, and hence is supported by the main weight of the bourgeoisie only when they see no other way out, but in this respect the fascists merely carry to an extreme the characteristics required of royalist, militarist and parliamentarian bourgeois politicians alike.

Since the onset of modern imperialism in the 1880's and particularly since the Russian Revolution, the bourgeoisie has become progressively more reactionary, both politically and ideologically. The class whose early ideologues waged an unrelenting struggle against religious obscurantism has long since embraced the church as a necessary ally from the Carolinas to Java. Adams and Jefferson were deists who called for government in the spirit of rational humanism. Today Nixon lends his authority to Billy Graham, the worst kind of holy roller, and presidential inaugurations resemble meetings of the National Council of Churches. That U.S. imperialism must prop up every monarch and militarist from Tierra del Fuego to Persepolis is not the result of bureaucratic conservatism, parliamentary cretinism or stupidity, although the representatives of the bourgeoisie share all three in copious measure. It is the very essence of modern capitalism, the necessary policy of a class which long ago outlived its historic mission. ■

TWU hall by all sections of transit workers. A full political program, emphasizing a free fare as well as a decent contract, could have made mockery of bosses' attempts to blame fare hikes on the transit workers. The "Rank and File Committee" led by Joseph Carnegie, whose tactics have included seeking court judgment against the TWU for failure to sign a no-strike pledge, urges workers to pull out of the union altogether; the single-issue "Concerned Transit Workers" limited itself to the contract issue and argued against a strike, on bureaucratic grounds, when one might have been possible despite Guinan-Gilmartin.

Break the Wage Controls!

Nixon's wage control program, long demanded by bourgeois liberals and labor bureaucrats, was required by the national and international position of the same giants who squeeze the cities dry to keep their profit-inspired system motivated. The controls have kept most city contracts in line—hospital, transit, sanitation and city clerical titles—while price controls have been a thinly-veiled farce and tolls, fares and taxes are being urged ahead full speed. Nationwide coal, aerospace and longshore settlements have challenged the guidelines, however, and the bureaucratic leaders of the two longshore unions were merely reflecting the vast power and determination of their ranks when they finally came together and openly defied Nixon.

As the controls become more and more clearly an endless highway robbery of labor, the workers will become impatient, as they did even during the "patriotic" World War II controls. A working-class political movement based on militant caucuses in transit, longshore, maritime and city employees must be built to spearhead the drive to break Nixon's wage controls, Lindsay-Rockefeller double-dealing and the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy.

Peas in the "Left" Pod

While the hopelessly reformist Communist Party orients toward one wing of the trade union bureaucracy distinguished only by "progressive" rhetoric from any other, the inherently reactionary National Caucus of Labor Committees throws labor out with the bureaucrats by rejecting union struggle altogether (see article on page 8). And like the so-called "Workers" League of Wohlforth & Co., the Labor Committee apparently doesn't see much distinction between labor and the cops, as revealed in their run-down of Lindsay's betrayals (New Solidarity, 8-12 November 1971), which rails against his breaking the police "strike" and docking cops' pay. Like the Communist Party it imitates so well, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party leaped at Lindsay's bait in 1968 and helped pit black workers against white in the "community control" attempt to smash the teachers' union. (This was on its days-off-for-good-behavior from the anti-war movement, where it was sponsoring Lindsay as a prominent speaker.) It has since taken to physically assaulting left opponents of its pop front with the liberal bourgeoisie, and is squelching those who recently advocated a return to its long-abandoned "proletarian orientation."

Oust the Bureaucrats!

What the many fake leftists fail to grasp is the need for a political movement in the unions, to uproot the trade union bureaucracy, which is the social force that keeps the struggle of the workers confined to the narrowest of trade union channels and insignificant, reformist demands. Ousting the bureaucrats requires a highly conscious and well-organized alternative leadership to break through these artificial limits with a programmatic alternative, through the organizing of caucuses and the creation of a communist cadre in the unions on the basis of a transitional program. This program must include among its demands: breaking state wage controls, a sliding scale of wages and hours, opposition to the special oppression of blacks and women (particularly in the unions), opposition to protectionist nationalism by the labor movement, strike action against the Vietnam war, defense of the deformed workers states and opposition to the renewed threat of inter-imperialist war, breaking the working class from the two capitalist parties and establishing a workers party based on the labor movement. ■

SPARTACIST FORUM

NEW MASTERS FOR BANGLA DESH

Speaker:

Marv Treiger

formerly of the Communist Working Collective, Los Angeles

- The Leninist position on self-determination
- Against all "left" camp followers of the Indian Army!
- Down with the national betrayers of the Awami League!
- For a socialist federation of the subcontinent!

FRIDAY, FEB. 11 8:00

602 Hamilton Hall—Columbia Univ.—NYC

SET THE BASE AGAINST THE TOP!

(Continued from Page 3)

about any "revolutionary" gains said to be embodied within the politico-economic structure of the Stalinist bureaucratic system. Those who are unable to discern the counter-revolutionary, anti-proletarian essence of Stalinism (its ideology, its politico-economic system, its diplomatic policies) are certainly unable to lead the American working class forward towards the contemporary world revolution. To avoid the tragedies of the Russian Left Opposition, the Spanish and Vietnamese Trotskyists, and Trotsky himself, it is essential for all American revolutionaries to assimilate the revolutionary theory of Trotsky and Trotskyism, to overcome its defects, and to move forward towards the creation of revolutionary theories based on Marxism-Leninism for the accomplishment of the contemporary world revolution, overthrowing both imperialism and Stalinism.

We re-affirm our resolution to continue to struggle together with all groups of the American anti-Stalinist revolutionary Left and will continue to call upon them to unite in joint actions on the basis of opposition to both imperialism and Stalinism.

Anti-Stalinism Study Group
October, 1971

WV REPLIES:

To the extent that you have addressed your arguments on Stalinism to the Spartacist League you imply that the SL maintains a more favorable evaluation of the fitness of Stalinists for revolutionary leadership than you do. Our differences with you on Stalinism are of another kind entirely.

To begin with: we have always held, with Trotsky, that the Stalinist regimes and parties are centrally responsible for the decades-long delay of world proletarian revolution, a delay which increasingly poses for mankind the barbarian alternative to socialism. In their powerful reinforcement by their betrayals of the ability of the bourgeoisie to control the workers, they fully merit Trotsky's characterization as "the syphilis of the working class." The question, then, is how Stalinism is to be expunged. For this, an understanding not only of the magnitude of its crimes but its social origins and nature is essential.

Your letter is not clear on what you believe the Stalinist bureaucracies to be. You strongly suggest, however, that you disagree fundamentally with the Trotskyist analysis of the Soviet and kindred bureaucracies as parasitic, politically reactionary ruling strata which constitute a step toward capitalist restoration but are not in themselves that restoration. You say, "Even if one were to view the Stalinist rulers as a 'counter-revolutionary bureaucratic caste' sitting on top of revolutionary gains. . . ." You ask: "Are we to defend each and every counter-revolutionary policy of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucrats because of some imputed 'revolutionary gains' said to be inherent in the nationalized means of production?" [Emphasis added] Are you implying that our position means that we are defending these counter-revolutionary policies? You cite the necessity to "assimilate the revolutionary theory of Trotsky and Trotskyism" and "to overcome its defects," in order to avert further tragedies for the workers' movement like that of Trotsky himself.

The reader must be struck by your reluctance to say openly the only thing your statements can mean. We doubt that you are suggesting that Trotsky expected revolutionary good deeds from the Soviet bureaucrats. The only "defect" for which you can accuse Trotsky on this score is his understanding of the class nature of the Soviet state, and the policy of working-class defense of that state against imperialism, the primary enemy of the working class and the objective cause of the Stalinist political excrescence. Trotsky certainly did not regard the revolutionary gains preserved in the nationalized means of production as a matter of opinion, or "imputed gains." He considered the nationalized means of production, the absence of a bourgeoisie, as defining the Soviet Union as a workers state—"a priceless pledge for the future"—despite its degeneration. For this reason, and not from any softness toward the political phenomenon of Stalinism, Trotsky never placed imperialism and Stalinism on the same level as implied in the slogan, or "world strategy" of "Anti-imperialism, anti-Stalinism" although his position was both anti-imperialist and anti-Stalinist.

Stalinist Dilemma

To whom is your question, "Are we to defend each and every [sic] counter-revolutionary policy of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucrats. . ." addressed? Does it apply to us? What counter-revolutionary policies do you feel we support? Your next question reads "Are we to refrain from exposing the counter-revolutionary policies of the USSR-Chinese bloc because this would be to deny these Stalinist countries their weapons and to invite imperialist attack? We say No!" And so do we! But in fact you frame the question after the fashion of—the Stalinists. It is they who insist, as your question implies, that the interests of the Soviet state and its parasitic bureaucracy are identical. Your kind of criticism of the counter-revolutionary policies of the bureaucracy includes in effect denying defense against imperialism to the Soviet Union and similar states. The Stalinists have always slandered the Trotskyists, insisting that the gains of the October Revolution can be defended only by supporting the bureaucracy. Our demand is for an end to the policies which endanger those states, including Stalinist peaceful coexistence illusions. We consider it tragic, and a great service to Stalinism, that you in fact call for a defenseless Soviet Union and China—precisely what the Stalinists have always alleged was the core of Trotskyism. Do not swallow the Stalinist bait! As you pose the question, any militant who desires the defense of the deformed workers states against his own imperialist government must as a matter of principle support the Stalinists! A tragic dilemma you pose to anti-imperialists, and one which can only benefit the Stalinists.

We do not regard imperialism and Stalinism as symmetrical evils. Rather, we see Stalinism as the product, within non-capitalist states, of the pressure of dominant world imperialism. Our view does not deny their reciprocal relationship, but rather explains it. Stalinism—at bottom the result of the pressure of world imperialism, materially and ideologically, upon the state of the proletariat—gives imperialism new lease on life. The programmatic conclusion of this analysis is the call for political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracies. The demand for political revolution, however—as distinct from social revolution—would be pure (though perhaps militant) reformism if applied to a capitalist state.

Third-Camp Pacifism

The logical result of your understanding of Stalinism is a species of third-camp pacifism. Your undoubted desire for proletarian revolution will in no wise save you from the programmatic implications of such a policy. Your analysis must lead you to oppose not merely nuclear armament, but all armament, for the Soviet Union and China: "In today's world, weapons are consistently used by the Stalinists in a manner inimical to the revolutionary struggles of the masses." (In yesterday's world, too, we might add.) Note that your statement is not restricted to nuclear weapons. Presumably we should seek the scrapping of Soviet tanks and rifles, too, since they can be and have been used against the working class.

Is the problem Soviet armament or the political leadership controlling it? The two do not at all amount to the same thing. Were the Soviet Union a healthy workers state in an imperialist-dominated world, it would still have to maintain a large military readiness. But in the case of imperialist powers, we oppose armament regardless of their political regime.

We oppose under all conditions the armed force of the capitalists. But were the trade unions

Stalin at Signing of Nazi-Soviet Pact

armed, would you demand their disarmament pending the removal of bourgeois agents, reformists, and Stalinists from their leadership? Our analogy may seem to you overdrawn, but you must admit that George Meany is in no way superior to a Stalinist bureaucrat, and he would to whatever extent he could use the working class' arms to discipline the workers. Or would you demand the disarming of a Menshevik-led soviet until a Bolshevik leadership can be installed? Our policy would be to demand that more workers be armed with better weapons—a measure clearly in the class' interest—and expose the bureaucrats' resistance to this policy. To oppose the armament of even the most wretchedly bureaucratized and treasonably led working-class formation would be interpreted (correctly) by the workers not as revolutionary principle on our part, but a neutral policy toward working-class defense against the class enemy. Such a policy would only aid the bureaucrats and discredit the revolutionaries. In fact, our trade union analogy is essential to the understanding of Stalinism. The Soviet bureaucracy resembles very closely what we could expect from a reformist-led trade union raised to state power and administering a publicly-owned economy.

Disarm the Stalinist NLF?

What are the implications of your analysis for Vietnam? We support the military victory of the NLF over U. S. imperialism and its Vietnamese agents, and we seek simultaneously to expose all the forces standing in the way of such an outcome. First and foremost among the forces in which we express absolute lack of political confidence is the Stalinist leadership of North Vietnam and the NLF itself. We certainly do not demand the disarming of the NLF, although its leaders can turn

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its weapons against the working class—an act they have committed before, as in the massacre of the Trotskyists in the late 1940's. Do you call for the military victory of the NLF, and on what grounds? That they don't possess nuclear weapons? That they are little Stalinists while the Soviet bureaucrats are big and powerful Stalinists? But the Soviet bureaucrats are arming North Vietnam and the NLF. Is the refusal of the bureaucrats to back the NLF to the hilt, with more modern weapons and even the nuclear shield, something for which we are thankful or another instance of their counterrevolutionary treachery? How could one demand more military aid to the NLF from the Soviet Union and other deformed workers states while simultaneously opposing Soviet armament? One might reply that the NLF struggle is militarily supportable on grounds of Vietnamese self-determination. The IS invokes such a position to explain its switch from a third-camp position to support for NLF victory. For us the self-determination issue, although a supportable component of the Vietnamese struggle, pales in significance to the change in class relations which the Viet Minh and NLF created, as did Mao's Red Army. You must recognize that the Vietnamese struggle is neither politically nor militarily independent of the Stalinized states you seek to disarm. It would seem that unless you wish to abandon the NLF to the fate Washington plans for it you must support the armament of the Stalinist-led states up to some point. We should like to know to what point you support it and why?

Class Collaboration

Your understanding of Stalinist ideology is muddled. "We... cannot agree with you in defining the essence of Stalinism as being 'class collaboration.' Our understanding is that the ideology of Stalinism is essentially characterized as being the theory of 'socialism in one country...'" Fine. But explain then what is wrong with the theory of socialism in a single country. Our chief objection to it is that such a "theory" is a justification of class collaborationist appetites, the only such justification open to the Soviet bureaucrats. They had to cover their abandonment of a world revolutionary perspective (the antithesis of class collaboration) with a "socialist" "theory." With the new "theory" Stalin was able to rationalize bargaining away the international revolution with capitalist powers, turning the communist parties into pressure groups for Soviet deals with capitalist diplomacy, all on the grounds that his policy was preserving and advancing socialism in the Soviet Union at least. In other words, the theory was not merely an egregious departure from Marxist theoretical understanding of capitalism as world system and the internationalist preconditions for socialism, but more fundamentally a cover for a program of betrayal, i. e. class collaboration. Recall the close similarity between the conduct of Stalinist and social democratic parties. Revisionism generally is the result of the pressure of capitalism materially and ideologically upon the movement of the revolutionary proletariat. Stalinism as a particular variety of revisionism is the product of that pressure upon the state of the proletariat. The social democrats do not accept the theory of socialism in a single country only because they do not need it to cover their betrayals; they do not have to reconcile their betrayals with their rule of a non-capitalist state —i.e. they do not have to "theorize" the squeezing of the October tradition into capitulation to the bourgeoisie. The bureaucracy and its program did not arise from the theory; the theory was developed by and for the bureaucracy.

More puzzling is your statement "Stalinists may or may not engage in class collaboration; they may advocate peaceful coexistence or armed struggle; they may simultaneously arm themselves with nuclear weapons while seeking out negotiations with the imperialists." Since when was class collaboration limited to "peaceful coexistence"? Of course the Stalinists will lead armed struggle—whenever possible along with a section of the bourgeoisie. The NLF, engaged in armed struggle, openly courts the Vietnamese national bourgeoisie. That, it would seem, is class collaboration. They fight the bourgeoisie belatedly and badly—to the extent that the bourgeoisie threatens to deprive them of their social underpinnings. They do not want proletarian upheavals, since they would arouse the working class to the seizure of political power in the deformed workers states; they do not want imperialist invasion, either. They fear the latter not out of socialist principle but because they realize that Rockefeller, for example, has no intention of sharing his wealth with them as a reward for their betrayal. But while defending nationalized property —much as a union bureaucrat "defends" his union, knowing that without it he is nothing—they constantly undermine the security of that social gain by their limitless desire to shore up the capitalist order provided only that it promises to let them alone. You believe that the Stalinists betray the working class. To whom can it betray them if not to the bourgeoisie? Isn't that "class collaboration"?

Stalinophobia

A final note, on Progressive Labor. The danger of the phenomenon of Stalinophobia is that it can lead one to chase after groups no better and in some cases worse in an attempt to destroy Stalinism. In addition, it blinds one to the differences between the Stalinist leaders and the ranks, many of the latter sincerely desiring revolution but misled by the tops into thinking that Stalinist policies are the road to socialism, or that in order to preserve the achievements of revolution even in a "single country," it is necessary to shelve the struggle here. We seek to win these people to the understanding that they have been betrayed and terribly poisoned, to win them, in a word, to Trotskyism.

You imply that by inviting a group like PL to a united front action we render some kind of assistance to Stalinism. Exactly the opposite is our intent, and exactly opposite is the result of such a call, whether their leaders respond or not. We want to force the members of a Stalinist organization, when its leaders are taking a "left" posture, as PL did at the NPAC Conference, to ask: "Why do we denounce the Trotskyists as agents of counterrevolution? They agree with us in our desire to rid the anti-war movement of the class enemy—an anomolous position for counterrevolutionary swine—and they are more consistent in this policy than we. How can our leaders turn a deaf ear to such reasonable proposals for debate and common action? Who has the correct revolutionary strategy for the anti-war movement? We are not fools, we can judge for ourselves." Stalinism is in trouble when our policy makes it possible for such attitudes to circulate in the ranks.

Trotsky did not propose a united front with the Social Democracy in order to assist in its sell-outs, but rather to convince the worker militants still deceived by the leaders of Social Democracy (and they were the bulk of the German working class) that the Communists were the best fighters shoulder to shoulder with them against fascism—a struggle their own leaders would carry out treacherously and half-heartedly. In 1940 Trotsky even insisted in discussions with the SWP leadership on critical support to the Stalinist CPUSA because he recognized more opportunity among their ranks than with the "independent" anti-Stalinist "progressives" whose anti-Stalinism very often covered the reality of anti-communism. Then the best elements in the CP, those whose activity made the party attractive to workers, would be more likely to listen when the SWP reminded them that they had predicted the CP leadership would not adhere to its proclaimed promises.

The SWP, which you invited to the symposium, does not even make the appeal to subjective revolutionary desires as PL did at the July Conference (since then, PL has moved right to its old talk of "honest center forces," etc., in typical Stalinist left-right oscillation). At that time there was a basis for an appeal to PL for certain common action and discussion in an anti-imperialist framework. But the SWP had invited a representative of the bourgeoisie to the NPAC Conference. They are "Trotskyist" like the Communist Party is "Leninist." In a sense our greatest difference with you is not over the non-invitation of PL to the August 6 symposium, but the invitation to the SWP, which at that time stood qualitatively to the right of PL on the question of the anti-war movement. To the PL militants we would say: "We are with you in your desire to get rid of the bourgeoisie in the anti-war movement. We want to show you by our argument and practice that with your present—Stalinist—methodology you cannot achieve your wish, but only be used by your leaders to betray the struggle you joined your organization seeking to support." We cannot say even this to the SWP, the "Trotskyist" fiction aside, when their role was not confused opposition to the bourgeoisie's presence, but its conscious support. That is, their rhetoric could not be contrasted with their class-collaborationist behavior to the edification of their supporters, because their public line, too, was class-collaborationist; with PL it was at least possible to contrast the revolutionary rhetoric and their actions at the July NPAC Conference with their Stalinist history and methodology. The pop front with the class enemy is an old Stalinist formula. In this case it was the "Trotskyists" who supported this policy, and the PLers who fought it. Do not let anti-Stalinist labels bemuse you. Scheidemann and Noske were not "Stalinists"; it is in that sense that we must appraise the "anti-Stalinism" of Dobbs, Barnes, Hansen & Co., as well as that of Healy-Wohlforth Ltd. which supported them.

Our difference with you is not, as your letter implies, that we are not sufficiently anti-Stalinist. Our fear is that your analysis leads you to backhanded support to imperialism (neutralism between imperialism and Stalinism) and fatal illusions over "progressives" who loudly proclaim hatred of Stalinism to justify their capitulation to the bourgeoisie. The current leadership of the U.S. labor movement came to power on a wave of "anti-Stalinism"; the SWP and Workers League used anti-PL "anti-Stalinism" as the excuse to physically purge left opponents from NPAC in order to suck up to a U.S. senator. Only the policies which flow from Trotsky's analysis—military defense of the deformed workers state against imperialism, the united front tactic toward reformist workers' organizations including the Stalinist parties—can politically defeat Stalinism in the workers' movement and open the road to the development of proletarian internationalist revolutionary leadership.

RCY EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND

February 19, 20, 21

Saturday

THE ORIGINS OF WORLD WAR III

Imperialism and the World Economic Crisis

by Joseph Seymour, RCY National Chmn.

PUBLIC PARTY

Saturday night—place to be announced.

Sunday

LABOR AGAINST THE STATE

The Struggle for Revolutionary Working-Class Leadership

by George Foster, Chmn. Boston Spartacist League

RACE, SEX, YOUTH...

Non-Class Forms of Oppression

by Laura Sawyer, RCY Assistant Editor and Helen Cantor, RCY National Secretary

Monday

FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

by Liz Gordon, Spartacist League National Secretary

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(FIRST OF TWO PARTS)

The Labor Committee:

CRACKPOT SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The "National Caucus of Labor Committees" of Lynn Marcus, known for its apocalyptic visions and schemes for instant socialism, has become something of a New Left fad. Marcus' ability to foist off crackpot notions as "Marxism"—such as the idea that the U.S. is fighting in Vietnam to gain a rice surplus for Indian industrialization, or that a socialist economy can be realized in twenty-four hours through the organization of bank clerks—is perhaps not surprising given the abysmal level of Marxist education among U.S. radicals.

New Left Utopianism

Marcus' positive appeal, apart from his dependence on prevailing ignorance, stems from a particular amalgam of New Left Utopian ideas and impulses with traditional social-democratic reformism. Lenin characterized petty-bourgeois radicalism as a reflection of the "petty bourgeoisie driven to frenzy by the horrors of capitalism," with a tendency toward instability and "infatuation with one bourgeois fad or another." The New Left was exactly the morally outraged petty bourgeoisie desperately trying one "revolutionary" path after another—pacifism, Third World-ism, street confrontations, workerism, "liberated" life styles, communalism, etc. What the Labor Committee shares with the New Left world-view is the belief that revolution is easy and instant if one could just find the new gimmick, tactic, posture, propaganda line or organizational form that will bring American bourgeois society tumbling down like the walls of Jericho. Marcus' position that the devaluation of the dollar marks the collapse of the capitalist system; Wohlforth's assertion that the Attica uprising means "the revolution has begun"; Charles Reich's claim that the U.S. revolution is already taking place in the hearts of its youth—all represent typical idealist projection of one's own desires onto reality. On the organizational level, the Labor Committee's "proto-soviets," the Workers League's November 12 "general strike" and the Weatherpeople's terrorism are all aspects of the frenzied petty bourgeois' "revolutionary" make-believe.

What distinguishes a genuine revolutionary organization from all forms of adventurism, dilentantism and hustlerism is that it develops with and through the working class. As Trotsky said:

> "The revolution pursues its course together with its class. If the proletariat is weak, if it is backward, the revolution confines itself to the modest, patient and persevering work of the creation of propaganda circles, of the preparation of cadre; supporting itself upon the first cadres, it passes over to mass agitation according to the circumstances. It always distinguishes its class from the enemy class, and conducts only such a policy as corresponds to the strength of its class...."

The objective forces for revolution are, as Trotsky noted, overripe, but there can be no revolution until the working class is politically conscious and armed with its revolutionary instrument, the vanguard party, whose program and cadres have been prepared and tested in struggle. There is no gimmick which can substitute for that process.

What Is Utopian Socialism?

Utopian socialism corresponds to the world-view of the petty bourgeoisie. Caught between the industrial working class and big capital, and possessing the power of neither, the petty bourgeoisie strives, in Marx's words, "to be above all class struggles" and "transform into harmony" the irreconcilable antagonisms between capital and wage labor. Apart from communal escapism, the two major currents of nineteenth century Utopian socialism were technocracy and consumerism. Technocracy (Saint-Simon) maintained that the fundamental problems of society can be solved by allowing production to be rationally guided by scientists, engineers and the like. Consumerism (Proudhon) held that the fundamental issues of social conflict are lowering rents, taxes and interest and expanding government-provided services. Technocracy raised the technically trained petty bourgeoisie above all social classes, while consumerism made an amalgam between the petty bourgeoisie and other classes, particularly the industrial proletariat.

Marcusism is a remarkably pure amalgam of Saint-Simon and Proudhon, including the latter's fixation with money, befitting a failing shopkeeper. Marcus' attacks on union parochialism and his pseudo-Hegelian terminology are employed in a sustained attack on the leading role of the industrial proletariat in the socialist revolution. Everything Marcus writes on this subject has but one purpose: to dissolve the working class into some broader social category which explicitly includes the lumpen proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, particularly the intelligentsia. Gone is the Marxist concept of intermediate strata as capable of playing a valuable supporting role in the revolutionary process on the basis of coming to identify their needs with the fundamental class interests of the proletariat. Instead, these sectors—which are equally capable of going over to the side of reaction—are seen as having identical interests to those of the working class. Marcus' difficulty in inventing a term for his category has led him from "the non-ruling class population" to the current "political working class." And on the terminological level, nineteenth century radicals and today's anarcho-Maoists could contribute

free! SPARTACIST LEAFLET December 1971

The Poverty of Marcusism

PORTRAIT OF A UTOPIAN-REFORMIST CHARLATAN

definite clarity to the Labor Committee; Marcus' (non-) "class-for-itself" is nothing other than "the people." For the Labor Committee, the major social conflict of our time is that between the people, led by the intellectuals, and the bankers. Proudhon lives! If the influence of Utopian socialism on the nascent European working-class movement did indeed have tragic dimensions, its recurrence in the Labor Committee is truly farcical.

Social-Democratic Reformism

The Labor Committee shares the pervasive New Left desire to dump "dreary," "old-fashioned" Marxism-Leninism and seek exciting "new" political methods. It also seeks to fill the vacuum created by the complete discrediting of traditional American social democracy. Ten years ago, young political activists who thought in terms of supporting strikes in cooperation with the local union bureaucracy, of pressure groups designed to expand medical care for the poor or to maintain rent control, joined the Young People's Socialist League or the early anti-communist SDS. However, the blatant chauvinism of the trade union bureaucrats revealed by their slavish support to the Vietnam war and the disclosure that the liberal anti-communist front groups favored by Norman Thomas and Co. were funded by the CIA completely discredited these forces. This left a clear field for political formations not tainted by McCarthyism and the stultifying Cold War atmosphere of the Fifties but catering to the same reformist impulses. By terming a student-based propaganda campaign to oppose a transit fare increase a "proto-Soviet," Marcus seeks to give a revolutionary facade to the kind of politics traditionally associated with the Democratic Party and "socialists" of the Norman Thomas-Bayard Rustin brand.

Mirroring the New Left's contempt for organized labor, the Labor Committee performs an essential task of all social-democratic ideologues—providing an excuse for the conservative politics and sellouts of the union bureaucracy by arguing that they simply reflect the backwardness of the workers and the inherent limitations of unions as social institutions:

> "Union leaderships of the CIO type do not 'sell out' the membership because they are wretched in general. On the contrary, the union leaderships sometimes seem to 'sell out' because they, like the majority of 'rank and file' members, refuse to undertake the sole alternative to accepting a poorer settlement. Union leaders of the CIO-type generally go as far as they think the majority of members' union militancy will carry the union in gaining additional benefits. Tiny minorities of 'rank and file' professional insurgents are often more militant on these questions precisely because they enjoy the speculative luxuries of being out of office. The isolated militant can imagine all sorts of wonderful gains which would absolutely not seem credible to him were he faced with the responsibilities of union office, were he faced with the tactical realities which the incumbent union leadership has to face as long as it accepts existing legal forms of labor struggle and as long as the membership is unwilling to go beyond mere legal forms."
>
> —1971 Strategy for Socialism, p. 19

Michael Harrington or Irving Howe couldn't have said it better, including the attack on reds ("professional insurgents") as irresponsible, unrealistic, hopelessly isolated elements in the unions. And The Campaigner states categorically:

> "Any rank-and-file grouping which assumes power in his [the bureaucrats'] stead would be forced to more-or-less similar practices because of the ordinary petty conservatism and backwardness of the average union member."
>
> —"Trade Unions Today," The Campaigner, Spring 1971, p. 33

The position is clear: the workers get the leadership they deserve!

American Imperialism as the Rational Development of Backward Countries

Only naive liberals—and Marcus and his following—took the "Alliance for Progress" and "Development Decade" seriously. Acting as Wohlforth's theoretician in the unity negotiations with Spartacist in 1965, Marcus stated:

> "Since 1959, US has followed policy of managed social revolutions, general policy of imperialism to support nationalist colonial revolutions as long as they remain within control of imperialism. The SWP et al. failed to see this and merely sees US and its allies as conducting a struggle against the colonial revolution... this is not the case. They are trying instead to circumvent the Permanent Revolution by sucking working class and peasantry of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

15¢

No. 6 March 1972

BOSTON CONFERENCE

WONAAC Sponsors Bourgeoisie, Ousts Communists

Over the February 11-13 weekend at Boston University the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) Conference met to enthuse over Bella Abzug's bill, soon to be introduced in Congress, for repeal of anti-abortion laws. Abzug's representative Jessica Josephson was on hand to address the Conference on Friday night.

As the opening Friday night session began, members and supporters of Women and Revolution, the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth attempted to introduce a resolution barring the class enemy from the platform. Denied the opportunity to present their resolution, the Trotskyists chanted when Josephson began to speak, "No Ruling Class Speakers—Free Abortion on Demand—Bella's Rep Off the Stand!" When the Conference voted the exclusion of the opponents of class collaboration, they walked out, singing the Internationale, The Progressive Labor/University Action Group took no stand on the expulsion or the issue over which it occurred; the International Socialists voted against expulsion, but remained in the meeting.

The issue of male presence arose in the handling of the expulsions, and the reactionary character of the feminist practice of male exclusionism was demonstrated once again. The resolution against bourgeois speakers was rejected for consideration on the excuse that the presence of men in the session did not allow for any decision to be made. But the vote for expulsion of the communists was taken with no qualms about the presence of men: a revealing lesson in the specious nature of feminism—Men can't vote to expel the capitalists, but their help is welcome to expel the communists!

Though much of the debate at the Conference centered around "free abortion on demand" vs. "repeal of all anti-abortion laws," the chief political issue remained that of the class character and orientation of the women's liberation movement. Do we subordinate our struggle, politically and organizationally, to the bourgeoisie—the class enemy—or do we wage an uncompromising struggle for the political independence of the working class, reflected in the independence of its organs of struggle? WONAAC is a useful tool in channeling the struggle for women's liberation onto the dead-end road of impotent, single-issue reformism. The ruling class' Democratic Party garners votes directly from WONAAC's platform through politicians like Bella Abzug. The Democrats must be grateful to WONAAC's leadership (dominated by the Socialist Workers Party) for delivering back into the clutches of bourgeois ideology potentially dangerous militant women.

WONAAC's refusal to fight for free abortion on demand—instead limiting itself strictly to a legislative fight against anti-abortion laws—is the programmatic proof-in-the-pudding of WONAAC's subordination of the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie. The SWPers typically explained that, of course, they really favored free abortion on demand, but opposed WONAAC's taking such a stand. Only two women out of the 1200 attending Saturday night's main plenary session raised their hands to indicate they were opposed to free abortion in response to SWPer Klp

(continued on page 3)

Mao Welcomes Nixon: End of an Illusion

Nixon and Mao— THE NEW ALLIANCE

Once again as in the periods preceding World Wars I and II the imperialist powers are jockeying for advantage and conducting the most frantic diplomatic maneuvers. What is new is the equally frenzied participation of the bureaucracies of the two giant deformed workers states on opposite sides in the quest for alliances and spheres of influence, under circumstances of nuclear armament of nearly all the likely belligerants.

At center stage for the moment, Richard Nixon and Mao Tse-Tung consummate their semi-alliance in a "Long March," complete with Nixon quoting the Red Book and Mao humming "America the Beautiful," which will decisively shape world events in the coming period. The more profound causes of the U. S.-China detente must be sought in the context of global imperialist rivalry, deliberately concealed in the chancelleries of Europe, Moscow and Tokyo as well as in Washington and Peking, but darkly visible nevertheless.

The final evaporation of the rainbow vision of an American Century came with the collapse of the international monetary system and the prostration of the American military system in Indochina. America reverted to the status of one big power—the biggest—among many and therefore needed new alliances of a new type to safeguard its position.

Counterposed to the weakened position of U. S. imperialism is the rise of Soviet power and influence in Asia, Europe and the Near East. In the eight months since the announcement of the Nixon-Mao talks the Soviets have launched a counter-offensive up and down the line: by opening discussions with Brandt of Germany on a non-aggression pact and seeking to settle boundaries in Europe; by supplying the DRV with new weaponry and following Podgorny's visit to Hanoi with a big reception for Vo Duc Tho as the new ambassador to Moscow; by condemning recent U. S. bombings days ahead of the usually prompt Chinese; and finally through spectacular victory as India's patron in the war with Pakistan while the U. S. and the Chinese favored Pakistan, and Yahya Khan served as middleman in the pre-Summit arrangements.

Gromyko's visit to Japan capped off the Russian offensive. The re-emergence of Japan as Asia's industrial and soon-to-be military powerhouse is a major initial cause of the China-U. S. detente. The textile war and battle over tariffs between the U. S. and Japan, as well as Japanese rearmament, has underscored the fact that the U.S.' real competitor in the Pacific is Japan. In his recent interview with Americans visiting China Chou devoted most time to warnings of a rearmed Japan including showings of a number of Japanese military films. The split between Premier Sato and his Defense Minister is over the pace, not the fact, of militarization.

The Soviets may offer a partial return of the Kurile Islands off Japan in exchange for a panoply of benefits including major Japanese capital penetration into Siberia. Japan's powerful industrial base, short of raw materials and facing a de-

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THE LABOR COMMITTEE: Crackpot Social Democracy

SECOND OF TWO PARTS

Marcus as a Neo-Capitalist Theorist

Despite Marcus' claims to be the only person since Luxemburg to understand Marxian economics, his analysis of post-war capitalism is quite similar to most left-wing neo-capitalist theorists, such as Mandel, Sweezy and Kidron. In The Third Stage of Imperialism, Marcus tells us "The post-war prosperity of the U.S. economy has been most directly based on U.S. investment in the advanced capitalist sectors abroad." In particular, Marcus sees a general post-war boom based on the reconstruction of the European economies which peaked in the 1957-58 recession, after which the world economy entered a period of relative stagnation. This historical-analytical gem was sold to Wohlforth and has become part of the Healyite international Committee's official wisdom. Marcus' theory is outstanding in being just about completely false. There was no post-war boom—particularly in the U.S.—and there was no significant U.S. investment in Europe before 1958.

Despite the impetus of the Korean War, the U.S. annual growth rate in the 1950's was only 3.3%, below its historic norm of 4.0% and well below the annual growth in the 1960's of 4.9%. Of the major capitalist nations only West Germany experienced a significantly higher growth rate in the 1950's than in the 1960's, while the U.S., Japan and France had distinctly higher growth rates in the 1960's than in the 1950's. Before 1958, U.S. investment in Europe was small, totalling only $4 billion in asset holdings. It was only after 1958, with the establishment of the Common Market and return to general currency convertability, that American investment in Europe exploded, reaching $14 billion in assets by 1965. Marcus' theory does not stand up to the most elementary tests of factual accuracy.

Throughout Marcus' writings, great importance is attached to U.S. foreign aid and loans, and to the Marshall Plan in particular. At the height of the Marshall Plan in 1949, U.S. foreign aid was about $5 billion or 2% of U.S. national output. Since then foreign aid and loans have steadily declined both absolutely and relative to national output, today constituting about 1/5 of 1% of national output. State aid and loans could not concelvably have played the great role Marcus attaches to them. Equally significant, Marshall Plan aid peaked at the very time of the first U.S. post-war recession in 1948-49, a fact which is probably not coincidental as we shall see.

Even had the magnitude of U.S. foreign aid and loans been significantly greater, could it have contributed significantly to general world prosperity? A positive answer to that question can be broached from either a Keynesian or a state capitalist, but not from a Marxian standpoint. And in fact, Marcus' analysis of post-war capitalism contains significant elements of both Keynesianism and state capitalism. In "Depression Ahead?" Marcus maintains that since the Roosevelt administration, the U.S. government has pursued a fundamentally changed economic policy, which he summarizes as "credit expansion" (his description of Keynesianism). Marcus' analysis turns out to be a kind of international Keynesianism. If U.S. government expenditure abroad can produce an economic boom, as Marcus claims, then so can domestic government expenditure.

Throughout Marcus' writings, there is a tendency to identify state foreign grants and loans with private investment as a form of capital outflow and a means of absorbing surplus value. Foreign aid and state loans are not a form of "capital," i.e., a vehicle for the extraction of profit through the exploitation of labor. (See the expanded treatment of the nature of state expenditure given in "The Myth of Neo-Capitalism" in RCY Newsletter #10.) The growth of the necessary overhead expenses of the capitalist system actually drives the rate of profit down and is not a source of capitalist boom. Marcus' errors in this area are truly endless. He identifies profitable foreign investment with domestic prosperity. Foreign investment is profitable for the American capitalist class, but it shifts productive resources and employment out of the U.S. Shifting production to the South certainly benefited New England-based textile firms. It did not benefit New England textile workers. This is why the trade unions have always opposed runaway shops and, as part of its nationalist protectionism, the AFL-CIO opposes U.S. industrial investment abroad. Despite the Labor Committee's intense hostility to Third-World Maoism (in part responding to national chauvinism), the Labor Committee's own economic theories reinforce one of the main ideological pillars of Third Worldism—that U.S. imperialism is responsible for the supposed prosperity of the post-war U.S. economy and the relatively higher living standard of American workers.

In dealing with the expansion of "unproductive labor" in the corporate and state bureaucracy, Marcus' analysis is mainstream neo-capitalist analysis, practically identical to that of Sweezy and Baran, Mandel and the New Leftist Martin Nicolaus. Thus "Credit is also piped into wasteful forms of investment connected to the means of production and distribution. The number of government and corporate clerks per productive worker are increased; the number of salesmen per productive worker rises. Large masses of capital flow into redundant sales offices, financial institution establishments, purely redundant 'dealerships,' supermarkets, and so forth, all of which adds not one penny's worth to the real output of production itself" (The Third Stage of Imperialism, p. 31-32). This passage could have been taken right out of Baran and Sweezy's Monopoly Capital. Marcus views the corporate and state bureaucracy and distributive apparatus as deliberate make-work projects and a conscious alternative to both profit-taking and productive investment.

"Unproductive expenditures" are part of the necessary economic and political overhead of the capitalist system. They should be seen not as a means of absorbing surplus value, but as part of the "constant capital" flow expenses. The expansion of such expenses drives down the rate of profit. Capitalists are as concerned with economizing on clerical and distributive workers as they are on factory operatives. Such "unproductive" expenditures may be "redundant" and "wasteful" from the standpoint of a rational economic system (i.e. socialism), but are absolutely essential from the standpoint of capitalism. Marcus' treatment of "unproductive" labor as waste again reflects his technocratic world-view.

Friedman as a Marxian Economist?

Probably the most succinct statement of Marcus' economic analysis is the following: "...imperialism can only survive by resorting to various forms of statism, and we are in a particular period in which U.S. has established hegemony over the world and has enjoyed economic prosperity based on credit expansion" (Conversations with Wohlforth, Sess. 7, p. 2).

This statement is in complete contradiction to the elementary principles of Marxian analysis of money and credit. Prosperity can not be based on statism in the form of credit expansion because the state lacks the power to expand credit. Credit expansion generally accompanies expanded production; it does not cause it.

In the most important dispute over the role of money in his lifetime, Marx opposed the Currency School which maintained that the flow of money was determined by the amount of currency and bank reserves. He generally supported the Banking School, which maintained that the flow of money and credit adjusted to the demands of capitalists through changes in the velocity of circulation. "As long as the state of business is such that returns of loans made are regularly repaid and credit thus remains unshaken, the expansion and contraction of circulation depends simply on the requirements of industrialists and merchants" (Capital, Vol. III, Ch. 33).

The Currency School was based on the quantity theory of money, which held the flow of money expenditure was always proportional to currency and banks. Marx was an anti-quantity theorist, upholding the theory of reflux. The theory of reflux held that bank notes issued in excess of demand would automatically be extinguished through loan repayment. "The quantity of circulating notes is regulated by the requirements of commerce and every superfluous note wanders back to its issuing party" (Capital, Vol. III, Ch. 33). The American Depression demonstrated the validity of Marx's position; in the middle and late Thirties, the banks were swimming in excess reserves with no borrowers. And despite Marcus' insistence that Roosevelt pursued a policy of credit expansion, in 1938 the Federal Reserve raised the reserve ratio so as to achieve greater leverage over bank reserves.

For Marx, the expansion of money and credit results from, but does not cause increasing output. "The final result is that the mass of currency required for the expenditure of revenue increases decidedly in periods of prosperity. As for the currency which is necessary for the transfer of capital for the exclusive use of the capitalists, a period of brisk business is at the same time, a period of the most elastic and easy credit" (Capital, Vol. III, Ch. 28).

The quantity theory of money has always played an important ideological role in bourgeois economics. If the flow of money expenditures is automatically proportional to the amount of currency and bank reserves, the traditional bourgeois state has considerable control over the economy. The major opposition to Keynesianism within bourgeois economics comes from quantity money theorists headed by Milton Freidman. Freidman argues that if only the Federal Reserve would allow a constant increase in the stock of money, steady growth and full employment would follow and no other government "intervention" is nec-

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Spartacist Local Directory

BERKELEY-OAKLAND. Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, Calif. 94701. phone: 848-3029.

BOSTON. Box 188, M.I.T. Sta., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. phone: 321-3826.

CHICAGO. Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, Ill. 60680. phone: 643-4394.

DENVER. (contact New York)

EUREKA. Box 3061, Eureka, Calif. 95501.

HOUSTON. (contact New York)

LOS ANGELES. Box 38053, Wilcox Sta., Los Angeles, Calif. 90038. phone: 467-6855.

NEW ORLEANS. (contact New York)

NEW YORK. Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. phone: WA 5-2426.

SAN DIEGO. Box 22052, Univ. City Sta., San Diego, Calif. 92122. phone: 453-1436.

SAN FRANCISCO. Box 40574, San Francisco, Calif. 94140. phone: 826-8259.

STONY BROOK, L.I. Box 854, Port Jefferson, N.Y. 11777. phone: 246-6848.

WASHINGTON, D.C.-BALTIMORE. phone: 223-1455.

REPORT:
RCY Holds Educational Weekend

The Revolutionary Communist Youth held an educational weekend February 19-21 in Boston. Despite a heavy snowstorm on the first day, over 80 people attended the conference. The educational drew in people from as far away as Washington, D. C. and Pittsburgh. The RCY raised almost $300 at the conference, which it will use to expand production of pamphlets and the RCY Newsletter.

Joseph Seymour, RCY National Chairman, and George Foster, political chairman of the Boston Spartacist League, made a joint presentation opening the conference on the current world economic crisis, the tasks facing the American labor movement, the heightening of imperialist rivalry and the drift toward World War III abetted by the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracies. Comrade Seymour also analyzed the various theories of neo-capitalism, products of left-wing capitulation to bourgeois ideology in the period of apparent stabilization of capitalism especially in the U. S. following World War II and the subsequent "cleansing" of the left from the labor movement. Laura Sawyer, assistant editor of the RCY Newsletter, discussed non-class forms of oppression, centering on the racial and sexual oppression in capitalist society. Divisions along racial and sexual lines divide and weaken the working class, which faces a united bourgeoisie. We strive for the unity of the class, by developing a transitional program which attacks the special oppression of women, blacks and all oppressed minorities, linking this struggle to the class struggle against capitalism, and by fighting to overcome the false consciousness which penetrates the more backward sections of the class.

Helen Cantor, RCY National Secretary, spoke on the role of youth in the revolutionary movement. The RCY rejects absolutely all theories of "youth vanguardism" (propounded in the U. S. by the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance and now emulated by the Workers League) which represent a capitulation to petty-bourgeois illusions. "Youth" in itself is neither revolutionary nor a class, and cannot substitute for the revolutionary vanguard party. We seek to break the best elements of the radical student movement from their class background and future expectations and develop them into professional communists, through a process of education and struggle. As the youth section of the Spartacist League, the RCY also participates in communist activity in the organizations of the working class. The dedication and sacrifice shown by RCYers in this struggle fit Lenin's characterization of the younger generation as "the future of our movement." Workshops following the presentations generated lively discussion on all aspects of the Transitional Program and its application in action.

The final day of the conference was devoted to discussion of the struggle for the Fourth International. Liz Gordon, National Secretary of the Spartacist League, analyzed the history of the Fourth International from its inception, dealing with the more controversial aspects of the struggle against revisionism and Pabloism within the Fourth International, particularly the role of the SWP. She noted that Cannon began the fight against Pabloism only when its perspective of organizational liquidationism became evident within the SWP in the Cochran-Clarke faction in the early 1950's. The murder of Trotsky and the Shachtman split which stripped the party of much of its theoretical talent, together with the terrible setbacks of the Cold War period, all facilitated the SWP's later capitulation to Pabloism. The current shattered and chaotic state of those groupings claiming to represent the Fourth International makes all the more imperative the necessity to struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International and to resolve what Trotsky characterized as the crisis of leadership of the world proletariat.

The conference ended with the singing of the Internationale. The Boston RCY met that evening with young people attending the conference who wanted to know more about the RCY. The educational value of the weekend, not only for people just becoming committed to revolutionary politics, but for the RCY comrades themselves was tremendous. The understanding of the burning questions facing the revolutionary movement which the young comrades will take into struggle with them will prove invaluable to our movement. ■

Continued from Page 1

BOSTON WONAAC CONFERENCE

Dawson's theatrical query to the body. "But the masses aren't ready for it yet.... " Sound familiar? This patronizing, hypocritical, tail-ending opportunism reveals the SWP's cynicism toward the working class, male and female, as the agent of revolution, and its abandonment of responsibility to intervene in the working class to fight for revolutionary consciousness. How is it that all of a group like WONAAC can "personally" recognize the need for free abortion, but not "the masses"? If "the masses" are so backward, surely it's WONAAC's job to energetically raise the demand for free abortion and explain its necessity from the standpoint of the interests of all the oppressed. What is really behind the SWP's adamant insistence on not demanding free abortion is its desire to remain "respectable" in the eyes of the defenders of private property—the bourgeoisie and its politicians.

On the key issue—class collaboration—Progressive Labor was silent. PL has jettisoned the crude but genuine working-class impulse which led them, with the Spartacist League, to oppose the presence of the SWP's favorite bourgeois politician Vance Hartke at the July NPAC gathering in New York. At the WONAAC Conference they never called for a break with capitalist politics. Instead of seeing that the fight against sexual and racial special oppression requires a complete program for working-class struggle, PL/UAG could only inveigh more stridently than their opponents against the evils of racism and sexual oppression. Their only propaganda point was that WONAAC emphasizes its legalized abortion slogan above the slogan of No Forced Sterilization. The significance for political clarification of their proposal for greater stress on "No Forced Sterilization" is indicated by the fact that the proposal passed virtually unopposed. Nor did PL argue against male exclusion, a practice they have in the past opposed. PL has never abandoned its position on the family as a "fighting unit for socialism," but in its lurch to the "non-sectarian" right has buried this position to get closer to the feminists who hate Marxism but hate the famliy too.

In the greatest show of deceit, however, the IS occupied center stage. More sophisticated than the muddied PL/UAG, the IS forces nevertheless stumbled all over themselves in their anti-class-collaborationist pose. In IS' Free Abortion on Demand (FAOD) Caucus and on the Conference floor, the IS voted against a Women and Revolution proposal demanding exclusion of bourgeois politicians and repudiation of the Friday expulsion of communists. They equivocated on the issue of the class enemy's presence, in their own resolution, which would have permitted participation by bourgeois representatives if they or their parties favored free abortion. The leaflet of invitation to the FOAD Caucus stated that WONAAC should "not give support to Democratic and Republican Party politicians or put them forward as spokeswomen," carefully skirting the issue of "participation" in WONAAC by capitalist politicians to hustle votes.

Women's oppression, like other forms of special oppression, affects women of all classes (although working-class women worst). But the solution to the special oppression of women requires proletarian revolution. The widespread confusion over the need for a class-struggle approach to all social oppression has made the women's liberation movement even easier hustling territory for bourgeois politicians than the anti-war movement has been. For that reason self-proclaimed socialists in the movement have a special responsibility at every juncture to draw an uncompromising class line. PL and IS have collapsed entirely in this revolutionary duty, giving left cover to the SWP's successful efforts to deliver the women's movement up body and soul to the class whose existence precludes any real progress, any secure gains in the struggle against special oppression. ■

For an overview of the relationship between women's oppression and capitalist society, see the article "Toward Women's Liberation" in Spartacist #17-18 (25¢). The publication Women and Revolution is available at 50¢ for six issues.

SMC CONFERENCE:

Junior Pop Front

As WV went in press on the weekend of February 25-27, the SMC held its Conference in New York. Like the pop front NPAC of which it is a part, the SMC demonstrated again the grim determination of the SWP/YSA in maintain their alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie at any cost. The Workers League (WL), International Socialists (IS) and the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) again vied with each other in eagerness to cover inr the SWP's betrayals. Of all organized tendencies present, only the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, presented a consistent principled opposition in the class collaborationism of the SWP-dominated antiwar movement. (All other organizations directed motions for SMC to carry out. We say destroy SMC!)

True, the liberal bourgeoisie themselves did not consider this conference worth attending. But, anxious in harness students in their electoral chariot, they dispatched their agents—Youth for McGovern, Youth for Muskie, Youth for Lindsay—in the conference, in pick up recruits and votes. Every one of these bourgeois organizations was given a position on the presiding committee. The NCLC, which had successfully won a place on the committee made a show of removing its representative th order to put on a left face. Yet in a leaflet they labeled as "hooliganism" and defended the expulsions of the Spartacist League and Progressive Labor for their attempt in shout down Hartke last July. The NCLC wanted SMC without the overt presence of the bourgeoisie, while touting SMC, NPAC, PCPJ, and the CP's TUAD as instruments of mass struggle. But even the NCLC's contradictory opposition in class collaboration wan supertor, ll oon-Leninist, to the WL's position of loyal opposition in the pop front—the WL conspicuously abstained on the crucial SL/RCY motion, presented at the plenary, to exclude the bourgeoisie—the first time a vote on inis question was permitted at SMC/NPAC. The SWP/YSA forces, of course, voted not in exclude the bourgeois repe. Throughout the conference, however, the WL furiously denounced the SWP's acquiescence at the recent Versailles anti-war conference in the exclusion by the Stalinists of the SWP's own comrades of the French section of the United Secretariat. The WL's frenzied attack on this exclusionism did not prevent them from physically excluding the SL/RCY from their supposedly-public workshop. Reminiscent of Shachtmanism, the WL continuously justified their solidarity with the "Trotskyist" sponsors of the bourgeoisie by furiously denouncing "Stalinism" as the arch-enemy of mankind. The WL denounced the rottenness of the SWP while offering support to the SWP election campaign in spite of its program.

Despite the SWP's bureaucratic restrictions on political discussion, the SL/RCY won a significant victory at the labor workshop with the adoption of its motion in exclude a representative of Youth for McGovern. The YSA then made abundantly clear its role as chaperone for the bourgeoisie; the YSA alone spoke against the SL/RCY motions and it alone organized a walkout from the labor workshop. (Later in the Conference, SWP'er Debby Bustin defended their not walking out of the Versailles conference on the grounds of maintaining a popular front—that "you have in stay inside and argue for your politics"!)

A triumphant American working class will deal decisively with the liberal imperialists and their sponsors in the workers' and radical movement. That day will be hasteoed by the exclusion of the bourgeoisie in order in open up the full airing of political disputes within the working-class movemeot which alone can defeat revisionism. No wonder the SWP/YSA and the WL invite the bourgeoisie and stifle discussinn from the left!

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Three leaflets issued by the SL/RCY at the Conference, "The War, the Class and the Liberals," "Protest Workers League Hypocrisy: For Workers Democracy!" and "On Fonis and Charlatans: The Class Nature of 'Non-Exclusionism'" may be ordered through Workers Vanguard.

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Nixon and Mao—THE NEW

pressed economy, is aggressively seeking markets. If a Moscow-Tokyo accord is reached it will tend to both stalemate and consolidate the U. S. - Chinese detente.

The Chinese have now developed a missile with a delivery radius of 2,500 miles, capable of reaching Moscow. In the short run this development tends to heighten Chinese fears of a possible Russian "preventive" bombing, thus driving China into U. S. arms in proportion to Sino-Soviet antagonism. The U. S. least of all wants to see a single power dominate Eurasia. Russian support to India in the Sino-Indian border war which took place in a wasteland peopled by a non-Chinese and non-Indian national minority as well as the Sino-Soviet armed clashes over a few islands in the Ussuri River indicate the real possibility of such a war between the two states.

The Laird military budget of $83 billion has been justified on the basis of "further erosion of strategic balance with the U.S.S.R." The Soviets presently lead in land-based missiles and are increasing their missile-submarine force. The most intense area of competition is in naval armaments and maneuvers in the open sea (particularly in the Mediterranean) with a heavy emphasis on competition for refueling ports.

The U.S. is actually through a "margin of superiority" preparing for a possible future rapprochement between Russia and China. There can be no "security" for a workers state in an alliance with imperialism. We demand instead an international bloc along class lines. A united front in support of the Indochinese revolution would have tipped the balance long ago.

The "Third Campist" International Socialists, refusing to call for a united front of the deformed workers states against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam explains U. S. reluctance to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam as a result of the popfront amorphous anti-war movement in the U. S.:

> "Only a wholesale escalation of the war, including the use of tactical nuclear weapons, could conceivably bring an end to the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination—and this approach has been precluded by the strength of the American anti-war movement."
>
> —Workers Power, 18 February-2 March 1972

The IS is living on pacifist, classless illusions. The U. S. may yet use nuclear weapons in Vietnam. It is held back precisely by its fears of reuniting nuclear-armed Russia and China and the possibility that war will then be inevitable and its outcome unclear. The IS' horror at the acquisition of nuclear bombs by the deformed workers states makes them incapable of even seeing reality. Regarding the present anti-war movement, the ruling class is relying on it to channel anti-war sentiment into its hip pocket.

The real danger to the Vietnamese social revolution is the traitorous policies of the various Stalinist leaderships which may once again capitulate in the face of imperialist pressure.

Quid Pro Quo?

The U.S. has just granted the People's Republic of China the same trade status as the Soviet Union while leaving North Vietnam, Korea and Cuba in the category of "least favored nations." The unilateral opening of trade channels by the U. S. raises the question of what China will offer in return. U.S.-Chinese trade is bound to be limited due to the low productivity of Chinese industry. The Nixon-Malraux discussion indicates that Nixon will offer long-term loan credits as the next step.

The problem of accumulating a significant surplus in the agricultural sector to deepen its industrial base has plagued China throughout the Sixties and is a major cause of the intense struggles of the Cultural Revolution. The import of grain in the wake of the Great Leap Forward, the natural disasters during the early part of the decade and the economic disruption during the Cultural Revolution indicate that even the marginal stability of the bureaucracy hangs on its ability to break out of the vicious circle caused by an insufficient surplus.

It is an axiom from which the Chinese cannot escape that the influence of the world market is bound to take its toll on workers states, exacerbating their deformities and generating capitalist restorationist tendencies—if the revolution is not extended in time to the more productive states whose prices dominate world trade. The Chinese theory of "self-reliance" is not only utopian but reactionary in that it strives to drive the productive forces back into the national boundaries.

Collaboration for Clique's Survival

Chinese foreign policy has gone through a number of phases but reflects an underlying unity. In 1963, at the height of the Sino-Soviet polemics, the Chinese reiterated their conception of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." These included the infamous "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" clause which the Chinese have asserted since the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949.

The concept of "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" was proclaimed by the Chinese as Leninist but was in fact introduced by Stalin in the Thirties. Lenin and Trotsky never uttered so cynical and hypocritical a conception as the basis for the foreign policy of a workers state; they recognized tactical limitations imposed by imperialist strength, but they never bartered away Communist Parties for this "principle."

The tactic of coexistence was invoked under conditions of extreme emergency at Brest-Litovsk. Trotsky himself, on instructions from the Central Committee, headed the delegation to Brest-Litovsk. Trotsky used the platform to talk over the heads of the German officials to the troops in the trenches over all Europe to turn their guns against their own rulers. International class unity of the proletariat held absolute primacy for the Bolsheviks. The final treaty was a compromise and a retreat. The Bolsheviks never painted it up as a victory or a great step toward socialism and, most important, continued to orient the European Communists to making the revolution. In contrast Stalin and Mao willfully subordinated the class struggle for temporary diplomatic advantage. Their policy of "non-interference" is much more than the observation of certain restrictions in state relations necessary for any workers state surrounded by capitalist states; they extend non-interference on the diplomatic and military level to the stifling of struggle by the Communist Parties under their influence abroad, thereby transforming a temporarily necessary policy of restraint into a policy of betrayal.

When it is a question of a workers party oriented to another deformed workers state the Chinese, like their Soviet counterparts, will betray without so much as the blink of an eye. The Sudanese workers led by a pro-Soviet Communist Party staged an adventurous coup last summer in the Sudan. Crossing class lines in order to edge out Soviet influence, the Chinese supported Numeiry's rightist counter-coup which resulted in the smashing of the CP and the trade unions. On the fundamental "principles" of foreign policy, Mao and Stalin are like "lips and teeth."

The early phase of Chinese foreign policy embraced the 1954 Geneva sellout to which they and the Russians were signatories. U.S. hostility toward China, particularly manifest in the Korean War, pushed them toward closer relations with the Soviet Union during the middle Fifties. It was Chou En-Lai who urged Soviet military action to smash the Hungarian Workers' Councils in 1956, reflecting the bureaucracies' dread of the revolutionary proletariat.

The brutal Soviet withdrawal of aid spurred a new "leftist" period of Chinese foreign policy isolated from the deformed workers states as well as the capitalists. Instead of looking toward and assisting proletarian revolution in the West, despite Lenin's designation of the era as the "eve of proletarian revolution," the Chinese universalized the strategy of the Chinese revolution and called for "self-reliance" and "people's war." The failure of Maoist parties to achieve success anywhere on the globe and the internal pressures brought about by Mao's utopian attempt to build "socialism in one country's consciousness" forced a disoriented bureaucracy to hastily abandon the left turn for a sharp tactical right turn, just as the failure in Germany of the "leftist" tactics of Stalin's Third Period in the early Thirties led to the rightist popular front tactic of the middle Thirties. Left utopian adventurism breeds right pragmatic capitulationism. The underlying unity behind the vacillations of Maoist policy has its roots in the maneuverings of a Bonapartist clique standing between imperialism and the international proletariat and fearful of both.

The "non-interference" clause has proved most useful to Mao in the current right turn. It was used to condemn the Indian army's actions in Bangladesh against China's ally Pakistan (although China shelves the principle when Pakistan meddles in Kashmir). The Russian position is exactly the reverse, since its ally is India. Both opportunist leaderships are silent on the plight of the Biharis in Bangladesh, the "Palestinians of the subcontinent," who are not permitted to return to Bihar in India or to West Pakistan and who face massacre at the hands of Bengali nationalism. The regimes in Peking and Moscow both noisily endorse Bandaranaike's suppression in Ceylon of the Guevarist-type insurrection in the countryside. In this unholy alliance they are joined by Pakistan and India, Britain, France and the United States. The Chinese only exceed the others in that their supportive aid ($30 million) is refurbished with diplomatic support in the form of Chou's assertions that the rebellion was all a CIA plot. These Chinese betrayals, more egregious but qualitatively identical to previous practice, have paved the way for the Nixon visit.

New Red Book—Preface by Nixon

The bureaucracy evolves its own methods to effect tactical turns. These methods include, above all, maneuvering, purges, cult worship and ultimately a secret police. The narrow identification of Leaders with one or another temporary policy while the Supreme Arbiter (Stalin or Mao) stands "beyond and above" policy and error creates enormous instability. It is both an index of the regime's inflexibility in structure and its considerable "freedom" of action in making various moves. Without this understanding Mao appears more and more to the disillusioned "cultural revolutionist" as a dissident Maoist.

The present ascendancy of Chou En-Lai and the eclipse of Lin Piao and Chen Po-Ta indicate not a restoration of capitalism (so easily restored according to the Maoist schema), or a betrayal of the Cultural Revolution, but rather its logical extension and continuation—as Mao will be the first to tell you.

The super-secret purge of Lin Piao and numerous top military leaders speaks reams about the undemocratic essence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—an event neither great, nor proletarian, nor cultural, nor revolutionary. All the manufactured and manifestly one-sided denunciations of Liu Shao-Chi which were counted as evidence of mass democratic discussion are thrown by the boards in the simple fact that Lin Piao's preface to the Red Book has been removed in the new English language editions for export while the domestic Chinese production continues unabated for an unknowing but suspicious mass.

It is hardly coincidental that the two heir-apparents to Mao have been purged at the height of their power. The Ninth Party Congress of April 1969 included in the new Chinese Constitution the official designation of Lin Piao as the new heir-apparent. This outrageous repudiation of workers democracy exceeds even the semi-feudal practice of the Catholic Church. The Pope may appoint the College of Cardinals which will in turn select the next Pope—but he cannot select his successor outright. Once succession is formalized in this way the impulses toward corridor intrigue reminiscent of Byzantium become irresistable. Lin Piao is gone. We await only his confession.

Cultural Counterrevolution

The Nixon visit has already had other repercussions on the cultural front. Bereft of principle,

ALLIANCE

Mao

Chou

...and Lin

—When Comes the Confession?

"The Maoist "Cultural Revolution" was a litmus test for Trotskyists. Only our tendency pointed out at the time the essential character of the "Cultural Revolution"—an intra-bureaucracy fight and purge of the Chinese CP. With the further development of open armed border clashes between the Soviet Union and China, the need of the workers to overthrow the narrow, nationalist bureaucracies has become even more imperative and obvious as the only way to create communist unity against imperialism.

"At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the U.S.S.R.'s avowed policy of "peaceful coexistence" while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long-run interests (which would take time, as such factors as U.S. public opinion would have to be readjusted), the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build "Socialism in One Country" through deals with imperialism at the expense of internationalism."

—"Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League," Marxist Bulletin #9, Part II, p. 12, 30 August 1969

Two and a half years ago, while Maoist rhetoric was at its "radical" zenith and China appeared to stand alone against imperialism and "modern revisionism," the Spartacist League predicted the possibility of a U.S.-China bloc. Our analysis, based on profound class currents operating in the epoch of the decay of imperialism and its Stalinist and Maoist derivatives, has been fully vindicated.

creativity and imagination, the bureaucrats turn the accumulated cultural wealth of mankind on and off like so much political lubrication. During February Chinese bookstores issued a dozen or so titles banned in the Cultural Revolution. These works include the great bourgeois philosophers of the French Revolution Montesquieu and Rousseau; the giant of European transcendental idealism of the rationalist school Kant; and the predecessors of Marx and founders of scientific political economy Adam Smith and Ricardo (the latter developed the labor theory of value); and finally, the arch-apologist of ancient slavery Thucydides who incidentally wrote the first scientific history on record. His major work provides us with the only written record corroborating Engels' thesis based on anthropological studies that the development of a material surplus was the prerequisite of a durable division of society into classes. The new list of published titles notably excludes Russian authors indicating a cynical and arbitrary policy of the Chinese Stalinists toward culture.

Maoist Apologias

Wilfred Burchett, writing for the Guardian, summed up the apologist's-eye view quite neatly:

"What China has to gain is clear. It is a crowning triumph of the new, outward-looking phase of Chinese foreign policy. Entry into the UN by a thumping majority and a tribute-paying visit by the President of the superpower of the West —both within less than six months! Very good. Very good, Chairman Mao may murmur with considerable justification."

—16 February 1972

Burchett has things upside down. China's entry into that Den of Thieves at this particular time is more a consequence of the rapprochement with the U.S. than its cause. The nature of the U.S. "defeat" in the UN on the China question is revealed when we note that eleven of the fourteen NATO nations either voted for admission or abstained. These robbers were alert to Nixon's tactic of double diplomacy whereby he sought to outflank Europe. In the context of China's "new, outward-looking" diplomacy (one would think an "outward" policy would seem more threatening to imperialism) the Europeans rushed to China's side like Penelope's suitors upon Ulysses' departure. It was imperialist competition and Chinese collaboration rather than acknowledgement of Chinese strength that loomed largest among the motives for acceptance of China into the UN. China's sudden silence on the nature of that august body contrasts sharply with Mao's praise for the late Bung Karno (Sukarno of Indonesia) when he exited from "the U.S. controlled United Nations" (Mao to PKI, May 23, 1965). It is hardly accurate to conclude from all this, as does for example the Georgia Communist League that Nixon is crawling to Peking on his hands and knees.

Indochina Must Go Communist

The Nixon-Mao meeting, contemplated early in the Nixon administration, is a major gambit along with the eight-point peace plan to prolong the Vietnam war and obtain a settlement favorable to U.S. imperialism. The brazen step-up of the bombing on the eve of the journey to the proportions of the most intense phases of the war is further evidence of Nixon's intent.

Nixon has used the Summit to defuse anti-war sentiment at home in a movement tied to reliance on bourgeois politicians as a result of SWP-CP anti-war strategy. He has bought time to experiment with his tactic of mass bombings plus Vietnamization. Thus Mao in return for precious little has handed Nixon a weapon he could not have obtained even in Moscow. Even if "nothing substantial" derives from the talks Nixon's gains have been formidable. Nevertheless the talks do open up the possibility, despite claims that a "settlement" can only come in Paris, of a new Geneva with all the principals re-enacting their traitorous roles.

The contradictory interests of Stalinism (inherently nationalistic) do not make this a foregone conclusion. Just as Mao broke from Stalin's recommendation to give up his guns and enter a coalition with Chiang when the very existence of Mao and the Eighth Route Army were at stake, so too the Vietnamese (who are not subordinate to Moscow or Peking as the European parties of the old Third International were to Stalin at the end of World War II) may belatedly resist a settlement which will bring about their own destruction. Short of their own physical destruction (and often seeming to court it) these parties are always open to new betrayals.

The recent plan of the Provisional Revolutionary Government does not tie a settlement in Vietnam to a settlement within the entire war theater of the indochinese peninsula. Just as the original decision to stop bombing, tied in with the Paris talks, only freed U.S. bombers for Laotian and Cambodian missions (including the Cambodian invasion during that period) so too an end to the fighting in Vietnam constitutes a betrayal of the other indochinese peoples and guarantees that the U.S. will renew hostilities in Vietnam itself. The North Vietnamese, it should be remembered, initially opposed the formation of the NLF in the late Fifties.

The recent insistence that only "Thieu must go" is a far greater threat to the Vietnamese revolution than episodic U.S. military victories. The Thieu-led apparatus consisting of the secret police, the army and the bureaucracy would remain intact with, of course, the comprador national bourgeois class upon which it rests. Victory to the Vietnamese revolution can only be accomplished if the social revolution is carried through to the end. It is therefore necessary to raise the call for a workers and peasants government, halt the subordination of military tactics to the timetable of U.S. "withdrawal," cease dampening the class struggle in the cities in order to seduce the compradores, and above all prepare to smash the reactionary state apparatus in the context of all U.S. troops out of Southeast Asia.

This program cannot be carried out by the NLF. Under the best of circumstances and the strongest of pressures, the best that such a Stalinist leadership on a peasant base can achieve are the real but reversible gains of a deformed workers state on the North Vietnamese model. The defeat of the class enemy in Indochina and the exposure of the Stalinist formulas for revolution provide a step toward proletarian rule if a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard emerges in Indochina to lead the political revolution.

PL, which sees a "Nixon-Mao Viet Swindle" and Vietnamese collaboration, has unfortunately completely lost sight of the class line in Vietnam. They state:

"So, at this point, the only difference between the Nixon crew and the liberal crew headed up by McGovern and Ted Kennedy is which set of national leaders in Vietnam do they want to see in power. Nixon and Co. feel U.S. profit interests would be more secure with Thieu and Ky—possibly with a few "left wingers" thrown in. The liberals feel that north Vietnam sellout artists would serve U.S. interests just fine. They reason that U.S. investments would grow even greater in that area if the north Vietnamese controlled the government of all Vietnam. And they have lots of evidence to go on. China is doing business with the U.S. The Soviets are doing business with the U.S. So why not the Vietnamese?

—Challenge, 17 February 1972

The qualitative difference between an NLF victory and a Thieu-Ky victory is as profound for Vietnam as the difference between a Mao victory and a Chiang victory for China in 1949. Either rightist terror and continued imperialist domination or a social revolution albeit deformed—which among other things establishes a monopoly of foreign trade.

PL's confusion over the class nature of the Chinese state ("red capitalism") is now reflected in confusion over the class nature of the Vietnamese state and is compounded in confusion on the nature of imperialism. "Doing business" with imperialism is an inevitably necessary measure in the period before the worldwide victory of socialism. Even limited acceptance of investment funds if subordinated to social plan and regulated strictly by the state foreign trade monopoly can be advantageous to a workers state. What PL has done is to confuse with the necessity of trading on the world market the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracies that barter away foreign revolutions and the gains of their "own" workers and peasants for deals with imperialism and the advantages for their own bureaucracies. These deformed workers states generate forces for the restoration of capitalism and in this sense are taking "the capitalist road rather than the socialist road." They are not therefore capitalist even though the bureaucrats carry a species of bourgeois ideology—Menshevism—in their heads. These regimes politically disfranchise the masses and betray the international proletariat. They must be overthrown by political revolution.

The fate of world socialism—not only of the Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions which Stalinism has placed in profound jeopardy—hinges on the ability in the not distant future of the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard to rebuild an international party (the Fourth International) capable of leading the world's workers to power. The Nixon-Mao Summit indicates the time may be shorter than one might think. ■

Continued from Page 2

Crackpot Social Democracy

essary. Marcus' positions are not only contrary to everything Marx wrote on the subject of money, but are allied to the most reactionary currents in bourgeois economics.

The Mysteries of Money and Credit

Marcus observes that in periods of economic contraction, firms have difficulties in repaying their debt, and then concludes that the cause of the crisis is increasing debt service and bank credit policy. That falling output and sales should cause difficulty in repaying commercial and bank loans is a necessary result of having a credit economy. It is only one of many manifestations of falling production. A more important manifestation is inability to meet the existing payroll, leading to layoffs and a shortened work week. During the Depression, most major American corporations — G.M., U.S. Steel, Ford — did not go bankrupt, but maintained liquidity by laying off most of their labor force.

Seeing the cause of business contraction in the greed of bankers, Marcus seems to believe that banks could pursue very different credit policies. He appears not to realize — partly because of his adherence to the quantity theory — that the banks are themselves capitalist enterprises, whose pricing (interest) and sales (credit) policies are governed by the law of equal return to capital in all fields of activity. Banks can no more charge lower interest rates and pursue lax credit policies if this would drive their rate of profit below normal, than a manufacturing firm can lower its prices or allow more liberal commercial credit if it would mean an unsatisfactory rate of profit.

Debt service is not a drain from productive investment, although it may appear as such to a corporate manager or bankrupt petty bourgeois. Depending on the rate of profit, bank interest income will be re-invested as will any other form of surplus value. Interest is simply one of the forms of surplus value. And the concentration of surplus value in financial institutions (banks, insurance companies, mutual funds, etc.) is by no means a negative development in capitalism. As Lenin observed, channeling most investment through the banking system provides a rational and flexible means of expanding production along different lines. One of the reasons for the relative superiority of American capitalism is its highly developed financial institutions, while European, particularly French, capitalism remains burdened by the ancient family firm.

Marcus' tendency to view depressions from the standpoint of the bankers inflicting suffering on the "productive" capitalists, his exempting banks from the laws of the market and his counterposing of interest to corporate profits reflect a classic populist conception of capitalism. The Labor Committee's unsuccessful campaign to ingratiate itself with the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League is more than simple opportunist appetites. The Labor Committee's theories are very much in accord with an anti-monopoly, anti-finance capital coalition.

The Prophet Disarmed

Marcus' claims of revolutionary leadership rest strongly on his contention that he uniquely can make accurate economic predictions. Bolstered only by academic idealism and egoism, Marcus' pretensions as economic seer collapse under scrutiny. His predictions can be grouped in three types — specific verifiable assertions that are generally wrong; predictions of developments probable in the long term which Marcus claims are imminent; and vague, usually apocalyptic generalities that are little more than meaningless truisms.

In 1961 Marcus wrote a major economic article for the International Socialist Review entitled "Depression Ahead?" The title can be interpreted in two ways. If it means that there will be a depression sometime in the future, it is simply a truism. A more likely interpretation was that Marcus was predicting a depression within the next few years. Since 1962-65 was the greatest capital investment boom in American history, the analysis implied in the title was either false or meaningless. In the article, Marcus made the flat prediction, "During the next two years Kennedy will put the U.S. economy more and more on a war-economy footing, with corresponding political and economic forms of regimentation" (ISR, Winter 1961, p. 31). In actuality, Kennedy instituted a moderate disarmament; the military budget declined 3% in real terms from 1961 to 1965.

The Labor Committee loudly boasts that it alone predicted Nixon's wage-price controls. The assertion is simply untrue. Since the winter of 1970, the Spartacist League has warned of the real danger of state wage control. Before that, the danger was not imminent. Marcus, however, has predicted that state wage control lay just around the corner every day for the past ten years. In "Depression Ahead?" Marcus asserted that Kennedy would impose a far stronger form of state economic control than Nixon actually has.

> "The only and obvious 'answer' to this problem is direct government control of the economy, in the form of price controls, wage controls, material controls and selective credit controls.... The result will follow along the lines of German economist Hjalmar Schacht's economic reorganization of the Nazi pre-war economy. That is not to suggest that Kennedy is going to introduce fascism; merely to imitate many of the economic control procedures forced upon the pre-war Nazi economy."
>
> —"Depression Ahead?" p. 20

The Labor Committee is equally pleased with their prediction of the international monetary crisis and dollar devaluation. In 1958, one of the leading bourgeois authorities on international finance, Robert Triffen, wrote the highly influential Gold and the Dollar Crisis. Triffen maintained that the existing international monetary system was inherently unstable and would have to be radically changed through either devaluation of the dollar or demonetization of gold. Since the late 1950's, every major bourgeois economist agreed that the gold exchange standard as developed at Bretton Woods in 1945 was not long for this world. Everybody knew that there would be some kind of world monetary crisis at some time. Any serious analysis of the international monetary system must establish what will happen when and what its effects will be. Marcus predicted the imminent devaluation of the dollar — in 1961!

Another Marcus "prediction" is the vague, apocalyptic "socialism or fascism," "war or major social crisis" that is worthless as a piece of analysis. A typical Marcus statement of this type is found in "Depression Ahead?" "On the American scene, Kennedy's New Frontier will inevitably lead to either war or social crisis; it is extremely probable that that decision will be faced within the next ten years."

Just what is the "crisis" which Marcus, with Wohlforth, is constantly predicting? In the 1965 Spartacist-ACFI talks Marcus offered this gem of a definition:

> "The capitalist manager must try to solve the basic problem by confronting the working class and reducing wages. This is what we mean by economic crisis."
>
> —Conversations With Wohlforth, session 7

With such a definition, anyone can predict "crisis" most of the time and be correct! Marcus and Wohlforth have stripped the term "crisis" of objective meaning, save the truism that capitalism is not a stable system. But every change, shift, or attempt by the capitalists to reduce wages does not herald the system's collapse. If the term "crisis" applies to the normal tensions and adjustments of an unstable and irrational social order (war, disarmament, inflation, tax increases, unemployment, etc., etc.) how will Marcus and Wohlforth describe a third major inter-imperialist war, or a major depression? Will that be "Armageddon"?

Even if the Marcus definition of "crisis" were not a fatuous tautology, and even if his predictions were concrete and verified (instead of the "Heads I win, tails you lose," sometime-probably-in-the-next-ten-years pattern) he would still be guilty of overestimating the significance of predictions for the revolutionary movement. Accurate, specific predictions are important, but they do not accomplish the primary tasks of winning the proletariat to a revolutionary perspective and resisting the immense pressure toward the infinite varieties of opportunism. Lenin did not anticipate the moment of the outbreak of World War I nor the Second International's turn toward social chauvinism. He reacted far more resolutely and effectively to these events, however, than many like Luxemburg who had anticipated them. A prediction of social crisis — even if accurate — does not enable a party to short-cut the process of party building, because the crisis itself offers no such short-cut. In France in May of 1968, nothing any of the existing "Trotskyist" groups could have done might directly have brought off a revolution. A correct policy could have produced a left split in the ranks of the Communist Party, however, and gained for Trotskyism a mass base. The Bolsheviks could utilize and direct the revolutionary mood among the workers in 1917 only because they were an established mass party of the class. That is why Lenin said that to understand the success of 1917 it was necessary to understand the entire history of the Bolsheviks since 1903.

If a social crisis occurs when the revolutionary movement is too weak to lead the masses, the bourgeoisie will be victorious. Trotsky's specific and correct predictions of German fascism enhanced his authority among a small number of radicals and advanced workers, but he could not create a coherent body of mass opposition to the suicidal policies of the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties. And fascism was victorious. Trotsky did not want the Cassandra role in Germany, China, or Spain. He always stressed that a sophisticated analysis was no substitute for the hard job of intervening in the mass organizations of the working class on the basis of a revolutionary program. Predictions not backed up by such a policy are ruinous dilletantism, sterile academicism. ■

new york

9 MARCH 1972 7:30 p.m.

A Debate on Economic Theory, Analysis of the Present Crisis, and Perspectives for the Future, between the Spartacist League and the National Caucus of Labor Committees.

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DEBATE

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Continued from Page 8

ILWU STRIKE SETTLEMENT:

...WORKERS DIVIDED

shippers and the union leaders differed only over the technical aspects of the contract's implementation. In particular, Bridges demanded that the shippers put up a $5.5 million fund to pay for the wage guarantee, rather than pay for the guarantee directly from the container tax, which Bridges wanted to use on other fringe benefits. The union also wanted wage increases to be retroactive to last November 15. In the long run these expensive demands are quite cheap since they will allow the shippers to automate the longshoremen out of existence. The employers realized this; they gave in somewhat on the issues of retroactivity and fringe benefits to settle the contract.

Similarly Gleason has acceded to the capitalist demands for elimination of thousands of jobs in exchange for payments into the union welfare and retirement fund. The three major ILA locals in Manhattan, traditionally the center of ILA strength, will soon have fewer than 1,000 regular jobs for 2,500 men. Under the new contract these men cannot simply collect their guaranteed wages—they must travel to other ports in Brooklyn or New Jersey seeking work, or they can settle for early retirement. Thus Gleason has simultaneously undermined the Guaranteed Wage and given away thousands of jobs.

The Merger Maneuver

In order to consummate his deal, and avoid a real mobilization of the working class, Bridges has staged a search for unity—his sort of unity. He has sought merger with other unions as a substitute for a struggle, to strengthen the bureaucracy, and weaken the workers. As an isolated bureaucracy, Bridges & Co. seek the thicker walls of a larger bureaucratic apparatus to insulate themselves even more completely from the ranks. At first Bridges approached the gangster-ridden ILA bureaucracy—the same one which the ILWU fought in the founding days of the 1930's and from which it split in 1936. Such "unity" with Gleason's gang would hardly scare Nixon & Co. but might have made a good show for the ILWU members. In any event, the ILWU workers were repelled by the reactionary ILA bureaucracy. A real unity of longshoremen could only be accomplished over the political corpse of Gleason & Co., and this of course was not Bridges' intention. At any rate, the absorption of the liberal ILWU leadership, long supported by the CP, was too much for the red-baiter Gleason, who apparently rejected the deal outright in favor of a separate peace.

In its typical opportunist fashion, the "Workers League" of Tim Wohlforth tailed after the appetites of the Bridges leadership. The 10 January Bulletin proclaims on the front page:

> "Regardless of the fact that both Bridges and Gleason have steadfastly avoided a nationwide strike and have stood by as Nixon used Taft-Hartley to divide the two coasts, affiliation of the two unions is absolutely required in the struggle to defeat Nixon and the shipowners." [emphasis in original]

What is "absolutely required" is a mass mobilization of the working class, not bigger bureaucracies. The WL does not even bother to put any conditions on such a merger, but merely rubber-stamps Bridges' maneuver, thereby aiding in the deception of the few who are listening. Indeed, "only the Workers League" can make a merger of labor bureaucracies to obstruct struggle appear as a merger to enhance struggle. Such is the Wohlforthian "dialectic," which was carried to new heights of absurdity in their article "Crisis Poses Fight for Marxist Theory":

> "In this period the underlying movement of the working class can find expression at certain moments only through the reactions of the labor bureaucracy. Thus Meany's actions at Bal Harbour against Nixon are not to be ridiculed nor scoffed at but seen as expressing the collision between classes now developing because the issue today is the very survival of the working class. Similarly while Gleason and Bridges get together for their own purposes and will together do their best to prevent the action of the dockers, their getting together is the only way at this point the dockers of the two coasts can unite and this will, in turn, have explosive impact upon the bureaucrats of both unions."
>
> —Bulletin, 17 January 1972

How comforting! Wohlforth has eliminated any need whatsoever for the conscious intervention of the advanced workers and their vanguard party to fight for working-class interests—instead, the class struggle is developing objectively all on its own; even Meany's rare anti-Nixon posturing represents the "collision between classes" (instead of his need to retain some credibility in order better to betray!). If any worker criticizes Bridges' maneuvers or Meany's betrayals, both can always wrap themselves in the pages of the Bulletin! If the unity between the two bureaucracies will have the "explosive impact" foreseen by the Bulletin, then one must assume that Bridges, Gleason and Fitzsimmons are stupid enough to seek their own destruction. A doubtful conclusion which presumably requires the power of Wohlforthian "method" to grasp—or evade.

WL supporters took a strikingly similar position on an earlier merger by and for the bureaucrats in the Social Service Employees Union in New York in 1968. The Mage-Morgenstern leadership of the SSEU, faced with heavy attacks by the city and a membership demoralized by previous sellouts, sought to panic the membership into a headlong rush to remerge with the AFSCME-DC 37 bureaucracy, from which the SSEU had broken in 1964. Together with Progressive Labor supporters, the WL functioned as perfect "Marxist" lawyers for the bureaucrats in arguing for immediate re-merger with no conditions whatsoever:

> "Only by immediately merging with 371, even if on unfavorable terms, could the SSEU membership hope to be in a position of strength from which to begin bargaining for the 1969 contract."
>
> —"Reorganization and the SSEU," Bulletin, 29 November 1971

Those SSEU members still on the job today can testify how the merger has meant only a vast strengthening of the bureaucracy, producing a disastrous deterioration of working conditions. Contrary to WL lies, the Militant Caucus, which included Spartacist supporters, did not simply oppose the merger outright, but insisted on a struggle perspective as the basis for any merger. This meant especially a fight to defend the union's democratic structure and its gains wrung from the city administration during the SSEU's independent existence. On February 13, 1968, for example, the Militant Caucus submitted to the SSEU

Military Cargo On Move During ILWU Strike

Executive Board a five-page section-by-section analysis of the proposed merger constitution in an attempt to preserve gains such as the extensive membership control over the powers of the officers. By insisting on merger at all costs, the WL assisted Morgenstern's successful plan to capitulate totally to the Gotbaum bureaucracy.

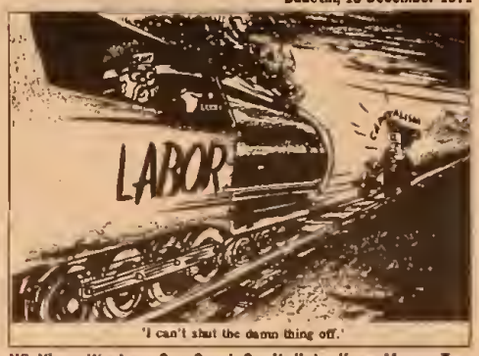
A Marxist must view critically the maneuvers of class-collaborationist bureaucrats of all varities behind the facade of "unity." The Stalinist leaders of the deformed workers states must unite in defensive alliances to prevent imperialist invasion, and capitalist restoration. We defend the Warsaw Pact to the extent that it fulfills the defense against imperialism; we are obliged to denounce it when it covers unity of the bureaucrats against the political revolution of the workers, as in Czechoslovakia or the Hungarian revolution.

Longshore-Teamster "Unity"?

It now appears that Bridges has found a quiet home in the Teamster bureaucracy. Both unions have announced intention to merge—subject of course to trifles such as membership approval. The Teamsters' Fitzsimmons, who sits on Nixon's Pay Board, was the only major labor bureaucrat unreservedly supporting Nixon's wage plan from the beginning. Thus the merger perspective represents a capitulation by the weaker Bridges bureaucracy to the stronger, wealthier Teamster bureaucracy, at the expense of the rank and file.

There is strong evidence that the Teamster-Longshore "unity" idea was cooked up to sabotage a strong longshore strike. In mid-January, Secretary of Labor James Hodgson addressed a closed meeting of over 300 business executives of the Commerce and Industry Association in New York. The Secretary spoke approvingly of the proposed unity in the belief that it would avert a

Bulletin, 13 December 1971



'I can't shut the damn thing off.'

WL View: Workers Can Crush Capitalists, Keep Meany Too

West Coast longshore strike by "solving" the container dispute. He would be less eager for unity between the two unions for a struggle against the government. On February 11, Einar Mohn, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters, warned that the new ILWU contract threatened Teamster jobs and that the problem could only be solved by an ILWU-Teamster merger. He obviously intended to pressure the ILWU ranks to approve merger in order to avoid a fight with the Teamsters. Since the Teamster leadership has unreservedly backed Nixon's plans, it becomes apparent that the merger scheme it favors is designed to destroy the possibility that the longshoremen might lead a counter-offensive against the government.

ILWU longshoremen must approach the question of unity with the ILA or the Teamsters on the basis of a struggle program, approaching both the East Coast longshoremen and the Teamsters on the basis of their grievances against the treachery of their respective leaderships. This requires the building of rank-and-file caucuses to throw out the bureaucrats and fight for this perspective:

1. LABOR "LEADERS" OFF THE PAY BOARD! FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST ANY WAGE CONTROLS—GOVERNMENT STAY OUT OF LABOR STRUGGLES; NO RELIANCE ON THE CAPITALIST STATE—REPEAL ALL ANTI-LABOR LAWS SUCH AS TAFT-HARTLEY—FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS SUCH AS ANGELA DAVIS
2. END UNEMPLOYMENT—FOR A SHORTER WORKWEEK WITH AN INCREASE IN PAY, JOBS FOR ALL! A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES—FULL COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATORS IN ALL CONTRACTS—STRIKES AGAINST LAYOFFS
3. BREAK FROM THE CAPITALIST PARTIES—BUILD A WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS; TOWARD A WORKERS GOVERNMENT!
4. FOR LABOR STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR: HALT THE FLOW OF ALL WAR GOODS—FOR IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. FORCES FROM S.E. ASIA—FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY: VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION!
5. EXPROPRIATION OF INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL ■

Behind ILWU Strike Settlement:

BUREAUCRATS AND GOVERNMENT UNITED, WORKERS DIVIDED

The very existence of the longshore unions on both coasts is threatened by union bureaucrats' capitulation to government intervention and capitalist attacks. At every turn in last fall's 100-day ILWU strike, Harry Bridges (ILWU) and Thomas Gleason (ILA) undermined workers' unity, isolated the strike and softened its impact on the shippers. Gleason tried to keep his East Coast men on the job even when the ILA contract expired October 1, and only employer intransigence forced him out. As soon as the Taft-Hartley injunction was issued, Bridges whipped the ILWU back to work, leaving the ILA out alone. The government very soon afterward issued a series of injunctions to get the ILA ports back to work. Then Gleason made his separate peace with the employers, leaving the ILWU to go out alone. When the Taft-Hartley injunction against the ILWU expired on December 25, Bridges kept the union at work for another three weeks before striking again. Barely three weeks after the renewal of the strike with major issues unsettled, Bridges urged his men back to work, hoping to avoid striking after February 14 when the Taft-Hartley injunction on the East Coast expired. Meanwhile Gleason even offered to work thirty days beyond February 14 to insure no overlap of strikes on both coasts. The "strike alliance" announced in late October by Bridges-Gleason is their alliance against a unified longshore strike on both coasts.

Neither Gleason nor Bridges dares attempt a unified workers' answer to the government assault, since such a mobilization would embolden the workers to destroy the parasitic labor bureaucracy which has so long prevented such action. The longshore struggle is further undermined by the other labor bureaucrats—Meany, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, etc.—who sit on the government Pay Board as it rips up union contracts like those of the UAW and IAM. The labor bureaucrats thus lend cover to the capitalists' government apparatus and defuse attempts to mobilize resistance to the government. When the Pay Board rejected the aerospace workers' contract (involving paying workers cost-of-living money owed them from the previous contract) the best that Woodcock of the UAW and Smith of the IAM could suggest was taking the Pay Board, on which they sit, to court! They dare not resign from the Pay Board since denying it legitimacy implies strike action against government wage repression—a confrontation with the bourgeois state which owns their political souls and seats them at the slop-trough of official prestige.

Brooklyn Dock Desolate During ILA Strike

Government pressure soon ended Bridges' slightly tougher stance in the renewed strike. Closing the ports of Vancouver, Canada and Ensenada, Mexico was long overdue—large amounts of scab goods flowed through the two ports during the last strike. Joint picketing at the Mexican border by Teamsters and Longshoremen proved quite effective. Typically, the two ports were soon reopened—the British Columbia Supreme Court issued an injunction against the Vancouver Longshoremen, and Bridges and Fitzsimmons removed the Mexican border pickets on an unconfirmed rumor of an injunction. Bridges continued to allow movement of military cargo. Both as an act against government interference, and against the anti-working-class Indochina war, the union must halt the flow of all war goods!

Nixon's Phase III

The longshore unions have become a test case for Phase III of Nixon's attack on the working class: the outlawing of strikes and the institution of compulsory arbitration. The government stands ever more nakedly exposed for what it is—the repressive apparatus of the capitalist class. No reliance on the capitalist state! The only defense for the longshoremen is a massive general strike against government interference and Nixon's plans. In 1934, the workers of San Francisco went on general strike in solidarity with the Longshoremen, who had lost two men to police bullets and faced the National Guard. If Nixon cannot get what he wants from the labor bureaucrats, he will resort to troops as he did in the postal strike. The first step in working-class defense must be to throw out the bureaucratic supporters of the armed bourgeois state which stands ready to crush the unions by any means necessary.

The working class is still paying for the class collaboration carried out by labor bureaucrats with the support of the Stalinist Communist Party (see the book review, "Record of Betrayal," in next issue). During World War II both Bridges and the CP enforced their no-strike pledges by denouncing and undermining strikes which broke out, like the Montgomery Ward strike of 1944. At the same time, the CP supported the Democratic "friends of labor" who soon showed their gratitude by helping expel from the unions both the CP and thousands of union militants in the witchhunt period. The CIO expelled the ILWU itself in 1950 for CP influence. The net result of CP class collaboration was a union movement stripped of its class-conscious militants, leaving virtually unopposed a corrupt, reactionary bureaucracy often indistinguishable from ordinary gangsters (Gleason, Curran, etc.), which usually lacked even the "progressive" polish of Bridges.

Today Bridges continues his class-collaborationist policy by agreeing to a government arbitration board which can impose binding contracts for 18-24 months. The fact that the ILWU can participate with the employers' PMA in selecting arbitrators means little—labor gains are won by the power of the strike, now jeopardized by Bridges' agreement. Bridges has apparently turned over to arbitration some very crucial "non-economic" issues, such as the practice of "steady men," which threatens a major gain of the 1934 strike, the union hiring hall.

The CP has wholeheartedly endorsed Bridges' class-collaborationist policies. Despite the brief flurry of sniping between Peoples World and Bridges early in 1971, the CP has no intention of rejecting or criticizing his policies. They may abandon Bridges personally, to put on a "left" face for angry workers like those in Local 10 of the San Francisco Bay area. In a 22 January editorial entitled "Full Support for the Longshoremen," PW heaped praise on the ILWU as a "militant, progressive voice of labor," and proposed as its idea of powerful mass support for the Longshoremen that "Resolutions, post cards, phone calls, letters must begin to pour into Washington...." Meanwhile, the Democratic "friends of labor" such as Senator Harrison Williams and Edward Kennedy beg Nixon to intervene to end the strike so the Democrats won't bear the stigma in an election year. Congress soon passed Nixon's bill anyhow.

Empty Victory

Bridges' demands, whether won or not, add up to empty victory—in other words, to defeat. The central issue is containerization. In a very few years containerization will automate away the longshore job and with it the longshore union—unless the ILWU together with the ILA, Teamsters and other unions creates more jobs through the shorter workweek with increases in daily and weekly pay. The workers must force technological improvements to benefit them. Bridges at first advanced a fight with the Teamsters over container-stuffing jobs (see WV, #2), threatening a jurisdictional battle. Abandoning that idea (the 65,000-member ILWU could not possibly withstand a serious battle with the two million-member Teamster union), Bridges accepted a royalty plan which allows the shippers to proceed with the elimination of jobs, in return for $1 per ton to the union on each container not stuffed by longshoremen, and a guaranteed annual wage. Bridges has even retreated on the guaranteed annual wage plan: instead of a guarantee based on 40 hours per week for all registered men, he has accepted a plan based on 36 hours for "A" men and 18 hours for "B" men.

The 1961 contract embodied a similar erosion of union strength. It allowed the employers to go ahead with "Mechanization and Modernization" in return for the payment of a $30 million special retirement and wage guarantee fund. That contract also contained provisions which deepened the division between the "A" and "B" men (see WV, #2). The wage fund turned out not to be worth very much—workers later discovered that the employers had the best of the deal as the size and strength of the union began to decline rapidly. If a union allows the employers to eliminate jobs, no monetary penalty clause can compensate for the loss in workers' strength.

To top it off, Bridges has again yielded on infamous Section 9.43, which allows the employers to hire "steady men" for certain jobs, rather than hire on a daily basis through the union hall. This clause has proven to be an important factor in weakening the union's control over working conditions.

With all this, it is surprising that the employers took until late February to reach agreement with Bridges. Only their own penny-pinching mentality prevented it. (The shippers even threatened to halt military cargo in order to scare the government into intervening, but they quickly retracted their threat—unlike Bridges, the shippers would not betray the class they represent!) The

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢
No. 7 April 1972

The Irish Upsurge

NOT GREEN AGAINST ORANGE, but CLASS AGAINST CLASS!

Grief, Rubble, Religion: Flags and crosses mark the place where three boys died on Bloody Sunday.

On March 24 Prime Minister Heath announced the imposition of direct British rule over the Province of Northern Ireland, ending 51 years of local rule. Heath's move, which received immediate Labour endorsement, reflects the growing exasperation in London with the sectarian strife which stalls British plans for a facelifted, pacified Ireland integrated into a modernized neo-colonial status with the Common Market. Despite the fears of Faulkner's Protestant Neanderthals, the minimal concessions Heath has promised to the Catholics will not alleviate the oppression of the Catholic masses any more than did the occupation by British troops. The British move leaves the Protestants enraged and the Catholics quite properly unsatisfied, setting the stage for full-scale sectarian civil war in the near future. The tasks of Marxists to show the way to turn the conflict into a war against the capitalist order have never been more urgent.

Since 1969, Ireland has stood on the brink of a revolutionary crisis. Yet in proportion as revolutionary possibilities have unfolded in Ireland, the divisions among the Irish working masses have grown to cripple the proletariat and prolong Ireland's semi-colonial status within British and European capitalism.

One lesson of the needless shedding of working-class blood must be driven home: that the armed forces of the imperialist state—in this case the British—do not provide the slightest measure of protection to the oppressed, whose plight stems fundamentally from the same bourgeois order which the troops serve. In 1969 the Catholic minority welcomed in British troops, believing that they would protect the Catholics against a sectarian pogrom. With few exceptions, the foresight of the left was no keener. Bernadette Devlin spoke for most of the left when she was reported as saying:

> "The saving of lives, the necessary saving of lives in that circumstance, was brought about by the whole system and therefore you cannot simply say take the troops out of Ulster. Because the people will say you cannot take the troops out because if you do the people will die."
>
> —Workers Press, 18 June 1970

The troops stayed, and the people died. Long before Bloody Sunday the actions of the British troops had taught the Catholics that although "simply" demanding the troops' departure was insufficient, nevertheless their removal was an absolute precondition for ending police-state terror against the northern Catholic minority.

Today the IRA, with substantial mass support, bombs and shoots British troops, and others besides. They have succeeded in making life in Ulster extremely uncomfortable for British soldiers and much of the populace as well, but they have not dislodged the troops. The focus for organized resistance is restricted largely to the secret armies of the IRA, which among its other decisive weaknesses is pursuing a policy of virtually indiscriminate mass terrorism. The struggle has not spread to the South, nor has the capitalist government of Eire done anything to help, save provide limited, temporary semi-sanctuary. The bourgeois state power of both Ulster and Eire recognizes the mortal danger to it implicit (but not now actual) in the struggles of the working-class Catholic minority in the North.

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Left: George Meany of AFL-CIO; Right: George Boldt, Chairman of Pay Board.

Meany Maneuvers Against Nixon

EMBARRASSES "PROGRESSIVES"

George Meany and his bureaucratic cohorts—with one notable exception—have at long last resigned from Nixon's Pay Board, stripping the Administration's anti-labor drive of a great deal of its facade of consensus and partnership in protecting American capitalism. In itself this is an excellent thing.

Meany's action reveals his dual role as a workers' leader and simultaneously an agent of Nixon's class within the workers' movement. When the working class understands this contradictory nature of the trade union bureaucracy, it will be armed with a vital weapon in the struggle to sweep it aside and install a revolutionary leadership.

Meany's resignation is a tactical ploy to strengthen the bureaucracy's hand in the Democratic Party by appearing to lead an anti-Nixon offensive, make the Democratic "friends of labor" look better than the Republicans and help them get elected in November. Then Meany and his friends, who have always favored wage-price controls and the economic and social relations of capitalism, will impose Nixon's policies themselves.

Nixon knows this, and has opted for all-out war with the AFL-CIO, hoping that the records of the Democrats and labor bureaucrats will play into his hands. His statements match in arrogance Meany's hypocrisy; Nixon wishes to see the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie expressed

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On Marxist Method and Class Betrayal: **WAR AND THE WORKERS LEAGUE** /Pg. 5

AT SMC CONFERENCE:

Workers League, Labor Committee Guard SWP-Liberal Left Flank

At a time of heightened class struggle and the breaking up of the delusion of the "American Century," as the dangers of world imperialist war loom more clearly before a restive world working class, the American anti-war movement under the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance deepens its class collaboration, justifies and defends it more openly. A greater gift to the reformist bureaucrats and reactionary demagogues in maintaining the allegiance of the workers cannot be imagined. But the appetite of the SWP to preserve its bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie at any cost is well known. Surely, then, the other currents active in the anti-war movement, whatever the differences among themselves, have exposed the betrayal of the renegade "Trotskyists" of the SWP/YSA on fundamental class issues to all seriously anti-imperialist elements?

The truth is that the ostensibly "left" opposition to the SWP/YSA anti-war leadership—the Workers League/Young Socialists and the National Caucus of Labor Committees—is nothing but a more sophisticated version of SWP class-collaboration, "rendering it more profound" to fool the socialists; they have rendered the SWP invaluable assistance in maintaining the vehicle for their treachery, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC).

Given the parochial and sectarian character of most groups calling themselves "Marxist," and their practice of "defending" their politics by avoiding debate, the greatest importance of gatherings like the SMC Conference held in New York on February 26-27 is that they provide rare opportunities to kick over the rocks and expose the tendencies which crawl beneath them to the light of political clarification.

While the SWP/YSA capitulation to social-chauvinism and social-patriotism was consummated seven years ago, each year brings a new variation on the class-collaborationist theme. This year the ex-Trotskyist SWP's program on imperialist war was presented by the youth contingent of the liberal (McGovern) and even the "center" (Muskie) imperialist bourgeoisie.

The "workshop question" opened the conference as the conference sponsors proposed an agenda which placed lengthy workshops before plenary discussion or presentation of resolutions. YSAers speaking in favor of the proposal rose and announced with great pomp and pride that "since we can read we do not need to have the proposals read to us." As if plenary sessions were supposed to consist of the reading aloud of proposals and not the dialectic of verbal debate—why go to the trouble and expense of holding conferences if a literary exchange and mail referendum will do? Is it not because a mail referendum is profoundly less democratic, as every trade unionist knows and as every self-proclaimed "Marxist" ought to know? Workshops seem very cozy and democratic since every person gets a chance to speak. But at a conference where many hostile political tendencies are represented the only democratic means of presentation is plenary sessions where each tendency is allotted equal time for political presentations. Allotting time by individual as in workshops simply allows the largest tendency to hog the discussion.

The proposed agenda was opposed primarily by the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth (SL/RCY), the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), and the Workers League/Young Socialists (WL/YS). Agenda opposition was the sole principled gesture the WL could muster during the entire conference, and it even succeeded in compromising itself on that. While the WL pointed out that the proposal for early workshops was meant to suppress political discussion, when the motion passed the WL hurried off to its own workshop—from which they excluded other tendencies!

The SWP/YSA had yet another gimmick for suppressing debate. Early in the conference a straw vote eliminated resolutions which did not have large support at that point. (What would the SWP think of an election law which dropped Presidential candidates from the ballot on the basis of a straw vote taken in April?) The WL voted for the straw vote procedure. Combined with its scandalous behavior concerning its own publicly advertised workshop, this demonstrated that the WL was as fearful as the SWP of political discussion and that the objection to the "workshops first" agenda was entirely phony.

Although the SWP considers it quite proper that blacks discuss only with blacks, women with women, gay with gay, etc., in exclusionist workshops, it is vehemently non-exclusionist where bourgeois politicians are concerned; it invited the class enemy to the labor workshop and defended the right of the "Youth Coordinators" for the Muskie and McGovern tickets to address the workshop on how to "reach out" to labor. When an SL/RCY motion for the exclusion of these Youth for Imperialism passed with the support of the NCLC, the SWP claimed that the "principle of non-exclusionism" (which apparently applied to no other workshop than the labor workshop) was violated and walked out.

The walkout contrasted sharply with the behavior of the SWP delegation at the recent Versailles Peace Conference, dominated by the French

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Meany Maneuvers Against Nixon

Continued from Page 1

solely through himself: "The President cannot and will not allow any leader of labor or any leader of management, no matter how powerful, to put himself above the best interests of the American people" (press briefing by Ziegler, NY Times, 23 March).

Meany has exposed the fallacy which underlies the historic dual errors of revisionism in the workers' movement—tailing a section of the bureaucracy or seeking to by-pass it—and vindicated the Marxist analysis. Those leftists who originally placed confidence in the "Alliance for Labor Action" saw the union bureaucrats only in their aspect as workers' leaders, some leading more and better than others. In accepting the bureaucratic framework and opting for one wing, the left restricts itself to the same limitations accepted by the bureaucrats of various stripes—tactical flexibility within the limits imposed by the preservation of capitalism. Thus the Communist Party hailed the bureaucratic founding of the ALA as "historic" and "planned to be the greatest crusade in labor's history" (Daily World, 29 May 1969). Today the UAW's Woodcock tails after the arch-reactionary Meany, while Fitzsimmons, the other "progressive" founder of the ALA, stays on the reconstituted Pay Board, holding the bag for Nixon.

From the first the Spartacist League denounced the ALA as a ploy by long-time allies of Meany to create the appearance of distance between themselves and the increasingly unpopular symbols of the trade union status quo. Our leaflet to the members of District 65 in New York, part of the ALA lash-up, issued 28 May 1969 concludes: "So if the AFL-CIO is a conservative, bureaucratic organization, the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) is a fake. It would be a crime if the Reuther-Livingston-Teamster alliance got away with their public relations ploy. A policy of struggle for militant gains within the trade union movement is necessary, but it's not going to be made by the smash and grab ALA tactics run by a bunch of cynical labor fakers!" ("Where Is 65 Being Taken?") More recently, Workers Vanguard in March denounced as fraudulent the announced merger of the ILWU and Teamsters. Meany is now successfully posturing to the left, proclaiming defense of longshoremen's interests while Bridges and Fitzsimmons openly sell them out. So much for the fake "unity" maneuvers touted by the bureaucrats, the CP, Workers League, et al.!

Progressive Labor has zig-zagged between errors, unable to fight the bureaucrats because incapable of understanding them. When Hoffa was jailed, PL described the Teamsters as "tough" with a leadership somehow better than the run of bureaucracies in general: "Hoffa would not be behind bars today if he had kept to the tactics of struggle which had always worked for him and the Teamsters." (Challenge, April 1967, emphasis ours).

With the founding of the ALA, however, PL denounced precisely the outlook it had professed, swinging over to the polar opposite of its earlier error to an identification of labor bureaucrats with "bosses," and tending to abandon union struggle altogether. PL's abstentionist line on work within the organizations of the working class, an outlook expressed more consistently by the Labor Committee, ignores the fact that the bureaucrats, though traitors, necessarily base themselves on the workers' organizations and must actually lead them—within the framework of capitalism—in order to survive. To avoid the task of fighting against them for leadership in the unions is a betrayal because it allows the bureaucrats, as Meany is now doing, to pose as the real workers' leaders and get away with it!

John L. Lewis of the UMW and CIO, masqueraded as a brash independent workers' leader by defying Roosevelt during World War II—only to sell out to Wendell Wilkie. Labor bureaucrats walked off the "tripartite" Korean War pay board only to crawl back later. Meany's tactics differ now and then from those of his "brothers"—now to the left of them, now to their right—but his role is the same. Fitzsimmons and Meany, their tactical roles now reversed since the founding of the ALA, remain identical!

The SL seeks to build a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions for the overthrow of the bureaucracy, a precondition for the class struggle against capitalism. Marxists raise demands on the bureaucrats only to expose their insufficiency as workers' leaders—not to call upon them to alter their fundamentally traitorous character voluntarily, as in the Workers League's demands on bureaucrats totally committed to the Democratic party to form a labor party. Instead, we call upon the ranks of labor to adopt a class struggle program which requires for its accomplishment a revolutionary change of leadership in the trade unions.

LABOR OFF THE PAY BOARD—FOR GOOD! No concessions to government control of any kind!

CONTROL PRICES NOT WAGES! No government wage-price controls under any administration!

BUILD A LABOR PARTY—through uncompromising struggle in the unions against the trade union bureaucrats of all stripes who tie the labor movement to the parties of the employers!

TWO VIEWS ON IMPERIALIST WAR:

From Leon Trotsky

Coyoacan, D. F.
November 17, 1937

To the Editors of The Challenge
Dear Friends:

You are asking me to participate in your campaign against war. Permit me to limit my answer to a few words.

In order to fight against war, it is necessary to understand clearly the reasons which cause war. It is necessary to know the laws of the development of the present, i.e., imperialist society. The Marxist appraisal of war and the methods of fighting it have been expressed in the programmatic brochure of our International Secretariat, War and the Fourth International. It is necessary to make this pamphlet the subject of attentive and serious study in youth circles.

The fight against war is inseparable from the class struggle of the proletariat. Irreconcilable class consciousness is the first condition for a successful fight against war.

To fight against war means, first of all, to build a new International, to strengthen its ranks, to temper its cadres.

I warmly wish you success in this work!

From YSA *Organizer*

In addition the conference witnessed the intervention of a number of sectarian political organizations such as the Spartacist League, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, and the Workers League. The proposals of these various organizations were decisively voted down as the SMC once again reaffirmed its character as an antiwar action organization.

Of particular importance was a motion proposed by the Spartacist League to exclude "bourgeois politicians and their representatives" from the conference. This proposal, which attempted to change the character of the antiwar movement as a movement organized around agreement to act against the war and open to everyone who opposes the war, was also overwhelmingly rejected. The reaffirmation of the nonexclusionary character of the antiwar movement, especially in an election period, was particularly important.

—17 March 1972

SMC Continued...

Communist Party, from which the Ligue Communiste (the SWP's fraternal associates in France) was excluded. The SWP did not walk out of Versailles—thereby demonstrating that the "principle of non-exclusionism" applies not even to their own fraternal groups but only to the class enemy, whose right to participate the SWP defended to the point of brutal violence at the July NPAC conference. Class-collaboration has its own set of "principles."

Years of rule have taught the bourgeoisie a trick or two. They do not just happen to dispatch Nixon off to China quoting the Thought of Chairman Mao, nor do their young hacks accidentally stumble into SMC conferences. The sandbox politicians for Muskie and McGovern are only too happy to co-sign with the SWP/YSA resolutions which state: "Our peace plan has one point and it's no secret: Immediate, total, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops, planes, bombs and matériel from Indochina: Out now." They are delighted to use the SWP to foster the liberal illusion that imperialist war can be ended by "peaceful and legal" parades and in such a way that the American class struggle is not exacerbated, just as they are only too happy to use China to obtain an imperialist peace in Vietnam, a peace that will mean the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution.

Leninists also have a "peace plan" and it too "is no secret":

> "The slogans of Social Democracy must be: First an all embracing propaganda of the socialist revolution, to be extended to the army and military activities; emphasis to be placed on the necessity of turning the weapons, not against the brother wage-slaves of other countries but against the reaction of the bourgeois governments and parties in each country."
>
> —Lenin, Theses on War, Sept. 1914

> "The slogan of 'peace' is incorrect as the slogan must be: changing the national war into civil war. This change may take a long time, it may and will demand preliminary conditions, but the work must all be conducted along the line of such a change, in this spirit, in this direction. [Lenin goes on to state, with WW 1 version of the SWP in mind] We can neither 'promise' civil war nor 'decree it' but it is our duty to work in this direction, if need be for a very long time.
>
> —Lenin, letter to Shlyapnikov, Oct. 1914

Needless to say Lenin could find no liberal bourgeoisie willing to present his "peace plan"! We purposely have selected Lenin's earliest statements on imperialist war, made when chauvinism ran rampant, when the Second International was in shambles and the idea of a new International was music of the future, when the Bolsheviks were at the nadir of their influence, to demonstrate that Lenin did not save his revolutionary politics for revolutionary situations. One does not make a revolution by waiting for it to happen and then taking a communist position. And one certainly does not make revolution by proposing endless liberal-directed, imperialist-infested parades as the strategy for fighting against imperialist war! Only the revolutionary mobilization of the working class against the Muskies, McGoverns and Hartkes as well as against the Nixons, only the systematic work of winning the class to the program of proletarian revolution can end the Vietnam war on our terms, not those of the oppressor. The "best" result which could happen (and hasn't yet) through collaboration with the bourgeoisie on the "single issue" of the war is that the troops will be brought home—in order to be sent to war elsewhere, built up for future imperialist wars, or sent against dock workers as Hartke has proposed. The "peace plan" of Muskie, McGovern and the SWP is the plan for an imperialist peace which will strengthen U.S. capitalism for new imperialist wars in new places. Only the "peace plan" of Lenin, i.e. "turning the guns the other way," leads to genuine peace.

NCLC Discovers "Class-for-Itself": SMC

When Senator Hartke consummated the pop front passions of the SWP and joined the NPAC steering committee, the International Socialists (IS) and the NCLC both decided to "relate constructively" (in the IS' phrase) and rushed in to sit on the same steering committee with red-baiter, strike-breaker Hartke. The SWP/YSA had expected that by enticing Hartke onto the NPAC steering committee the hordes of innocent Democratic youth would follow. Instead, traipsing after Hartke came the IS and NCLC.

A popular front is a coalition of nominal socialists with the bourgeoisie; its program must be limited to the bourgeoisie's program as long as the "socialists" desire the bourgeoisie's participation. To endorse a popular front or a conference whose purpose is to consummate a popular front is to endorse bourgeois politics. Even the IS, which enters everything mushy and class-collaborationist (from Peace and Freedom to the present New American Movement), lacked the stomach to endorse this SMC conference. The NCLC was the only nominally socialist group (aside from the SWP/YSA, the architects of the pop front) to join hands with Youth for McGovern and Youth for Muskie in endorsing this conference. Then, as the conference opened, the NCLC feigned naivete, hypocritically discovered the taint of class collaboration and withdrew their endorsement.

The NCLC's maneuvering within NPAC/SMC flows directly from its counterrevolutionary conception of what NPAC and SMC are: On one hand NCLC correctly characterizes them as class-collaborationist popular fronts; and on the other hand it offers the following characterization of SMC/NPAC in its resolution to the SMC conference titled "Working Class Alternatives in the Election Year":

> "The practical question is therefore where and how to begin to create such alliances of initiating forces. For this purpose, the SMC and its sister, NPAC, organization have certain special qualifications and, consequently, certain inescapable moral responsibilities. These two organizations chiefly typify the only existing institutions in the U.S. which bring together virtually all of the much smaller groups and individuals professing a commitment to the unified organization of working people against the present wage-gouging and other oppressive measures."

The only "class-for-itself" formation which represents the revolutionary interests of the working class and all the oppressed is the revolutionary vanguard party. Even soviets are simply organs of dual power and whether they serve the revolutionary interests of the working class is decided by the struggle of parties within the soviets. The Menshevik-dominated soviets in the Russian Revolution supported the imperialist war and broke strikes as ruthlessly as any bourgeois government. But the NCLC, which identifies popular fronts with soviets, would have entered the Kerensky government and in the 1930's in the U.S. we would find them in the American League for Peace and Democracy, not in the CIO.

The NCLC's misconception of the class nature of pop front formations extends to their equivocal position on the exclusion of the bourgeoisie. While they supported SL/RCY motions for the unconditional exclusion of the political representatives of the bourgeoisie, they did so only after constantly trying to dilute the class basis of these motions. Thus the NCLC report of the conference in their New Solidarity issue of 6-10 March:

> "While the Spartacist League habitually introduces a blanket motion for unconditional exclusion of all capitalist candidates, the NCLC specified as the reason for exclusion McGovern's participation in the present capitalist assault on workers' living standards as indicated in the SWP factsheet on McGovern's anti-labor record and by his vote in the Senate three weeks previous to break the West Coast dock strike with a compulsory arbitration bill."

Were the Labor Committee in Britain they would have to support the exclusion of Harold Wilson from anti-war conferences on the basis that he has an equally bad labor record. Many American labor fakers, like the ones who sat on the Pay Board, support compulsory arbitration and other anti-labor offensives but there is no class basis for their exclusion (as opposed to denunciation) from the anti-war movement. They,

— New Solidarity

SL supporter demands expulsion of McGovern agent in SMC labor workshop.

and many ostensible socialists as well, are traitors within the working-class movement who must be exposed. The bourgeoisie must be excluded as the class enemy if the working class is to be independently mobilized against imperialist war. The purging of the class enemy is an absolute precondition for the exposure of the labor fakers and other class traitors.

The NCLC further compromised itself by passing out an open letter to the Detroit branch of the SWP which reaffirmed support for the SWP/YSA's physical beating and exclusion of the Spartacist and Progressive Labor/SDS supporters from the July NPAC conference. The letter stated:

> "the NCLC... supported the exclusion of the disruptors and in fact considers the disruption to be a sabotage of an effective political challenge to the presence of bourgeois politicians."

In fact, the SL forces had called for a political debate on whether Hartke should be permitted to speak. The chairman, Jerry Gordon, shouted down our motion and it was never voted on. To have sat on one's hands while Hartke spoke and waited until the next day following his speech is an ineffective academic non-challenge to the presence of bourgeois politicians.

While condemning the SWP's Jenness-Pulley campaign as a "clown-show" the NCLC proposes as the "working-class electoral alternative" an electoral campaign which would "welcome active support for our campaign from the whole popula-

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SL-RCY (and others) Pop the Red Balloon

The history of the New Left was largely the history of the rise and fall of SDS. Cut off by a generation of war and cold war from the tradition of the "Old Left," (a loose term covering both the reformist FDR-supporting Communist Party and the revolutionary Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and other groups besides) the New Left of the 1960's tried unsuccessfully to produce its own ideology of social change, independent of both mainstream liberalism and Marxism. As SDS swung leftward, dropping its communist exclusion clause in 1965, every traditional tendency from official Stalinism (CP) to revolutionary communism (Spartacist League) plus hangovers predating Marxism (anarchism, terrorism) and the newer variants of Stalinism (PL "Maoism" and "Third Worldist" tendencies)—all began to gain followers in SDS. In the ensuing intense ideological struggle when spokesmen for the various tendencies had complete freedom to compete for hegemony, a major theoretical lesson was hammered out for many: that the working class is the modern agency of social revolution. Through their experience in SDS some petty-bourgeois radicals were able to overcome the oppressive weight of bourgeois ideology and re-learn the lesson set forth in the Communist Manifesto.

This lesson, if assimilated and put into practice, could have transformed the New Left into a socialist youth movement allied with, and facilitating the development of, an emerging left-wing opposition to the labor bureaucracy in the unions. Instead, the lesson was squandered and deformed. Following the politically clarifying split of SDS into two factions—a Third World vanguardist tendency (RYMs I and II and the Maoist RU) and a proletarian-vanguardist tendency (Worker-Student Alliance, led by PL and critically supported by the Spartacist League) both wings degenerated, the Third Worldists fairly rapidly, and PL/SDS over a longer period of time. Unable to break with Stalinism and link up in a principled way with left-opposition struggles in the unions based on the transitional program, PL/SDS retreated into campus parochialism and, somewhat later, more ordinary reformism. Thus the New Left as a whole disintegrated into scattered grouplets and individuals, leaving behind it recruits for the various organized tendencies and a considerable number of disillusioned cynics.

Raising the Dead

The New Left is now a corpse, but the leftover New Leftists try to revive it. Unfortunately for them, attempts to turn the clock back usually result in unforeseen and comical situations. The most ridiculous recent case validating this historic law was the ill-fated "Red Balloon Conference" which met at Stony Brook, New York on March 3-5. The conference was convened by the "Red Balloon Collective" of Stony Brook, a group professing basically Weatherman politics but lacking Weatherman's dedication.

Leaders of the Red Balloon Collective apparently decided they wanted the New Left again—but this time without the ideological struggle which characterized the original New Left and was its healthiest component. In their convention call paper, The Red Balloon, the RB Collective laid out an amorphous but nonetheless real political line—a blend of Third World Stalinism (political support to the PRG and its peace proposals), black nationalism (asserting that the primary oppression of blacks is of a colonial nature, and glorifying black lumpenization), opposition to Newton on behalf of the Cleaver wing of Pantherism, and hippy lifestyleism (calling for "revolutionary" communes, food co-ops, etc. and for a "worker-freak alliance"). Smart enough to lack confidence in their own program (which was a compromise hammered out in the inner chambers of the Red Balloon) the RB Collective determined not to lay it open to critical scrutiny: the new New Left must be free of political discussion so that the politics of the Red Balloon could win out by default.

Thus, the RB prepared in advance an elaborate agenda designed to avert any possibility of political discussion. The pre-conference packet blatantly stated that "Floor debates have proven to be very costly to the unity of new organizations. That is why they have been eliminated here." The conference was to consist mainly of workshops organized around such topics as "racism," "sexism," etc. The brief plenary was to consist of motions raised and voted up by 2/3 majority in the workshops; the packet then stated "There will be NO proposals accepted from the floor of the plenary." The workshops themselves were all to by run by women (to combat self-confessed rampant male chauvinism) who were hardened Red Balloonists who would see that only the most banal discussions took place. Thus major political statements attacking the entire world-view of the Red Balloon and counterposing a revolutionary working-class orientation would have little chance of ever reaching the floor for general discussion as they would probably be declared out of order as irrelevant to the topic of the workshop, or, if presented, voted down due to lack of opportunity for full political discussion. Generally speaking, the RB's agenda was an ingenious bureaucratic device, which Stalin would have admired.

But the Red Balloon made one error which Stalin never made. Stalin's bureaucratized Comintern invited hard Stalinized cadres to its congresses; the Red Balloon sent its conference call far and wide. Imagine Stalin's dismay at three hundred anarcho-freaks turning up for a Comintern congress! This is exactly what happened to the Red Balloon as, from all corners of the country, from every underground-lumpen freak-yippy commune, all the victims and rejects of capitalist society, as well as a few subjectively revolutionary types, descended like a swarm of locusts on the "peaceful" college town of Stony Brook.

The SL/RCY also sent a small contingent with boxes of literature and a supply of leaflets titled "Pop the Red Balloon" which denounced the political line of the Red Balloon paper while calling for a defense of the group against police harassment. (Several days previously, while fighting the campus administration's ban on the conference, nineteen Red Balloonists had been arrested for "kidnapping" an administrator.) Red Balloonist response to the leaflet and the SL/RCY presence was naturally immediate hostility. The SL/RCYers had to insist upon their right to set up a literature table on an equal basis with other tendencies—the Red Balloon claimed exclusive right to allocate table space, using the argument that they had checked out the tables from the student union.

Agenda Collapses

When the conference began, the contradictions implicit in the whole situation became immediately apparent. It required one agenda motion from the SL/RCY (for a more extensive plenary in which motions could be raised) to break the elaborate structure set up by the Red Balloon. A straw vote revealed that half the conference rejected the RB's bureaucratic setup and desired general discussion—the SL/RCY because of political points it wished to make, the anarcho-freaks because of libertarianist objections to the bureaucratic agenda.

Thus the balloon burst before it got off the ground. The next two days were taken up with agenda squabbles and workshops. The SL/RCY called for a political plenary discussion, while the anarcho-freaks spent hours discussing their own sexism and setting up endless workshops with themes like "racism in our lives," "revolutionary food," "Jewish nationalism," "media," etc. After these developments the conference reached its low point.

The RB Collective and its co-conspirators began to ooze into two wings in the course of the conference. One wing leaned toward the creation of a "red party now," while the other wanted to retain the "mass radical youth organization" conception, modifying it into a sort of super coordinating committee clearing house for "the movement."

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On Georg Lukacs' Dropping Dead

"Hegel wrote, in 1796, in the diary of his sojourn through the Bernese Alps, that '...the Christian imagination has produced nothing but an insipid legend.' It is not accidental that the images associated with Christianity—servility, sickness, corruption, weakness, degradation, masochism, cowardice, prostration—are the very images that define the life and work of Georg Lukacs, who recently did us the long-overdue courtesy of dropping dead. Uniting the mystic's propensity for sudden conversion and the most obsequious realism since Aquinas, Lukacs, for more than fifty years, specialized in adapting himself to, and justifying, the given reality in which he found himself. Thus his philosophical erudition and 'classicism' were put in the service of the reality of forced labor camps, the Moscow trials, 'socialist' realism, Stalin's destruction of the Bolshevik party and the degeneration of the Communist International."

Workers Vanguard is pleased to recommend to its readers the pamphlet beginning with the above quote. "In Memory of Georg Lukacs," published by the Surrealist Group, is available through Franklin Rosemont, 3714 North Racine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60613. The pamphlet is a satisfying demystification of the leprous academic who for decades popularized all the works of Stalinism to gullible intellectuals.

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THE "TROTSKYISM" OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

WAR AND THE WORKERS LEAGUE

In the current period of heightened inter-imperialist rivalry, the pressures of war will be reflected in increasing measure in the opportunism of sections of the workers movement which abandon their proclaimed struggle for international revolutionary solidarity of the workers in favor of support to one section or another of the imperialists struggling for a greater share of plunder. Our task becomes more urgent, therefore, to conduct a relentless exposure of workers' and radical organizations which now support, openly or backhandedly, bourgeois forces in war.

We analyze here one recent case of egregious betrayal of the working class by an ostensibly revolutionary, even "Trotskyist" organization. That the Workers League, the American section of the "International Committee for the Fourth International" of Tim Wohlforth and Gerry Healy, took its public stand in favor of the military moves of the indian bourgeois government in the india-Pakistan war, responding to pressure no greater than the current relative popularity of the indian action, indicates the certainty and depth of their future betrayals in wars of wider proportions and greater consequent pressure to betray to a section of the bourgeoisie. If the unbridled opportunism characteristic of the Workers League/Socialist Labour League combination is not politically expunged from the workers movement in time, revolutionists will write of them in future major wars as Lenin in 1915 characterized the policy of the social chauvinists of the Second international:

> "Forty-four years alter the Paris Commune, alter half a century of the mustering and preparing of mass forces, the revolutionary class of Europe must, at the present moment, when Europe is passing through a catastrophic period, think of how to quickly become the lackey of its national bourgeoisie, how to help it plunder, violate, ruin and conquer other peoples, and how to refrain from launching, on a mass scale, direct revolutionary propaganda and preparation for revolutionary action."
>
> —Lenin, "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy," Collected Works, Vol. 21, p. 366.

Such was Lenin's paraphrasing of the Second international's position. We shall see why his fight for an independent working-class revolutionary policy in bourgeois wars retains burning importance today.

in the article "War, Revolution and Self-Determination" in the January 1972 number of Workers Vanguard, the Spartacist League analyzed the india-Pakistan war and the duty of revolutionists to seek the defeat of both governments and their armies in that war. The SL position flew in the face, as usual, of most of what was being said on the left; its opponents either directly supported the indian army (Workers League/Socialist Labour League) or claimed that behind that army, despite it, with its help or because of it, somehow, was a national liberation struggle instead of its opposite; somehow the invading indtan army with its tanks and planes was being "used" by the Bengali workers and peasants. What remains of the "international Committee" of Tim Wohlforth and Gerry Healy explicitly stated: "We critically support the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh" [Bulletin, 20 December 1971]. We distinguished between aid from a bourgeois government and control by that government and noted that the Indian bourgeoisie had obviously taken control of the just Bengali self-determination struggle, and that a "self-determination struggle" under the total military and political control of another nation's bourgeoisie is something other than it claims to be.

Wohlforth "replied" to our characterization of the IC as "waterboy for the indian army" in an article "Spartacist Rediscovers Shachtman" in the 17 January 1972 issue of his Bulletin. The title refers to WV's view that in 1942 the stance of the Workers Party of Max Shachtman on the question of the Chinese "self-determination struggle" was more Leninist than that taken by the Socialist Workers Party led by James P. Cannon.

Spartacist's "Shachtmanism"

The central thrust of the WL's "reply" is to smear the SL as "Shachtmanites," i. e. as anti-Marxist renegades, and thereby cancel out the impact our arguments (on Bangladesh, the WL position on the working-class character of the police, their role in the National Peace Action Coalition [NPAC] as left face of SWP class-collaboration documented in Workers Action #10, etc.) are having on Wohlforth's own ranks. He shelves any defense of his indefensible support to the indian bourgeoisie in favor of slander and label-pasting, hoping thereby to escape the impossible task of answering what we said about his stand. After all, we may be right, but he has the method; and even when correct we are still abstentionist petty-bourgeois empiricist swine.

Wohlforth accuses the SL, together with the SWP, Red Mole, the OCI, etc., of sharing "...the same methodological and ciass position as the Shachtman group in 1940" [emphasis added]. The SWP majority in 1940 characterized the Shachtman-Burnham-Abern grouping as a petty-bourgeois current in flight from the working class and the imperative defense of the Soviet Union, and presumably that is now what the Wohlforthites tell each other the lot of us are.

According to Wohlforth "the direct connection between the present day abstentionists and their Shachtmanite ancestors is Spartacist." Whatever this may mean metaphysically to Wohlforth, it is the direct reverse of the facts, as anybody outside the Workers League should have the political knowledge to recognize. None of the groups attacked for "abstentionism" (SWP, Red Mole, the OCI, and the SL) trace their political or organizational ancestry to Shachtman's Workers Party/independent Socialist League/Young Socialist League; all of them to this day stand formally on the position of the Trotsky-Cannon Majority in the 1939-1940 SWP faction fight; they all maintain formal continuity on the question of the class nature of the Soviet Union and the necessity to defend it against imperialism; all regard the Shachtman-Burnham-Abern break a consequence of petty-bourgeois capitulation to anti-Soviet "democratic" imperialism. All of them! How the Pabloists (SWP, Red Mole) and the inverted Pabloists of Healy-Wohlforth's IC became revisionists had nothing to do with the issues of the 1939-1940 SWP fight, except in the elementary sense of the kinship of all varieties of revisionism and centrism. There is an organization which traces its ancestry to Shachtman—the international Socialists—and they are not mentioned in Wohlforth's essay on Shachtmanism! (The IS' "two wars" position on Bangladesh was criticized in the WV article.)

Wohlforth quotes a section from our above-mentioned article in the January WV (leaving the source unidentified so as to make it tougher to look up) which raised the similarity between the slogan of self-determination for China in the circumstances of World War II and support for Bengali "self-determination" under conditions of total Indian control of that movement. We referred to Shachtman's conclusion "that such support was merely backhanded assistance to U. S. imperialism which not only merely assisted, but controlled the Chinese forces."

Wohlforth's "answer" avoids the China-India analogy, the question of the U. S. in China in World War II, and the question of Bangladesh independence—which is what our article was about. The section of the article he does quote was aimed not at Wohlforth, but at the more circumspect SWP, whose objective support to India was backhanded. In the section dealing with Wohlforth, titled "Healyite 'Principles' Oil the Tanks," we wrote:

> "The SWP 'merely' justifies the capitulation of the Bangla Desh leaders to the Indian army; the Healyites openly support the Indian bourgeoisie's army."

This characterization was not surmise on our part. We quoted the Bulletin text:

> "We [the 'International Committee'] critically support the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh."

Since the WV's view that the IC "has proclaimed itself waterboy for the Indian bourgeoisie's army," was based on a literal reading of the very words they wrote in their press, no one should be surprised that Wohlforth does not deal with them. No chance. Why attempt to defend a grotesque betrayal? Wohlforth quotes our reference to Shachtman's position on China in World War II, and lets fly. WV had said:

> "In a polemic with the SWP in 1942 it fell to Max Shachtman's lot to place the general principle of support to self-determination struggles within a context of Leninist regard for concrete reality. The issue was China. Should socialists support China's war against Japanese imperialism on the grounds of self-determination for China, or had such support become merely, as Shachtman charged, backhanded assistance to U. S. imperialism which not merely assisted, but controlled the Chinese forces?"

He replies:

> "Every word [of the SL passage] is like a textbook example of the reactionary empirical method of the petty bourgeoisie. First Max Shachtman is abstracted from... Max Shachtman. [Bulletin's dots] It just happened to 'fall' to Shachtman, who had just committed a criminal split with Trotsky deserting the defense of the Soviet Union under the class pressure of imperialism, to defend Leninist principle! Shachtman himself is broken up into a series of episodes and positions some of which are correct and some incorrect. This in itself represents a complete abandonment of theoretical thought."

The generous, openminded reader, might be inclined to think that while the argument is admittedly murky and inept, where the Bulletin creates so much smoke there must be fire. The smoke turns out to be but dust as Wohlforth thrashes his straw man.

What Is Shachtmanism?

The character of Shachtmanism and the experience of the Workers Party is indeed fit material for discussion among Marxists. Wohlforth raises it to pose as "defender of Trotsky." For Wohlforth—in order to lend horror to his label—must assert that the break with the SWP in 1940 over the question of Soviet defensism was an immediate repudiation of all Marxist principles—hereafter the SWP majority would be right on all disputed questions, and the "Shachtmanites" wrong on all of them. To assert anything else would be breaking Shachtman up "into a series of episodes and positions some of which are correct and some incorrect" and a "complete abandonment of theoretical thought." That this nonsense can be passed off in public without flinching as the embodiment of "Marxist method" is an indictment not of Shachtmanism but the abysmal political miseducation carried on inside the WL. It runs counter to the experience and practice of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky; it is a cultist argument at-

continued on next page

Continued from Page 5

tractive to a Stalin-Wohlforth-Catholic mentality but death to Marxists. It effectively denies the Leninist conception of both democratic centralism and the united front; it turns regroupment like that between the Bolsheviks and Trotsky's Mezhrayontsi in 1917 into capitulation not fusion. It flies in the face of reality in that during the war years there was substantial agreement between the SWP and the WP on the issues they faced, much to the confusion of militant workers and the radical public generally. This led to the two organizations holding unity negotiations in 1946 to consider whether sufficient agreement existed between them to establish a fused party. Further, during the years 1940-46 the Workers Party considered itself, and was considered by European Fourth international sections, as co-thinkers of the Fourth International.

Wohlforthian Method: Cultist Cretinism

Wohlforth's reasoning on what he fancies is "petty bourgeois empiricism" is childish, stupid, and anti-Marxist to the core. On one level, of course we must break Shachtmanism up "into a series of episodes some of which are correct and some incorrect." Wohlforth claims to be both a Leninist and a Trotskyist. To do so he must either employ the method he labels "empiricism" or simply ignore the intense polemics Lenin and Trotsky waged against each other for years. Obviously in those episodes one or the other, but not both and maybe neither, was correct. Trotsky was won over to Lenin's conception of the organizational question and Lenin came to accept Trotsky's stand on the Permanent Revolution and the tasks of the proletariat in the democratic revolution. No intelligent study of the years before the October Revolution can fail to show that Lenin was wrong as against Trotsky on an aspect of their task, and vice versa. We do not claim that either Max Shachtman or J. P. Cannon were ever Marxists of the stature of Lenin or Trotsky. But only a political imbecile, a cultist pseudo-Marxist can ignore the fact that generally healthy Marxist organizations and leaders have been wrong, or took inadequate positions on particular issues for periods of time; and that even groups standing generally to their right occasionally took superior positions on particular issues at a given time. Wohlforth's denunciations of the SL for noting that Shachtman espoused what we consider a correct position on the Chinese issue shortly after his "criminal split with Trotsky" only shows his dread of critical analysis. What Wohlforth calls "the reactionary empirical method of the petty bourgeoisie"—i. e. careful investigation into all the issues in a political dispute such as that between the SWP and WP—Lenin considered essential in politics, and remarked that anyone who did not study the issues for himself "can be dismissed with a simple gesture of the hand."

Was it not Stalin who argued that to separate Trotsky's critique of bureaucratic degeneration in a workers state after the revolution from Trotsky's centrist-Menshevik position on organizational questions before the revolution constituted an abandonment of Marxism—that Trotsky, wrong earlier on the one question, had to be wrong on the other? Or conversely, was it not Stalin again who argued that to separate Lenin of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" from Lenin the builder of the democratic centralist Bolshevik party constituted the grossest heresy?

In point of fact, it "just happened to fall" to Lenin to first abstract Lenin from... Lenin, to refute his "old self" in the April Theses. He had been an "Old Guard" within the Party and the main proponent of a now outmoded theory. Lenin's new position approximated Trotsky's correct theory that the dictatorship of the proletariat (in alliance with the peasantry) could be established in Russia without a prior European socialist revolution or a period of workers and peasants democratic dictatorship.

Has Wohlforth utterly forgotten that Trotskyism itself became a system only as a theoretical response to Stalin's progressive abandonment of the hard conclusions of the October Revolution, on the one hand, and Trotsky's shedding of his earlier, "episodic" position on the party on the other?

Stalin, like Wohlforth, began with the proposition: The masters of Marxism are infallible and the renegades are wholly bankrupt. The cult Stalin built around Lenin was only preparatory to the one he built around himself. Stalin accomplished this not solely through the building of statues and the recitation of incantations, but through a theory of the direct coincidence of truth with a single individual's thought until that individual and not his positions become the ultimate authority. The application of Trotsky's theory of uneven and combined development to the realm of cognition provides a useful antidote to this Stalinist-Wohlforthite theory.

There is another aspect of Wohlforthian methodology we need to take up for a moment. Wohlforth's celestial dialectic refuses to descend to the worldly plane. When we acknowledged Shachtman's role on the Chinese question of 1942, we did so on the basis of his placing "the general principle of support to self-determination struggles within a context of Leninist regard for concrete reality" against Wright of the SWP. It is not because we consider China of 1942 exactly analogous to Bangladesh in 1972 but rather because Shachtman's methodology was consistently Leninist in those articles.

When we consider the concrete, if you please, criteria of support to Chiang over which Wright and Shachtman argued, it resolves to whether military aid and strategic military subordination through imperialist control of the general staff (General Stillwell's command) was a sufficient basis to decisively transform Chiang's anti-Japanese struggle into an appendage of U. S. imperialism. Shachtman thought so; Wright did not.

What Wohlforth has overlooked is that both Shachtman and Wright, the WP and the SWP, agreed that a U.S. army invasion would make the question moot and of course subordination to imperialist arms would be unmistakable.

The physical presence of the indian army backing up the military command of General Aurora places Wohlforth against Shachtman, Lenin, and the SWP! If there were a Dantean Inferno to which Wohlforth were consigned, it would consist of him endlessly fleeing all the figures, revolutionary and centrist alike, who were after this political bandit's hide.

Shortly after the WP's repudiation of Soviet defensism and its split from the SWP, James Burnham split with the WP majority to find his place in ultra-right politics thereby lessening the internal pressure for a consistent anti-Marxist generalization. Shachtman and Abern continued to consider themselves Trotskyists until after the end of World War II, and in a few cases—and the question of support to Chiang Kai-Shek's China during the Pacific War was one of them—the Workers Party was correct as against the SWP. Anyone who reads it will discover that Shachtman's argument was essentially an "orthodox" gloss on Lenin's position on Serbia and Poland during World War I, applying the criteria Lenin developed to the new imperialist war.

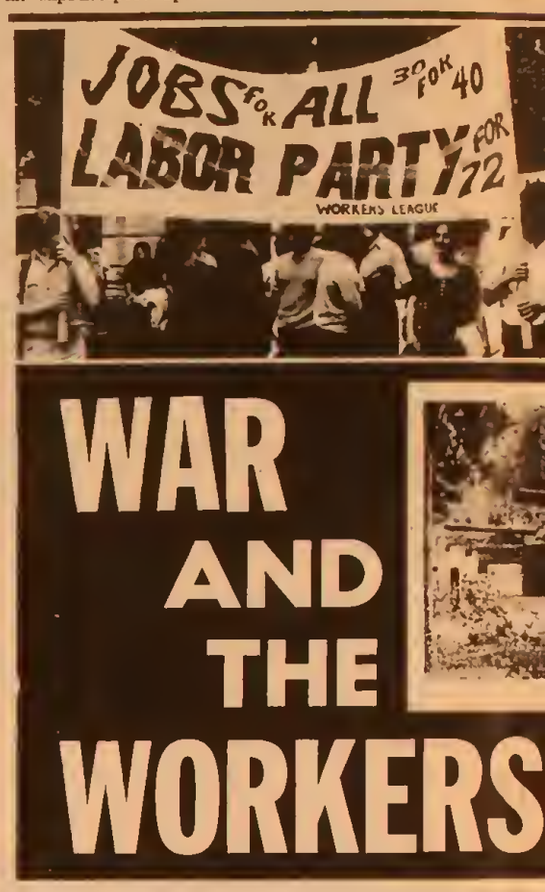
That the SWP could be wrong on an issue should hardly surprise Wohlforth. In his own pamphlet "The Struggle for Marxism in the United States," Wohlforth characterizes the period of World War II as one in which "American Radicalism Reasserts Itself," arguing that the SWP was then slipping into narrow "orthodoxy," able to "reassert" past positions but not creatively apply Marxist principles to new situations—a polite way of saying that their positions were wrong or inadequate on a number of things. Is it then Wohlforth's position that no one could be right on those questions?

In the long run, under the enormous pressure of U.S. imperialism, the Shachtmanites, left to their own devices, had to find themselves in the camp of that same imperialism. That happened, but not according to the Workers League's latest timetable—it took seventeen years from the split in 1940 before the reconciliation of the WP with American social democracy took place. It is not inconceivable that the whole process of the WP's disintegration could have been reversed had reunification with the SWP taken place before the full pressure of the cold war atmosphere bore down on both organizations. Certainly between the years 1940-46 the WP was no literary exponent of world imperialism, as one would infer from the Bulletin, but rather a left centrist party whose members seriously desired a communist revolution. The disintegration and decay of the WP must be analyzed in the same way as the demise of the revolutionary SWP, as a process by which the SWP moved to a severe deformation as a revolutionary party by 1953, when the principle of internationalism was undercut, to rightward moving centrism as the SWP totally embraced Fidel Castro in 1961, to 1965, when they joined hands as reformists with the liberal imperialists in the anti-war popular front.

To leave the question here would merely invite more WL sneers about "evolutionary method." The "Shachtmanite" slander is too valuable for Wohlforth to give up voluntarily; it is a time-worn anathema which has allowed him and the SWP to evade answering our charges of betrayal to their ranks. But it is easily exploded.

Wohlforth vs. Wohlforth— Again

In 1962 the forerunners of the Spartacist League and the present Wohlforth grouping were members of an oppositional minority tendency in the SWP. At the behest of Gerry Healy of the English SLL Wohlforth sought control of the tendency, and failing to win a majority, consummated an unprincipled split within its ranks. We have



published the documents of this rupture in Marxist Bulletin #3: The Split in the Revolutionary Tendency. The first document in the collection is a letter from James Robertson to Geoffrey White, written a month before the break was carried out, detailing the machinations of Wohlforth in preparing the split. It reads:

> "Tim Wohlforth gives every evidence of ardently desiring the Robertson-Ireland wing of the tendency out of the Minority and out of the party, and the sooner the better—as witness his concluding remarks at the last NYC tendency meeting: 'Robertson's covertly for a split within a few months. If Jim goes, good riddance!' And of course there is the 'break all ties, deepen the breach' tone and language of his document. Cannon wrote more mildly of Shachtman in 1940, though Tim obviously believes he and I are the exact reincarnations of those two then. So driven is he to create a panic mood of hate to consummate a split of the tendency that to add to the compound picture of a petty bourgeois grouping of the upper West Side's middle-class 103 St. fleeing the proletarian factory quarters at 101 St. that poor old Tim snarls and foams at any decent comrade daring to call the Shachtmanites of 1941-46 a left-centrist grouping. To cite Tim Wohlforth against Tim Wohlforth, however:
>
> 'We can now get an accurate picture of the political development of the Shachtman tendency. It was born in 1940 as a petty bourgeois opposition within the Trotskyist movement. It went through a "second split" with the mass exodus of those who rode the opposition bloc out of the movement altogether. It then launched a party and attempted to compete with the SWP to be the Trotskyist party in this country. It contained at this time divergent tendencies which pushed it in different directions. It had within it tendencies which wished a reconciliation with the SWP by building a united Trotskyist party. It had other tendencies which forced it to the right—to a definitive break with Trotskyism in 1946. We can characterize the WP of this period as a left centrist grouping of unstable composition which couldn't quite decide exactly where it was going. Then following the 1946 WP-SWP unity affair and with the opening of the cold-war witch hunt, it began to move to the right at an accelerated pace, transforming itself from a competing ten-

dency within the Trotskyist movement into a centrist "third camp" tendency which felt itself antagonistic to Trotskyism as well as to reformism. It stayed only for a relatively short time in this centrist limbo as it soon struck out in an open reformist direction, seeking today to become the loyal left wing of the social democracy.' (page 22, What Makes Shachtman Run?, Tim Wohlforth, August, 1957.)

The characterizing of the WP is a small matter as it relates to our needs, but it is very big for one thing which is easily obscured by charges and accusations—who is serious toward our history and theory and who has bent and twisted them for petty factional gain and to try to make a wrong line look good?" [our emphasis]

—The Split in the Revolutionary Tendency, pp. 2-3.

Behind the Facade: At left, Workers League demonstration; below, the Indian tanks WL supported move into Bangladesh.

S LEAGUE

In 1964 Wohlforth stated the following on the SWP which he now holds up against Shachtman as absolutely right on the China issue:

"... The theoretical sterility of the SWP goes much farther back than that [1940] having its roots in Cannon's empirical bloc with Trotsky covering the whole period from 1928 to 1940. Cannon and the SWP's leading cadres never attempted to master the Marxist method. It was Trotsky's job to develop theory and Cannon's job to build an organization around his theories. This division of labor broke down with the Shachtman fight in 1940 when a good half of the party was lost to petty bourgeois revisionism and the rest saved largely by Trotsky supplanting the SWP leadership in the struggle."

—Tim Wohlforth, letter to Robertson, 12 August 1964 in ACFI "Information Bulletin No. 1" (undated) referring to the SL-ACFI unity negotiations. [our emphasis]

Thus Wohlforth in 1964 considered the American Trotskyists from the time of their founding to be totally lacking in revolutionary capacity and nothing more than organizational hacks in a bloc with Trotsky. The implicit conclusion, of course, is that Wohlforth is this country's first Marxist! But more important than Wohlforth's pathetic self-glorification is the logic of his argument, for given his characterization of the SWP surely it is axiomatic that without Trotsky the SWP, if it took any correct positions at all, must have arrived at them by dumb luck or sterile reflexive orthodoxy!

Wohlforth's twisting of history for petty factional gain is the same now as in 1962. The purpose, like the method, is analogous. A number of leaders of the SWP oppositional grouping which became the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in 1961 had come over to Trotskyism from Shachtman's dissolving ISL/YSL, among them Mage, Robertson and Wohlforth. The SWP leadership carried out a slander barrage against all these leaders, who had broken from Shachtmanism, as "unreconstructed Shachtmanites." The individuals who were to go on to found the SL insisted on a serious evaluation of the degeneration and decay of the Shachtmanite organizations, as they were to do with the partly parallel breakdown of the SWP. Wohlforth was then looking for an opening to make common cause with the Dobbs leadership to smash the Robertson-Mage-White grouping. The fraudulent issue of "Shachtmanism" arose, and Wohlforth jumped at the chance to use it, despite the fact that he was one of the central targets of the SWP's slander! As then, so now: to get the SL, he establishes another bloc with the SWP, reaching across ten years in time, to underwrite his contention that the SWP was right to expel these people, since all the time they were only concealed Shachtmanites! Now as then he continues to offer aid and credence to the SWP Pabloists as their loyal opposition, asking only one thing—get the Spartacist League!

Parenthetically, one can trace a political origin to many of the present and past SL cadres and leaders that is different from that typical of the WL-SWP: namely origins in the CPUSA! Thus Geoff White was a state chairman of the CP and Smith Act indictee; Ed L., a long-time CP trade union cadre; Jim Robertson, a CP youth activist; and then Harry Turner, buried for years in a CP underground cell. These were later joined by Dave Cunningham of the Iowa CP and Marv Treiger from the Los Angeles CP. All these comrades were led to Trotskyism out of the clash between their subjective revolutionary impulses and the realities of Stalinism, i.e. a recapitulation of the road of of the original Left Opposition itself.

In 1957 when Wohlforth was struggling to be a Marxist and not a political bandit he characterized rather well the pressures and dynamics which made the WP "a left centrist grouping of unstable composition which couldn't quite decide where it was going" in the period before its definitive break with Trotskyism in 1946. According to Wohlforth today, his own analysis in 1957 can only be breaking Shachtman up "into a series of episodes, some of which are correct and some incorrect," which is "a textbook example of the reactionary empirical method of the petty bourgeoisie." Wohlforth says that in such an approach "Max Shachtman is abstracted from... Max Shachtman"; we can only observe that the above counterpositioning indicates that, by Wohlforth methodology, Wohlforth is dissolved into... Wohlforth. Hegel observed about the reflective nature of philosophy that "the owl of Minerva flies only at dusk!"; Wohlforth's owl flies deaf, drunk and night-blind.

Now, nearly ten years after the split in the RT, Wohlforth brings up the same charges, in the same manner, for an even baser purpose. This time Wohlforth uses the "Shachtmanism" slander to cover his bloc with a section of the indian bourgeoisie and the indian army, a bloc which the logic of Marxism and class struggle dictates can only be ultimately directed against the workers and peasants of India and Bangladesh and the revolutionary movement.

Those Little Dots

Wohlforth begins his piece with a quote from Trotsky:

"Throughout all the vacillations and convulsions of the opposition, contradictory though they may be, two general features run like a guiding thread from the pinnacles of theory down to the most trifling political episodes. The first general feature is the absence of a unified conception.... History becomes transformed into a series of improvisations. We have here in the full sense of the term the disintegration of Marxism, the disintegration of theoretical thought, the disintegration of politics into its constituent elements. Empiricism and its foster brother, impressionism, dominate from top to bottom... Throughout the vacillations and convulsions of the opposition, there is a second general feature intimately bound up with the first, namely, a tendency to refrain from active participation, a tendency to self elimination, to abstentionism, naturally under cover of ultra-radical phrases.... Hot on the trail of 'concrete' political tasks in words, the opposition actually places itself outside the historical process."

One wouldn't know it from the Bulletin text, but the quote from Trotsky which Wohlforth has adduced against the SL is taken from Trotsky's "An Open Letter to Comrade Burnham" included in In Defense of Marxism. More than the source is omitted. By omitting Trotsky's reference to what positions he was criticizing, Wohlforth's quote amounts to no better than a forgery of Trotsky's words. What politics of Burnham's is Trotsky characterizing? Omitted from Wohlforth's selection are Trotsky's references to "Hitler and Stalin in Poland; Stalin and Mannerheim in Finland." Trotsky is referring to Burnham's refusal to defend the Soviet state and his hostile attitude toward the dialectic and to the question of the class difference between that state and its bourgeois-imperialist enemies. That is the first point: it was not for refusing military support to a bourgeois state (in any kind of war) that Trotsky and the SWP majority denounced the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern minority. It was for their responsiveness to bourgeois public opinion running against such support to the Soviet Union. See any difference there, Cde. Wohlforth? Or is that hair-splitting over "concrete reality" again?

Wohlforth: Revolutionary Defeatism Equals Abstentionism

Next point: Wohlforth hopes that a smokescreen of quotations from Trotsky written against positions entirely different from the SL's will convince the reader that a position, clearly stated, against both of two warring bourgeois armies is—abstentionism! A really abstentionist organization would have evaded an analysis of the war, or claimed simply that wars are tragic events for the workers. The SL took the position of revolutionary defeatism against both indian and Pakistani bourgeois governments and their armies. That Wohlforth calls abstentionism. He gets involved, he takes sides—no abstentionist he, no indeed!—he pitched right into the fray on the side of one of the bourgeois robbers! The policy of revolutionary defeatism in a bourgeois war meant something rather different, for Trotsky, than standing "outside the historical process." Wohlforth doesn't say so of course, but he has condemned Lenin's entire policy during World War I as "abstentionist," and "empiricist" besides, since Lenin was manifestly concerned with "concrete conditions." Wohlforth's "anti-abstentionism" is that of the betraying Second International which also took sides—lots of them—bourgeois sides.

Wohlforth: Britain Equals Pakistan

Third point: in case any one of his readers is quick to notice the class distinction between the Soviet state—which was what the 1939-40 debate was about—and the bourgeois indian state, Wohlforth immediately dishes up another non-sequitur to cloud the issue doubly. At least in this instance his quote does refer to india. Thus the following from Trotsky, again offered without source:

"India is participating in the imperialist war on the side of Great Britain. Does this mean that our attitude toward india—not the Indian Bolsheviks but INDIA—is the same as toward Great Britain? If there exists in this world, in addition to Shachtman and Burnham, only two imperialist camps, then where, permit me to ask, shall we put India? A Marxist will say that despite India's being an integral part of the British Empire and India's participating in the imperialist war; despite the perfidious policy of Gandhi and other nationalist leaders, our attitude toward India is altogether different from our attitude toward England. We defend India against England."

Tim Wohlforth

That is a good statement of the SL position: it too defends India against England, against the U. S., and the rest. Now where, Cde. Wohlforth, did Trotsky defend an Indian war against Pakistan, or before that state's existence, against Afghanistan, Burma, Iran or China? You raise the question of wars and the colonial world. Name one instance in which Lenin or Trotsky urged or supported a war by any colony, client state, or imperialist-dominated backward nation against another. By Bolivia against Peru? By Iran against Turkey? Does Wohlforth presume to bend reality (or his despised "concrete conditions") to fit Trotsky's position on a fundamentally different issue so far as to assert that Pakistan is imperialist like the U. S. or Britain while India is Pakistan's colony in rebellion? A war between Britain and India is of course a different matter for Marxists than a war between Britain and Germany. But a war between one tin-pot semi-colonial bourgeoisie and another such bourgeoisie is not different in this respect from a war between two great imperialist powers. Neither India nor Pakistan is a colony of the other. To the assertion that East Bengal had a semi-colonial relationship to West Pakistan, against which the Indian army made war, a Marxist would have to reply that Tanganyika was a colony of Hohenzollern Germany; Britain warred against Germany in World War I—did Lenin support Britain against Germany? Or advise the Tanganyikans to invite British control to aid the war against Germany? He supported the right of the Irish to accept

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WAR AND THE WORKERS LEAGUE

German arms—that did not amount to German control of the republican movement. (Because of "concrete reality," again, Wohlforth.) But Lenin certainly did not urge the Kaiser to send armies to Ireland, which would have meant trading the British yoke for the German, and one cannot conceive of a statement from him, "We Bolsheviks critically support the decision of the Hohenzollern government to send arms to the Irish rebels." He did not support no matter how critically the unsupportable motives of the German government; he supported the independent and entirely different motives of the Irish rebels, who were so situated that the German "help" was not occupation or control—their struggle remained independent.

In fact Trotsky's quote above comes down on the opposite side of Wohlforth's position. Does Trotsky favor the assistance from the subject Indian nation to Britain in its war? He condemns the Indian nationalist leaders for that policy—and he would have condemned the Bengali nationalists' support to the adventure of conquest by the Indian bourgeoisie.

Fourth point: in the "Conclusions" section of Trotsky's "An Open Letter to Comrade Burnham" from which Wohlforth tore a quote, stands a paragraph his supporters would do well to ponder. Wohlforth lumps the SL with Shachtman in alleged disregard for principle, for theory, for veering about according to petty-bourgeois impressionism. Trotsky said:

> "The politics of a party has a class character. Without a class analysis of the state, the parties and ideological tendencies, it is impossible to arrive at a correct political orientation. The party must condemn as vulgar opportunism the attempt to determine policies in relation to the USSR from incident to incident and independently of the class nature of the Soviet state."

The WL owes an explanation of why it is necessary to proceed from the class nature of the Soviet state in determining our attitude toward its military moves, yet we stand condemned as reactionary empiricists when we proceed from the class nature of the Indian state!

What Lenin Thought of the "Abstention" Charge

In 1915 Lenin wrote a polemic against the Italian social chauvinists who urged Italian entry into World War I on the side of Britain and France. Our quotation begins with Lenin's paraphrase of the reformist position of a certain Barboni:

> "Neutrality is a narrow-minded egoism, a non-understanding of the international situation; it is baseness towards Belgium, and 'absenteeism', and 'the absent are always wrong' says Barboni, entirely in the spirit of Plekhanov and Axelrod. But since there are two legal parties in Italy, one reformist and the other a Social-Democratic labour party, and since in that country it is impossible to fool the public by covering up the nudity of the Potresovs, Cherevanins, Levitskys and Co. with the fig-leaf of Chkheidze's Duma group or of the Organising Committee, Barboni frankly admits the following:
>
> 'From this point of view I see more revolutionism in the activities of the reformist socialists, who have been quick to realise the enormous importance that such a change in the political situation [in consequence of a victory over German militarism] will have for the future anti-capitalist struggle, and who, with perfect consistency, have espoused the cause of the Triple Entente, than there is in the tactics of the official revolutionary socialists who, like a tortoise, have hidden under a shell of absolute neutrality'....
>
> "In conclusion, we would like to note that, confronted by a workers' party, Barboni attempts to use sophistry so as to play up to the workers' revolutionary instincts. The internationalist socialists of Italy, who are opposed to a war which in fact is being waged for the imperialist interests of the Italian bourgeoisie, are depicted by him as adherents of a cowardly abstinence, a selfish desire to hide from the horrors of war...."
>
> —Lenin, "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy," Collected Works, Vol. 21, pp. 364-365.

Wohlforth as Merlin

The obscurantist, now-you-see-it-now-you-don't character of the "dialectic" developed by Stalin and Mao and adopted by Healy and Wohlforth could not possibly be illustrated more clearly than by the following syllogism, all parts of which are taken directly from his "Spartacist Rediscovers Shachtman." 1) The IC openly offered "critical support" to the military move of the Indian bourgeois government. 2) The SL urged revolutionary defeatism on both sides. 3) The SL policy is abstentionism, i.e., the SL did not take a stand. 4) "Not taking a stand means standing with the bourgeoisie." 5) Therefore the SL stood with the bourgeoisie.

Max Shachtman

And so support of the bourgeoisie becomes support of the working class; the call to workers to practice revolutionary defeatism becomes support of the bourgeoisie. Even Kautsky, who had to mislead a more sophisticated audience, never sank to an argument so stupid and patently illogical.

All the lies, all the twisted logic and the distortion of Trotskyist history, theory and tradition, all the slanders about "Shachtmanism" peddled to his supporters, will not be enough to wash the bloody disgrace from Wohlforth's and Healy's hands. They deliberately turned a section of the workers movement, raw uneducated would-be communists, into recruiting agents for a bourgeois army. The degenerated Second and Third Internationals sold out for far higher stakes; Healy-Wohlforth's betrayal will not win them janitors' jobs, much less cabinet posts. ■

Bulletin

Creature at left of Bulletin cartoon received Bulletin's "critical support."

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...Red Balloon

There were charges of bureaucratic manipulation, sexism, etc. within the ranks of the RBers since many prominent among the "red party now" tendency had originally been callers of the conference. The inner politics of the Red Balloon bore a curious similarity to the old inner circles of RYM/SDS. The mass organization presumably operated on the basis of "participatory democracy" which in practice meant anarchy up front and manipulation behind the scenes by the real decision-makers who met in continuous secret sessions. In SDS it took the form of the National Office Collective (Klonsky-Coleman-Dohrn) until Weatherman formed their own leadership group in the Weatherbureau and successfully contested the NO for power.

Stalinist-Third Worldist politics are doomed from their own internal contradictions to endless vacillation from sectarian partyism to opportunist movementism and back again. Weatherman at a certain point proclaimed itself the embryo of a "fighting red army" and then after a few quick defeats hid underground. Unable to link the party to the class through a transitional program and transitional organizations in a principled way, the RBers, as all Stalinists, rely on maneuvers.

Under the pall cast over the Conference by our initial agenda fight, the RBers met in a selective and exclusive caucus (the SL/RCY was voted out of the meeting) to map out a new Grand Strategy. The shift to the "red party" conception under the circumstances amounted objectively to and reflected psychologically a cowardly desertion of the troops they had amassed from around the country. The conference never really ended. It simply dissipated, suggesting that the secret weapon in the hands of the local authorities was simply to let things go on as planned. In the minds of the incurably self-deceiving RBers, after appropriate "self-criticisms" the conference may appear to have "transcended" itself into a super pan-Red Balloon caucus of the really real revolutionists.

Revolutionary Committee Chases Balloon

Into this swamp charged the knights of the "Revolutionary Committee" (recent splitoff from Youth Against War and Fascism), who had busily been rousing the hopes of radically inclined prison inmates and others in the great prospects for the conference. The Revolutionary Committee attempted to save the day by rallying the demoralized into the special caucus. This grouplet, which formed the left appendage and loyal opposition of the Red Balloon, has a penchant for taking up the cudgels of the lost causes of assertedly left Stalinist bureaucrats after they have lost. They style themselves Marcyites without Marcy (YAWF head) who, according to them represents the real continuity with Trotskyism (even though shorn of Trotsky); they simultaneously take up the banner of Lin Piao (real Maoism without Mao) only to find themselves vending deflated Red Balloons for the real balloon vendors who had themselves collapsed.

The spectacle of the Red Balloon Conference differed from its RYM-SDS predecessor in another telling respect. Throughout the Conference one noticed a distinctly listless atmosphere. Despite all the prattle about "new" or "liberated" life styles, despite all the bizarre trappings of anarcho-freakism, the Red Balloon Conference showed itself unable to generate any real enthusiasm for a return to the bankrupt New Left, whose best elements long ago transcended radical petty-bourgeois populism in favor of a proletarian struggle perspective.

Despite its built-in self-destruct mechanisms, the Red Balloon or something like it may someday get off the ground and hover for a time. Workers Vanguard encourages its readers to guard against such a potential nuisance by adopting a simultaneous policy of consistently laughing them to scorn while providing principled defense for them against state repression. Insights useful for both tactics are offered in the free leaflet, "Pop the Red Balloon," available from Workers Vanguard. ■

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CLASS AGAINST CLASS!

Rule of Proletariat or Iron Fist of Reaction

Today's struggles in Ireland pose two alternatives: either the revolutionary ripping away of the oppressive old state, not only the Orange but also the Green, and the wielding of secular state power by the united Irish working class; or else a counterrevolutionary blood bath as sectarian fascism seizes upon the chaos of militant struggles which disrupt bourgeois "order" but cannot bring down the bourgeois state. The former course would lead almost immediately to a revolutionary upsurge throughout the area and the possibility of creating a socialist federation of the British Isles, a spectre to terrify all of bourgeois Europe. The latter situation of prolonged social instability and violence is the present course of the Irish upsurge, fitting closely what Trotsky described as the conditions for a fascist overthrow of bourgeois democracy, with its iron fist shattering all working-class organs of struggle.

If the struggle in the North reaches the point of social overturn, with the working class directly threatening the rule of the imperialist-petty-bourgeois bloc, the old order will find its surest and most energetic allies in the Green Tories of Southern reaction.

Nationalism: From Bomb to Portfolio

Ireland has not suffered from a lack of militant struggle. As in so many other instances, however, even the subjectively best of the Irish militants have soon stumbled over that most disorienting of all questions facing the workers movement: the national question. The splinter republican movement which led the 1916 struggles became, in the space of a few years, a complacent and reactionary national ruling class. What arose in 1916 was both a foretaste and a warning, though insufficient and distorted, for the social struggles in Ireland now.

Orange Needs Green

The northern counties under the Faulkner government at Stormont are integrated both militarily (direct army occupation since 1969 and direct political control from last March 24) and structurally into the English state and economy (with its "welfare state" appendage). The Faulkner government enjoys a wide base of support among the northern Protestant majority, petty-bourgeois and working-class alike. If it is true that the regime's support derives in large part from the fanning of age-old obscurantist anti-Catholic prejudices, it is nevertheless also true that the clerical-reactionary "Green Tory" Catholic state in the South appears to northern working-class Protestants not as a liberator but as an oppressive menace, worse than Faulkner and the British. So long as the South remains what it is, the observer must not allow either distaste of Stormont and London nor sympathy for the centuries of wrong done the Irish Catholics to obscure the fact that Protestants in the North as a bloc stand unalterably opposed to unification with the present Eire. No revolutionary strategy which does not take account of this elemental fact can be anything but dangerous phrasemaking. How strong and uniform this Protestant sentiment is can be gauged by the fact that the present government came to power one year ago as opponents of the former Premier, Chichester-Clark, on a "get-tough" program aimed at the IRA and Catholic agitation for civil rights. This reactionary mass sectarian attitude is the result of previous British machinations—"playing the Orange card," in Churchill's phrase—but it is no longer British policy. The sectarian mentality of the Protestant masses is today fed primarily by the immense gift to sectarian demagogy offered by the reactionary and miserably poor state in the South. The present intransigence of the northern Protestants in fact stands as an obstacle to the present preferred British imperialist policy toward Ireland—the dismantling of direct rule in favor of a federal, neo-colonial solution for all Ireland as the countries go into the European Economic Community.

Peter L. Gould

The national question is the stumbling block of the Irish revolution, and Irish nationalism divides the working class and is hence reactionary, i. e. nationalism must be smashed by working-class unity—this much is true, but a partial and one-sided truth. Nationalism will remain and grow if the leaders of the working class do not eliminate its appeal through a recognition of the reality of national oppression and a working-class program to combat that oppression and the national backwardness and chauvinism it engenders to the great profit of the bourgeoisie.

To demand recognition of the right to self-determination, i. e. the right to seccession and a separate state, does not imply that Marxists necessarily advocate that the workers actually take such a step.

For Ireland, Marxists must put forward a series of linked demands against the existing oppression; some will be expressions of the ultimate goal of communist unity across present state boundaries, while others represent an interim need to undercut nationalism through offering hard guarantees to the sectors of the working class presently pitted against each other.

FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC ULSTER —FOR THE UNIFICATION OF IRELAND IN A COMPLETELY SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC IRISH STATE; THEREFORE NEITHER ORANGE NOR GREEN BUT A WORKERS REPUBLIC! Through posing the first demand, we seek to cut across the legitimate aspects of the Protestant workers' fears of domination by the present, clerical reactionary state in the South. We do not recognize a "right" of the Protestants to opt for unity with Britain—the policy just imposed by Heath—as such a connection by definition guarantees continued oppression of the Catholics; hence the "independent" qualifier in the slogan. The demand is an assertion of independence from all traces of the Green Tory nationalism which illegitimately claims solidarity with the plight of the oppressed Catholics. The first demand facilitates the realization of the second, in fact, is indispensable to it; far from being counterposed, one is essential to the other.

FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE CELTIC FRINGE; FOR A SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH ISLES. We stand for the right of all the nationally oppressed Celtic minorities—including the Bretons in France—to secede and form their own states. The twentieth century, the time of the utter exhaustion of the old progressive role of the bourgeois states, is not the time to complain of the "divisive" and partly utopian character of such moves toward independence; at the same time we urge these minorities to resist a separatist course, but acknowledge and defend their right to do so.

The socialist federation of the British Isles is the only long-term solution, inasmuch as a workers' uprising in any part of the area must lead immediately to civil war throughout the region. The chances of victory for the proletariat in such a struggle will be immensely enhanced if the advanced workers are known by all sections of the masses to have disassociated themselves entirely from all "great"-nation chauvinism through their emphatic recognition of the right to self-determination.

The response of the British working class to the plight of the Irish, expressed through the above linked demands, is more immediate an issue due to the interpenetration of the Irish workers among the British and the relationship of the Irish economy as a whole to Britain. Ireland remains today one of the poorest countries of Europe. To escape Irish squalor many Irish workers emigrate, and a large number seek work in Britain. Not only Ireland's products, but also Ireland's sons and daughters go to Britain. Despite the heavy emigration, however (Ireland is the only European country to have experienced a net loss in population in the last century) unemployment remains heavy in both Ulster and the South. During the "boom" years of World War II, for example, Ulster unemployment dropped to "only" five per cent. The figures for 1966 place Ulster unemployment among insured persons at 6.1 per cent, far above the 1.5 per cent rate in the rest of the U.K. The rate for Ulster Catholics, however, has been about twice as high. The extension of the British "welfare state" to Ulster has tended to depress the desire of both Protestant and Catholic to emigrate; in the South, however, due in part to the less extensive social welfare schemes, emigration, though lower in the late 1960's, had reached a figure of around 60,000 annually in the 1950's.

The Irish workers, concentrated mainly in the less secure and lower-skilled jobs, may well prove to be the most militant section of their class throughout the British Isles. Less stultified than some of their English counterparts who have lived through a century of the dead-handed labor bureaucracy, the Irish workers in England and in Ireland may, like the new industrial proletariat of late Tsarist Russia, prove more bold in action.

An additional reason for coupling the demand of self-determination rights for an independent, democratic Ulster with the demand for a unified Ireland under workers' control and the perspective of a socialist federation of the British Isles is to limit the reactionary-chauvinist potential in the genuine fear among the relatively skilled, relatively well-off (by low Irish standards) Protestant workers of the loss of their shabby but real benefits from the British welfare state. The attitude of Ulster Protestants to their limited but real economic advantages—even in that backwater of a backward British economy—is somewhat analogous to the fears of white American workers that any advance in the condition of the black workers under capitalism will come at the expense of the middle and upper layers of the working class. What makes this mentality in Ulster especially hard to crack is the existence of a state boundary marking off Ulster from the other section of British-European capitalism's backyard in Eire, and hence the absolute necessity to deal with the national question.

FOR ARMED WORKING-CLASS DEFENSE AGAINST MASS TERRORISM, NOT ONLY THE ORANGE BUT ALSO THE GREEN! The terrorist units of the IRA, together with the Protestant vigilante organizations must be met by the un-

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Continued...

CLASS AGAINST CLASS!

compromising resistance of the working class. The popularity of the IRA and the whitewashing of its policies on this question by the left has contributed substantially to the false mass appeal of the two wings, especially the Provisionals. The issue of mass terror is not simply a dispute over "tactics"—it is fundamental to the evaluation by revolutionists of a group's class composition and program. The IRA is no more deserving of the support of professed revolutionists than a group of black nationalists in the U. S. conspiring, for example, to pour gasoline into the crowded New York subway system—however much the left does, and must, solidarize with their rage.

Pabloist Confusion

Although it has supported the Provisionals since, the Red Mole organization (section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," nominal friends of the American SWP) originally supported both contending wings of the IRA, giving the left an object lesson in the patent absurdities to which uncritical enthusiasm for currently popular petty-bourgeois formations leads. In the April 1971 Red Mole Bob Purdie, a leader of the British Pabloists, wrote regarding the split in the IRA and the various tactics used:

> "We support both against British imperialism, and defend their right to take action against the British occupation forces. We have political differences with both, but we support their struggle unconditionally, as is the duty of every British Revolutionary. We recognize both as the vanguard of the oppressed minority. We support them, and we support that minority when they attack British troops. We support them when they throw stones, when they throw petrol bombs, and when they shoot at British troops. Unconditionally."

Behind the verbal militancy of Purdie's passage stands the utter bankruptcy of Pabloism as a Marxist strategy and the lack of any program whatsoever for the consummation of the Irish revolution.

It is the duty of every socialist to support every struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism, just as we support every struggle of the working class against the employers; that goes without saying. This is true, furthermore, regardless of whatever criticisms one may have of the course followed at any given moment. If Purdie had intended to say this, and nothing more, we would have no quarrel with him. But then he goes on to say that "we recognize both [IRA wings] as the vanguard of the oppressed minority," that "we support that minority... unconditionally."

We support the just struggles of the Irish against imperialism, just as we support the victory of the Vietnamese revolution against imperialism and its Asian allies—unconditionally, in the military sense. We support neither in any "unconditional" sense for their policies, because their existing programs are blueprints for proletarian defeat. Nowhere does Red Mole offer an analysis of the IRA program, the necessary starting point for any political (programmatic) conditional or unconditional support. The Pabloist policy is blind, rhetorical enthusing over current struggles and nothing more.

It is the further duty of every Marxist to advise against outbreaks or incidents which run counter to the interests of the class and the socialist revolution. Enthusing over mistakes, on the ground that any rebellious motion on the part of the oppressed is de facto "objectively anti-imperialist" is a betrayal of leadership. The history of class struggle is filled with examples of the revolutionary party advising against actions which it considered foredoomed to defeat, while nevertheless participating in those which unavoidably broke over its head. It does so in order to prevent the movement from being led up a blind alley, and to use its influence to advocate switching pressure to another flank, forming defensive actions, etc. Marx's attitude toward the Paris Commune is a model. He warned the French proletariat against the premature uprising, yet enthusiastically threw himself and the First International behind it, offering advice, criticisms, defense when it nevertheless took place. The SL commented concretely on this problem in March 1971. In "The Irish Upsurge and the Cliff Group" we wrote:

> "But a vicarious emotional identification with the oppressed Irish fighting back against their tormentors is not enough. Nor is barricade rhetoric or mere activist militancy adequate. To be sure, no one fit to bear the title revolutionary can possibly oppose the reflexive reaction of the oppressed—the street fighting tactics, the shooting of occupying soldiers, the periodic upsurge of rebellious violence, and the rest. But no matter how justified, such episodes must not become a substitute for revolutionary political struggle. Without the knowledge of what to do next—that is, without a program, a conscious plan of action—the struggle will simply waste itself in secondary considerations."

This point is crucially important where a developed revolutionary vanguard exists embryonically or not at all. Marxists are neither Blanquists nor spontaneists; revolution, in the epoch of proletarian revolution, is a science, and the role of the Marxist party is to direct and lead it in a scientific, considered fashion. Perhaps even more relevant in this regard than the Commune is the lesson of Bolshevik experience during the "July Days" in 1917, four months before the October Revolution when revolutionary Marxists possessed infinitely more influence than they do today in Ireland. At that time the Leninists opposed an armed working-class demonstration in Petrograd and, where prohibition failed, took the lead themselves to channel the action into relatively peaceful directions. They sought to restrain an incident which could have led to premature insurrection and the resultant beheading of the workers movement by triumphant counter-revolution.

Youths flee yet another bombing in bleak Belfast.

The Bolshevik decision was a conscious one, determined by concrete analysis of the situation and assessment of the strength of the various class alignments, the influence and preparedness of the party, etc. We would ask Purdie and the Pabloists: Was Lenin wrong? If he was right, how by your policy of enthusiastic support of every flareup, no matter how motivated or calculated, that occurs in North Ireland, could you implement your "political criticisms," i. e., how could your organization, with its policies, intervene to prevent actions it considered to lead to disaster? Or isn't the end result of your Pabloist methodological premise the assumption that the victory of the Irish Revolution is inevitable and onrushing, and the counterrevolution so weak that no mistaken tactics could play into its hands?

We submit that the above conclusion is the only possible one to be drawn from the Red Mole's analysis: the Pabloist thesis that the revolution is so strong it is inevitable in the present period. The "inevitable" conclusion, then, would have to be: under these circumstances, there is no need for a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the revolutionary struggle in Ireland. Those who support the victory of the Russian Revolution can only be grateful Lenin and Trotsky had a totally different conception of how to make a revolution and that the Red Mole was not around to join the reformist chorus on the irrelevance of the Bolshevik party.

Our conclusion is drawn not only from Red Mole's strategic outlook, but is buttressed by the observation in Purdie's sentence, "we support both [IRA wings] as the vanguard of the oppressed minorities." Both!! Two vanguards, and... neither of them a Marxist party! If Lenin were not already dead he would hang himself!

The IRA Split

We will do as Purdie did not and look to the programs of the contending IRA wings to see what each wants. Is there a class difference between them? In the last analysis, rhetoric aside, there is—the Provisionals find their base in and rest upon petty-bourgeois Irish nationalism, objectively operate as a militant extension of the clerical Free State in the South and find their main enemy in the English presence in Ireland. The Officials are more formally Marxist, stressing the leading role of the working class, calling for a socialist republic, and naming the enemy as capitalist imperialism. (It is probably not accidental that the front page headline of the August 1971 Red Mole reads: "For the IRA Against British Imperialism," limiting the enemy to Britain in the fashion of the Provisionals.) If it is in this sense Purdie supports both, he is saying the petty-bourgeoisie as a class plays a role equal to the working class in socialist revolution—an idea which went out the window when Marx sat down to write. If he does not mean this, then he cannot consider class analysis important in looking to program. Two classes, two vanguards?

The IRA wings themselves do not and cannot support even each other. Despite the particular issue the IRA split over—the traditional abstention from sitting in bourgeois parliaments, a position both wings now repudiate—the differences were real and fundamental, and this is recognized by all involved. Their relations are acrimonious and have led to violence between them; the Officials, further, have accused the Provisionals of among other things functioning like provocateurs. When Purdie supports both, does he support their mutual charges against each other? Would he support "both" of the venemously hostile Black Panther wings?

Even in the best case, Red Mole is guilty of polyvanguardism, the assumption that there can be more than one vanguard of the class in the struggle toward revolution. If we can again use the Russian Revolution as a touchstone, Purdie's position is similar to saying he supports "both wings" of Russian Social Democracy in 1917—Bolshevik and Menshevik, the wing which guided the working class to power and the wing which fought against it. To say under similar circum-

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Spartacist Local Directory

BERKELEY-OAKLAND. Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, Calif. 94701. phone: 848-3029.

BOSTON. Box 188, M.I.T. Sta., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. phone: 321-3826.

CHICAGO. Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, Ill. 60680. phone: 643-4394.

DENVER. (contact New York)

EUREKA. Box 3061, Eureka, Calif. 95501.

HOUSTON. (contact New York)

LOS ANGELES. Box 38053, Wilcox Sta., Los Angeles, Calif. 90038. phone: 467-6855.

NEW ORLEANS. (contact New York)

NEW YORK. Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. phone: WA 5-2426.

SAN DIEGO. Box 22052, Univ. City Sta., San Diego, Calif. 92122. phone: 453-1436.

SAN FRANCISCO. Box 40574, San Francisco, Calif. 94140. phone: 826-8259.

STONY BROOK, L.I. Box 854, Port Jefferson, N.Y. 11777. phone: 246-8848.

WASHINGTON, D.C.-BALTIMORE. phone: 223-1455.

(PARIS, France. phone 887.87.13.)

stances—the fact of the matter is that neither IRA wing has anything approaching a revolutionary program—that one supports "both" is to say one hopes for the revolution by... supporting counter-revolution! That such a position is the apotheosis of silliness is true; it is also true that such is the only possibie conclusion one can draw from Red Mole's strategy for the Irish Revolution.

Nonetheless, factually we owe Red Mole an apology, and offer it here. In the Spartacist League's leaflet, "The Irish Upsurge and the Cliff Group," issued one year ago, we stated that the Healyites alone among the major British left groups had opposed the sending of troops to Ulster. Our information was incorrect; Red Mole has convincingly demonstrated that the Healyite claim to the unique correct position on this issue was, once again, a lie. A group which must constantly misrepresent the positions of its opponents may be assumed to have nothing of value to say; and the Healyite Socialist Labour League has veered in a short time from an ultra-"working-class" concentration on the Irish class issues alone, to tailing the "Irish freedom fighters"—moving from the meaningless abstract to the false concrete.

Capitulating to Chauvinism

The position of uncritical enthusiasm for the IRA exemplified by Red Mole is the common thrust of most organized left tendencies. It has at least the merit of solidarizing subjectively with an organization whose struggles are identified with the side of the oppressed. A less prevalent but equally skewed approach to the Irish national question is held by the "Workers' Committee" which enjoys the support of Progressive Labor in the U.S. Their sympathy to the Protestants' legitimate fears of incorporation into a clerical state has led them into a qualitative capitulation to the oppressive mood prevailing among the Protestants. In a recent leaflet titled "The Working Class Solution to the National Conflict in Ireland," the Workers' Committee states:

> "As far as the national conflict is [sic] Ireland is concerned, the main enemy of the Protestant working class is the Catholic capitalist class. It is not the Catholic population at large. It is not the Catholic working class. When Gerry Fitt refers to Ulster Protestants as "a million monsters" that is simply an expression of the racialism which is always associated, to a greater or lesser degree, with nationalism. And when John McKeague refers to the Catholic community as "animals," that is also an expression of nationalism. Nationalism derives from capitalism. The working class stands opposed to capitalism and to its ideology." [our emphasis]

In the leaflet's list of demands we find the following:

> "The committee demands that the Southern government abandon immediately its claim to rule over the Ulster Protestants. It demands the cessation of all propaganda directed against the Ulster Protestant nation.
>
> "It is only when this demand is met that conditions will exist for the full implementation of democratic rights for the Catholic minority in the North. The events since 1968 have made it quite clear that the Protestant masses will not abandon their defences against the policies of the Catholic nationalists until the latter abandon their attempts to bring the Ulster Protestants under their domination. It would be futile to expect otherwise. The succession of Unionist governments since 1968 have found that out to their cost." [our emphasis]

Of course there is Protestant reaction and nationalism and Catholic reaction and nationalism. We have attempted here to sketch the symbiotic relationship of the two. But our opposition to nationalism, and to all bourgeois ideology, must never blind us to the distinction between the chauvinism of the oppressor and the chauvinism of the oppressed. The working class is indeed obliged to eliminate those features of the Eire state and society which feed fear, obscurantism and reaction among the Protestant working masses.

On Home Rule and Rome Rule

Prevailing illusions about the benign, if bourgeois character of the state of Eire justify some examination of some of that state's particular features—well known, we may be certain, to the frightened and confused Protestants of Ulster.

Eire is more than a nation which happens to have an overwhelming Catholic majority. It may be worth the space to quote article 44.1.2° of the Eire constitution on the relationship of the state to the Church of Rome:

> "The State recognises the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens."

On the family:

> "41.2.2°—The State shall, therefore, endeavor to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.
>
> "41.3.2° —No law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage."

Eire has the dubious distinction, therefore, to be one of the few places in the world prohibiting divorce, going even so far as to prohibit marriage between partners one of whom was legally divorced in another country (like Britain and Ulster)!

An event described by Liam de Paor in his excellent book Divided Ulster serves to illustrate the sort of thing in Eire which powerfully aids the Orange movement in whipping up anti-Catholic hysteria among Protestant workers. In 1950-51 occurred a scandal, widely publicized in the North but also in the South, in which the Minister of Health, a Dr. Browne, was forced to resign under strong pressure from the bishops and subsequently published the correspondence relating to his "Mother and Child Health Service" scheme which had aroused the intense opposition of both the hierarchy and his own party. The published correspondence revealed not only the predictable views of the hierarchy on sex education, the

family, and public health care in general, but also the view of the then Prime Minister, Mr. Costello, who stated in a letter to Dr. Browne:

> "...I understand that you have not replied to His Grace's letter. I am afraid you do not appear to realise the serious implications of the views expressed in that letter, since you have, by advertisement and otherwise, continued to publicise the scheme to which objections have been taken. Such action might well seem to be defiance of the Hierarchy....
>
> "I have no doubt that all my colleagues and, in particular, yourself would not be party to any proposals affecting moral questions which would or might come into conflict with the definite teaching of the Catholic Church."

This particular affair served not only to provide much grist for the propaganda mills of the Orange sectaries on the religious question, but also gave the working-class Protestants a glimpse of the sort of public health service—if any at all—they would enjoy under Green rule.

Eire's book censorship is fairly well known; the list of banned books includes the works of Ireland's best-known twentieth century author, James Joyce. Contraception, of course, is officially non-existent.

But saying this is not to deny that the primary oppression in Ulster is that visited by the Protestants (including many Protestant workers) upon the Catholics; that this chauvinism was skillfully nurtured for centuries from London for its imperialist ends; and that the oppression of the Catholics in the North feeds Green Toryism among the Catholic masses even more than Green Toryism inflames the Protestants. Marxists in Ulster dare not evade their primary responsibility at home to solidarize in all ways including militarily with the struggles of the Catholics for equal rights. To justify a betrayal of this elementary duty by oblique references to the "defences" of the Protestant masses without pointing out that such "defences" have verged on pogrom—which is why the Catholics originally welcomed British troops—represents an extreme case of accomodation to the backwardness of one's own working class.

Black nationalism in the United States, even of the relatively honest and independent Black Panthers, has undoubtedly strengthened Wallaceism among the white workers and petty bourgeoisie. But we do not equate the chauvinism, the obscurantist delusions of the black nationalist movement with white racism—although we fight against both. It may even be true that most white workers will not be won to a program of common class struggle until the oppressed blacks prove to them that such is their perspective; the Ulster Protestants may not slough off their chauvinism until the Catholic workers in Ulster and Eire abandon all their bourgeois-clerical illusions—but it is not the job of Marxists to prolong the grip of sectarian chauvinism on the consciousness of relatively privileged workers by rationalizing their chauvinism!

The "main enemy" of the Protestant workers is not the Catholic capitalist class. It is their "own," Protestant and British, capitalist class and its petty-bourgeois defenders! All the capitalists are enemies of all workers everywhere, but the main battle of workers in one nation must always be against their own bourgeoisie—only thus do they offer to their class brothers abroad a serious promise of their internationalism, that they do not stand with their own capitalists, masking their stand with class-struggle phrases, against the workers of other countries.

A revolutionary policy in Ireland as everywhere must begin "at home." For southern Ireland, a struggle must be fought first and foremost against the bourgeoisie and its religious-national trappings there. Only a Leninist-Trotskyist party in the South which has proven its complete independence of clerical reaction and the nationalist fantasies in which Ireland abounds can win the support of the Protestant workers and the British working class as a whole. The Protestant workers must, as a minimal gesture of good faith to the Ulster Catholics and all Irish workers, give unstinting military support to the demands of the Catholics for equal rights, while maintaining the sharpest criticism of that movement's narrow limitations.

Ireland will remain tottering for the foreseeable but not indefinite future, as it has since 1969, on the brink of a revolutionary crisis, lacking only the subjective factor, the Leninist vanguard party. The Irish struggle could be the spark of proletarian revolution in the British Isles and Europe—it nearly was before—or the Irish resistance may once again, through its own nationally circumscribed conceptions, fall to misguided heroism, and another dramatic failure of primitive zeal in capitalism's last years.

American leftists infatuated with "struggle" devoid of program would do well to look at Ireland today. Ireland has not lacked for heroic struggle—but the end result is the present one—a sectarian client state of British imperialism in the North and a scarcely less naked client state in the South, mired in the "ould sod" of ignorance and clerical reaction.

Neither essential policy can be carried on without the creation of an Irish movement dedicated to rebuilding the Fourth International—the struggle to assimilate and propagate the bitter revolutionary lessons of the past half century. Such a section will face the duty to combat both the revisionism of the unstable, contending sections of the United Secretariat and the Healyite English SLL, whose limitless opportunism tempered by thuggery has earned them a reputation merited previously only by Stalinists. On the level of mass work, the principal task of Marxists in Ireland in the near future will have to be politically destroying the IRA in both its wings, while—and by means of—giving them full support against the armies, courts and internment camps of Britain, Ulster and Eire.

The fighters in the Irish resistance, first and foremost the men and women of the IRA, can find their place on the proletariat's side in the Irish and British revolutions only if they are won to Leninism by a section of the reconstructed Fourth International in Britain and Ireland. The alternative is intensified sectarian conflict and the assured victory for British and all European capitalism in a barely refurbished, perhaps newly dismembered, Irish client state.

Marxists must restrict their support, even critical support, to groups in the Irish struggle which support the main thrust of each of the linked demands:

FOR A SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH ISLES. FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE CELTIC FRINGE.

DOWN WITH MASS TERRORISM, NOT ONLY THE ORANGE BUT ALSO THE GREEN!

FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC ULSTER, THE ENGLISH OUT! FOR THE UNIFICATION OF IRELAND IN A COMPLETELY SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC IRISH STATE; THEREFORE NEITHER ORANGE NOR GREEN BUT A WORKERS REPUBLIC! ■

SDS in Rightward Plunge

The rightward motion of Progressive Labor and SDS continues to deepen. Backing off from its earlier impulse toward a hard if elemental class-conscious stand, PL/SDS has turned toward accomodation to the "peace" popular front, to the SWP-dominated right wing of the women's liberation movement, and to lowest-level liberal moralizing exemplified in SDS's current anti-racist textbook campaign. The latter single-issue orientation is the prime focus of the SDS National Convention Against Racism held on March 30 through April 2 at Harvard University.

Even in its pro-working-class days, the PL-dominated Worker-Student Alliance SDS was distinguished by low-level demands (non-slip mats for cafeteria workers, etc.) and by a studied refusal to acknowledge its socialist politics even when asked. Now SDS abandons even its subjective, moralizing and parochial concern for a section of the working class (campus workers) in favor of subjective, moralizing and parochial appeal to the academic allies of the liberal bourgeoisie. The anti-racist textbook campaign focuses on racism as "the main way people are oppressed today" [New Left Notes flyer, 6 November 1971]. The main oppression in capitalist society, and the root of all special oppression, is wage slavery, but the current campaign steers clear of this issue out of fear of being denounced as socialist.

Moreover, as the name indicates, the anti-racist textbook campaign does not even focus on the most significant and pervasive expressions of racism in American society, but rather on the threat posed by conservative academic ideologues like Shockley and Herrnstein to the liberal "anti-racist" academics who oppose the new theories of inherent black inferiority but who support the same system as do the neo-racists. SDS' campaign could at best attract the sympathy of academic liberals, but it cannot alleviate in the least the miserable conditions imposed upon blacks in the United States.

PL's idealism and academic fixation lead it to maintain that white racism flows from the belief that blacks are genetically inferior. In reality, white racism and its accompanying belief in black inferiority are the reflection and attempted justification in white consciousness of the actual material oppression which blacks are forced to endure. Better-off social groups always tend in bourgeois society to regard with fear and contempt those less well-off, especially when they see a struggle on the part of the latter for an equality which seems to threaten their own share of the limited capitalist "pie." Only a higher sense of class interest and loyalty in the working class—the understanding that even the limited gains of sections of the class are endangered by the special oppression of other groups, the large "reserve army of labor," etc.—can counter racism on a mass scale.

Perhaps the most ominous feature of PL/SDS's idealist single-issuism is the solution proposed to end racism in the academic world: pressure on university administrations, with their direct ties to the ruling class, to fire racist professors. Reactionary and racist ideologues must be combatted, but by the students, faculty, and workers demanding student-teacher-campus worker control of the schools. To demand that the administration take up the task is to invite the liberal and even the conservative bourgeoisie to cut the budgets, tear up union contracts and restrict enrollment on the convenient excuse of a campaign against racism, as in the New York Teachers' Strike of 1968. Needless to say such measures only confirm the fears of whites and drive them to support of racist demagogues who warned them all along that the blacks and liberals would destroy their jobs and futures.

The Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth place the following demands on the SDS Convention:

I. This conference condemn and reverse SDS' concentration on the anti-racist textbook campaign as a conscious adaptation to academic liberalism, and reaffirm an anti-imperialist, pro-working-class orientation by openly declaring itself socialist.

II. This conference condemn and reverse SDS' support for NPAC and SMC and its demonstrations as representing an alliance with the liberal wing of the ruling class.

III. The main form the oppression of blacks takes is their concentration at the bottom of American society. The struggle against racism must concentrate on fighting concrete acts and practices of racial oppression, rather than simply opposing racism as a pervasive social attitude. This struggle must necessarily be linked to that of the working class as a whole and to the fight for socialism. ■

RCY Class Series On the Russian Question

The class series will deal with the degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution and the class nature of the Soviet Union, as well as the struggle to rebuild the party of the proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R. on the program of political revolution which will restore workers' democracy and proletarian internationalism.

Classes will be held at Columbia University at 7:30 p. m. on alternate Tuesdays, beginning on March 28th. For more information, and to get a reading list for the class, write: RCY, Box 454, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, or call: (212)831-3004 or (212)925-2426.

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Workers League, Labor Committee Guard SWP-Liberal Left Flank

tion..." and which proposes schemes for "reconverting" war industry into "productive" endeavor —which in the absence of the struggle for proletarian revolution is as utopian as the Biblical exhortation to beat swords into plowshares. Their elaborate taxation proposal, with its infatuation with state debts places them clearly as disciples of Proudhon, not of Marx. As Engels said of the Proudhonist fetish with debts and taxes:

> "'State debts!' The working class knows that it did not make them and when it comes to power it will leave the payment of them to those who contracted them... 'Taxes!' A matter that interests the bourgeoisie very much but the worker only very little. What the worker pays in taxes goes in the long run into the cost of production of labour power and must therefore be compensated for by the capitalist. All these things which are held up to us here as highly important questions for the working class are in reality of essential interest only to the bourgeois, and still more so to the petty bourgeois; and, despite Proudhon, we maintain that the working class is not called upon to safeguard the interests of these classes."
>
> —Engels, The Housing Question, Part One: How Proudhon Solves the Housing Question

Further, the NCLC has nothing more to say about the Vietnam war than that the U. S. should get out "immediately and completely," a program they share with McGovern-Muskie and the SWP. Instead of exposing the futility of parades and proposing a means for the working class to fight imperialist war (for example by strike action) the NCLC indulges in ethical exhortation for NPAC and SMC to assume their "inescapable moral responsibilities" to become "embryonic soviets." The NCLC rhetoric reeks of moralism and a middle-class, reformist, bloodless conception of class struggle.

The Workers League's Bulletin report on the SMC conference asserts that a WL spokesman said: "Never before has there been an anti-war conference that was in such open collaboration with the Stalinists and liberals." But the WL/YS (which always "takes sides" on matters like the New York police "strike" of last year and the military moves of the Indian bourgeoisie—i.e. supporting both) refused to "take sides" and abstained on the SL/RCY motion to exclude the political representatives of the capitalists from the conference and the anti-war movement. When the WL/YS submitted a motion condemning the Versailles Congress as Stalinist and a betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution, the SL/RCY submitted an amendment extending the condemnation to the bourgeois popfront SMC conference. The WL opposed the amendment, thus itself "taking sides" with both Stalinism and the liberal bourgeoisie—in the SMC. This stand exposed their motion on the Versailles Conference as cheap phrasemongering. By refusing to condemn a bourgeois-dominated popular front—and then calling on it to condemn a Stalinist-dominated conference—the WL motion amounted to red-baiting and Shachtmanite Stalinophobic posturing. Likewise the WL calls on the SMC to condemn the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies. "Trotskyists" could offer no greater assistance to the Stalinists in retaining the loyalty of subjectively revolutionary workers than by seeking a bloc with the class enemy to denounce Stalinism! The bourgeoisie must be thrown out of the anti-war movement precisely so that the working class vanguard can struggle against the Stalinist class traitors, untainted by the hypocritical "anti-Stalinism" (anti-communism) of the bourgeoisie!

The main thrust of the WL/YS resolution was its call to "support the SWP election campaign." Uncritical, unconditional, the WL swallows whole a campaign whose central thrust is social patriotic pacifism, union-busting, "community control," "independent" nationalist Chicano and black parties which would constitute obstacles to building a labor party, petty-bourgeois feminism, student vanguardism, etc. The campaign is devoid of working-class content and is indistinguishable from the campaign of a bourgeois politician like Shirley Chisholm, who is also for community control, feminism, pacifism, etc. If the SWP is chasing after the various Youth for Imperialism the WL/YS runs right behind them.

The Bulletin report quotes a YS member as stating: "We are mobilizing the youth separate from the Stalinists and the capitalists to take power." This is sheer youth-vanguardist nonsense that would make even Ernest Mandel cringe. Classes take power, not generations. Youth for McGovern, Youth for Lindsay, Youth for Muskie are youth, too, and highly conscious of it besides. The "method" of the WL/YS is eclectic, opportunist, idealist pragmatism.

We say: Smash the class-collaborationist SMC and NPAC—destroy the campaign hall for the politicians of imperialism! The NCLC and WL/YS—which denounce the SWP YSA while endorsing or equivocating on the class purposes of its creation, NPAC, SMC—must be defeated as left supporters of the structure the SWP has built for the bourgeoisie. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 15¢

No. 8 May 1972

DEFEND THE DRV-NLF ADVANCE

For Class War Against Imperialism's War

United Press International

Puppet Troops Rush Helicopter at Anloc Seeking Escape from DRV Drive.

North Vietnamese troops have mounted a major assault on the puppet forces of the South Vietnamese, thus far successful as the South Vietnamese forces have disintegrated in the face of the attack. The New York Times of 25 April reports Communist seizure of more than half of three provinces and quotes a South Vietnamese officer's statement that their defeat at Tancanh was "one of the worst days yet for the South Vietnamese forces." But war is a continuation of politics by other means, and the military operation reflects the contradictions inherent in its Stalinist leadership. On one hand the political aim of the drive is to force the U.S. back to the conference table for the hammering out of a new "Geneva Accords"; on the other hand, the assault has materially advanced the cause of the Vietnamese revolution insofar as it has crippled the U.S.-supported South Vietnamese forces. The Stalinists of Hanoi and the NLF are furthermore careful not to embarrass the liberals as the 1972 elections approach, and concentrate primarily on exposing the folly of Nixon's "Vietnamization" program.

For United Communist Defense

Although certainly not intended as such by the Stalinists, one effect of their offensive is to expose the utter bankruptcy and uselessness to any but the liberal bourgeoisie of the mainstream U.S. anti-war movement. Nixon did not hesitate to order massive bombings of the North in an attempt to halt the drive; that his B-52 raids have so far not stopped it is no credit to the bourgeois-led anti-war movement. More than anything else, the Vietnamese now need massive modern military assistance from the "communist" bloc of deformed workers states and its defenders everywhere. Such assistance can be assured only with a political revolution against the respective nationalist-bureaucratic ruling elites of the deformed workers states—a revolution that will be based in large measure upon the felt need of the workers for dependable defense against imperialist aggression. Thus the perspective of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies means a stand unequivocally in favor of communist victory in all Indochina and against the bureaucratic horse-trading with imperialism which sabotages that victory. In this the U.S. anti-war movement serves as an active obstacle through its subordination to the ambitions of bourgeois politicians, its hypocritical pacifism and social patriotism, its reliance on impotent marches rather than labor anti-war strikes, and its refusal to support communist victory throughout Indochina. An extremely heartening event in Washington, D.C., in which demonstrators picketed the Soviet Embassy for failure to provide ample assistance to the Vietnamese, was scorned by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) when asked its opinion of the action. Of course it could not participate, with its SWP-engineered captivity to the imperialist bourgeoisie!

North Vietnam Endangered

The Vietnamese military successes have been achieved at great potential cost to North Vietnam: much of its precious weaponry had to be moved south in support of the drive. They still lack the modern SAM-3s

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Break the Two-Party Stranglehold!

The recent uproar over Nixon's non-fulfillment of major campaign promises repeats the seemingly endless cycle in American politics of switching from one capitalist administration to another and back again while the exploitation and oppression of the working masses stand unchallenged and unchanged.

The peculiarity of the present election is only this: the Nixon government now thrashes about for solutions at a time when the U.S. has lost its unchallenged hegemony in the imperialist world, and when discontent over Vietnam, the economic crisis, racial oppression, etc. has reached massive proportions.

The widespread current discontent provides the workers' movement the precondition to break from the bankrupt, bourgeois two-party system and forge a party of the working class based upon the trade unions around the Transitional Program. But the recent avalanche of bourgeois and "left" assaults on Nixon's policies and exposures of his regime are carefully calculated to channel the revulsion of the masses into the Democratic Party. The bourgeois anti-Nixon crusaders expect the workers to forget their very recent experiences under the Democrats. It was the Democratic Party of McGovern, Chisholm, Abzug and Dellums that first involved the U.S. directly in Vietnam and escalated the war to its height under Johnson. The Democrats are a savage, racist party of imperialism which is even more useful to the capitalists than the Republicans, particularly in times of crisis, because the masses retain more illusions about it. The ruling class has relied every time on the Democrats to drag the workers into imperialist war.

Engels pointed out long ago that elections provide an index of the consciousness of the proletariat. While the votes for both Wallace and McGovern are undoubtedly "protest votes" reflecting disillusionment with Nixon's key policies, the election of any of the bourgeois candidates can only mean continued reliance on the ruling class to solve

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George Morris and the CP—

PAGE 4 **RECORD OF BETRAYAL**

NEW YORK TAXI SWINDLE

Fight Van Arsdale's Sellout with a Class Struggle Program!

For the past sixteen months members of the New York City Taxi Drivers Union have worked without a ratified contract. Drivers continue to work under an agreement—substantially worse than the last contract—which was negotiated behind closed doors by the fleet owners, the city and the Van Arsdale union bureaucracy. Every regressive feature of the present "contract" was acquiesced to or actually initiated by Van Arsdale. For example, in December 1970 he proposed to the fleet owners an "apprenticeship program" under which the new drivers would be hired at 42% of the meter as opposed to the 49% that all drivers got under the last contract. New drivers would work 200 days a year for five years before they were entitled to the 49%. Drivers who didn't work their 200 days would remain indefinitely at 42%. The fleet owners responded to this bonanza—amounting to a 15% pay cut—with an enormous recruiting drive, hiring all new drivers after March 1971 at 42%.

Part of Van Arsdale's agreement was a staggering 48% fare increase—proclaimed a major victory by the union leadership. Whatever victory the fare increase meant for the fleet owners, for the drivers it meant shrinking business and smaller tips as a taxi ride became a luxury too expensive for working-class and even many middle-class people. One justification the fleet owners used to sugar-coat the increase for the drivers was the "dime." Under the last contract the fleet owners paid 5¢ for every fare out of their cut of the meter into the union health and welfare fund. Under the current "contract" the fleet owners pay 5¢ while the driver also contributes 5¢. Since there is no ratified contract, however, the money goes into the bosses' banks rather than into the union fund. When the union rations out benefits it must go begging to the owners for a bit of the $11-million-a-year dime rakeoff. As under previous contracts, part-time drivers (more than half the industry) pay the union dues and the dime but get no benefits.

Rank-and-File Coalition

Opposition to the Van Arsdale leadership within the union is centered primarily in the "Rank-and-File Coalition." The Coalition has justly demanded the elimination of the 42% feature of the "contract," the return of all the dimes to the union, payment by the owners of all benefits and proportional benefits for the part-timers. But that's all. The Coalition has refused to oppose the fare increase. It seeks to increase the drivers' share in the present piece-work system (to 60% of the meter) but does not fight against the system itself, which forces drivers to drive like maniacs, compete ruthlessly with fellow drivers, and refuse service to outlying areas. Only the replacement of the piece-work system by an hourly wage can improve these conditions. Just as teamsters fought for and won the abolition of the payment-by-mile system in favor of the hourly wage, so the taxi drivers must fight to replace the piece-work commission with an hourly wage, including full payment for time spent "shaping-up" and for time lost due to breakdowns and repairs.

Unionize the Gypsies, Expropriate Fleet Owners!

The Coalition refuses to take any position on the "gypsies" or the medallion system. In New York City it cost $14,000 to get a medallion which entitles one to drive a "Yellow Cab," cruise the streets and pick up passengers. In ghetto areas where Yellow Cabs were seldom to be seen, "gypsy" cabs and fleets were organized for the price of a "Car Service" sticker. The fare increase won many regular Yellow Cab patrons over to the gypsies, and the economic crisis not only pitted Yellow Cab drivers against each other with new intensity but also pitted the gypsies against the Yellows. Hostility increased when the non-unionized gypsies scabbed on the Yellow Cab strike last year. The antagonism reached such a pitch late last year that some gypsies were physically attacking Yellow Cab drivers who ventured into ghetto areas. An ominous contributing cause to the gulf between Yellows and gypsies is something which leftists inclined to capitulate to simple union patriotism would prefer to ignore—that is, racism. This hard fact makes more imperative the common organization of Yellow and gypsy drivers. The racism feeds the antagonisms and makes a common union more difficult to achieve; reciprocally, the counterposed interests of the two groups flowing from the lack of common struggle feeds the racism.

Cops Out of the Taxi Industry!

Medallions are issued by the Police Department which supervises and regulates the industry and licenses and screens drivers. The police armed fist of the state serves the taxi owners gratis as managers, foremen and personnel directors. The Yellow Cab industry must be taken out of the hands of the Police Department and the fleet owners. The medallion system must be abolished. The City should take over the Yellow and gypsy fleets without compensation to fleet owners but compensating the owner-drivers fully for whatever they have paid toward a medallion and cancelling their outstanding debts. The entire industry, gypsy and Yellow, must be unionized under a closed shop with a central union hiring hall and dispatch system, with union regulation of safety standards, working conditions, hack lines, etc. Hourly wages should be set at parity (at least $4 an hour) with other transit workers. A full pension program after twenty years should be established. To combat unemployment—falling most heavily on blacks and Latin minorities—we must struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. To fight inflation we demand a full cost-of-living escalator clause.

Phony Militancy and the Phony Left

At the April 1971 membership meeting the drivers greeted Van Arsdale's attempt to shove his rotten contract down their throats by physically driving him from the meeting hall. This time Van Arsdale prepared for the semi-annual membership meeting of 12 April 1972 by organizing isolated, sporadic "wildcat" actions around the single issue of the 42% commission—one sure issue to pit older against new drivers. In the scattered wildcats some drivers lost a week's pay as drivers in other garages picked up extra business. Van Arsdale hoped that these strikes would divide and demoralize the ranks so they would accept his settlement as the best obtainable. Despite this tactic aimed at deflecting the drivers' dissatisfaction away from the union bureaucracy, Van Arsdale was unable to control the April 12 meeting, which broke up in violent disorder. A Rank-and-File Coalition agenda motion (to limit Van Arsdale's speaking time and move on to discussion of how to obtain a decent contract) was ruled to have lost despite clear majority support, and goons supporting the leadership started hurling chairs. Despite the Rank-and-File's urging to continue the meeting, it ended in pandemonium. Only a city-wide strike over the entire contract can defeat the greed of the fleet owners and the treachery of Van Arsdale.

As president of the Central Labor Council, Van Arsdale calls for demonstrations against the wage freeze and inflation while he gives the fleet owners a 48% fare hike and his own members a 15% pay cut. Like Meany's exit from the Pay Board, Van Arsdale's token demonstrations are only stunts to build support for a Democratic presidential candidate who will follow the same policy toward labor as Nixon. While we must demand that labor quit the Pay Board, we must express no confidence that Meany and his ilk will not climb eagerly back on the Pay Board—especially under a Democratic administration.

Both Democratic "friends of labor" and the Republicans voted together to give Nixon the power to freeze wages, break the dock strike, etc. Labor can fight the wage-freezing, strike-breaking union-busting policies of both parties only by organizing its own party, a labor party. Such a party would be based on the trade unions and on the struggle to replace the friends of big business like Van Arsdale and Meany with a leadership dedicated to the interests of workers as a class. Every governmental body from the Pay Board to the Taxi Commission, from the cops to the courts, is used against the workers in any conflict between labor and capital. Workers must fight for a government that serves our interests—a workers' government.

The "revolutionary democratic socialist" International Socialists and the "revolutionary communist" Progressive Labor Party have tailed uncritically after the thoroughly reformist program of the Rank-and-File Coalition. The Workers League went one better, tailing after Van Arsdale and the fleet owners in opposing the legalization of gypsies and in defending the cop-run medallion system! (see Bulletin, 10 April 1972) The WL stand is hardly surprising given its support a year ago to the New York police "strike" and its enthusiasm for police career ambitions among taxi drivers (see 31 January Bulletin, "Youth Demonstrate to Protest Freeze of Police Hiring"). For all the verbal enthusiasm expressed by the WL lately over prison rebellions, its position on police as "workers" logically would lead them to consider prison guards as a legitimate part of the labor movement. On the taxi issue, the WL's real appetites are equally apparent: in order to appeal to white workers on the basis of backwardness and hostility to the black "gypsy" drivers, the WL supports the cop-run medallion system which screens out ex-convicts from employment in the Yellow taxi industry! The fake lefts like the fake union leaders must be swept aside in the struggle for workers power.

ABOLISH THE 42% COMMISSION. Return the "dime." Fleet owners to pay all benefits. Proportional benefits for part-timers.

REPLACE COMMISSION SYSTEM WITH AN HOURLY WAGE. For a shorter work week with no loss in pay to fight unemployment. For a full cost-of-living escalator to fight inflation. Roll back the fare.

UNIONIZE THE GYPSIES. Expropriate the fleets. Abolish the medallion system and Taxi Commission. For a union hiring hall and union control of safety and working conditions.

FOR A CITY-WIDE STRIKE TO FIGHT FOR A BETTER CONTRACT. For union democracy. Replace Van Arsdale with a leadership based on a militant class-struggle program.

FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE WAGE FREEZE. Break with the parties of big business, for a labor party based on the unions; toward a workers' government.

FOR LABOR STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR—for immediate unconditional withdrawal of U. S. from Southeast Asia—Victory to the Vietnamese revolution. ■

IS Prepares to Desert Vietnamese Struggle

The North Vietnamese offensive of the last month has put ostensible socialist groups to a test of their revolutionary worth. international revolutionary solidarity demands the fullest military support to the victory of the DRV/NLF offensive, despite its bureaucratic leadership which endangers that victory. The international Socialists have failed the test miserably and exposed themselves as anti-communist social-democrats.

For a number of years the IS (then called the Independent Socialist Committees) under Hal Draper refused to call for immediate unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam. Ann Draper, then a leading ISC trade unionist, voted with the CP for a "Negotiations Now" position in Trade Union SANE. This at least was consistent with the ISC's Shachtmanite theories regarding the Stalinist countries as a new kind of exploitative regime in many ways worse than capitalism. (Shachtman himself by the 1960's was defending the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the invasion of Cuba!) But as the war dragged on, the slogan "Military victory to the NLF" became popular on the left, and the IS, adapting itself accordingly, picked up the slogan. In its own terms, this meant taking the side of an imperialist bloc (Soviet Union—China—North Vietnam) in an inter-imperialist war—but no matter, since for the IS popularity comes before politics.

Today, however, the slogan becomes more embarrassing to the IS since the war is obviously no longer being waged primarily by the NLF guerrilla forces but rather by the North Vietnamese army with direct Soviet involvement. So the IS is pulling back. Formally, the position statement in every issue of Workers Power still stands: "...in Vietnam we support the victory of the NLF over the U. S. and its puppets." But in a series of recent propagandistic efforts the slogan does not appear.

The IS editorial, "Nixon, Mao Deal Over Asia" (Workers Power, 3-16 March) ended with a section titled "For the Third Camp." The section stated in part, "To the degree that the U. S.-China detente means a short-term relaxation of tensions in the area, it should be welcomed." No mention of the need for "Military victory to the NLF," no denunciation of the Chinese stab-in-the-back to the DRV/NLF. "Relaxation of tensions" is an imperialist euphemism for a rotten deal with the Stalinist bureaucracy controlling the workers states to halt the class struggle.

In its article "Thieu Regime Totters," (Workers Power, 14-27 April) the IS again "forgot" to call for victory to the DRV/NLF. Instead, the article advertised the SWP's April 22 popular front demonstration and boasted that LBJ was forced to stop the bombing in 1968 "because of the failures of his policies in Vietnam and the strength of the anti-war movement at home." In reality it was the 1968 Tet offensive which shook Johnson, not the powerless pop-front protest movement of the SWP and IS.

In Los Angeles the IS has explicitly demonstrated its abandonment of the Vietnamese struggle. The latest IS leaflet is headlined "All Out—April 22" and ends with the statement "We stand in opposition to all forms of class society, both capitalist and bureaucratic 'Communist,' and in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people." But what about the North Vietnamese offensive? The leaflet says nothing of that! The next step—critical support of the "democratic" capitalist side—is not far away.

By coincidence, the IS had planned a forum in Los Angeles on Cuba on April 21, when the war issue was sweeping the UCLA campus. The Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth attended to discuss the IS theories of Stalinism. The speaker refrained from a class characterization of the Cuban state. When a Spartacist member raised the question of the class nature of the Cuban state, linking the issue with the IS leaflet on Vietnam and demanding, "Do you

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The Origins of World War III

The current military and economic realignment of world forces taking place in the wake of the collapse of undisputed U. S. hegemony among the rival imperialisms brings again to the forefront the great question of the attitude of the working-class movement toward inter-imperialist war. The six-part class series now in progress will examine the causes of the two previous World Wars and the strategies advanced by the various currents of the socialist movement: those which led to betrayals of the working class and the strategies of the Bolsheviks calling for irreconcilable class struggle in wartime as well as in "peace"-time.

RCY CLASS SERIES

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... Against Imperialism's War

(which the Soviet bureaucracy has eagerly bestowed upon bourgeois Egypt to gain advantage in the Near East), which could clean much of the U. S. bombing offensive from the Vietnamese skies. The danger of strangulation of North Vietnam, the most secure base of the Vietnamese revolution, increases in proportion to the relative Soviet successes in diplomatic maneuvering with the capitalist states in the Near East, Europe and with Japan. If domestic political imperatives prevent an emboldened U.S. from attempting a major MacArthur-style invasion of a lightly-defended North Vietnam at the Red River delta, the possibility is very real that the Soviet Union may feel its stakes in Vietnam are not worth the risk and abandon grudging aid for complete and open betrayal by acquiescing to a maritime blockade. The Spartacist League pointed early to the necessity, through political revolution to unseat the bureaucracy, for a united communist bloc stretching from East Berlin to Hanoi, as it warned also of the real danger of the U.S.-China detente in which the Vietnamese would be the probable first victims. In the mid-1960's the SL demonstrated in front of the Soviet UN mission in New York under the slogan "Soviet Nuclear Shield Must Cover DRV, China" to expose the Russian Stalinists' abject betrayal of elementary solidarity against imperialism.

Bureaucratic Zigzags in China

The developments in China over the past half-dozen years, especially edifying to left-wing Maoists, provide an excellent illustration of the methods of bureaucracy in a workers state in the face of imperialist threat. A split developed in 1965-66 in response to the fear of U. S. invasion of China felt by all wings of the bureaucracy in the light of the dramatic U. S. escalation in Vietnam. Liu Shao-Chi, Chou En-Lai and others appear to have argued within the nationalist bureaucratic framework for an attempt at a limited detente with the Soviet Union to increase military aid to Vietnam in response to the U. S. assault which both wings recognized was aimed primarily against China. Mao and Lin Piao held that China could hold off both the U.S. and the Soviet Union through "peoples war" and alliances with the "Third World." Shortly after the purge of Liu and his supporters in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" the Maoist thesis was shattered as China became increasingly isolated even in the "Third World," especially after the entire bureaucracy's policy in Indonesia had led to a rightist coup and the massacre of hundreds of thousands of unprepared cadre of the pro-Chinese PKI. The bureaucratic-utopian notion that, in effect, B-52's could be stopped by peasant bamboo spears gave way with the purge of Lin and others to moves toward a policy of leaning on the U. S. against the Soviet Union. The necessity to remove the bureaucratic excrescence upon the workers states was never more clearly apparent; the reality of Chinese policy provides a wretched contrast to the often revolutionary and anti-bureaucratic impulses of Maoists outside China. They must either degenerate into open apologists for a Chinese version of the infamous Nazi-Stalin collaboration, or discover the road of Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

—For immediate unconditional U. S. withdrawal from indochina!

—Military victory to the DRV/NLF; For the Vietnamese socialist revolution!

—For labor strikes against the war!

—Smash the wage controls!

—Build a labor party, struggle for a workers government! ■

Fight for Socialism, Down with Liberalism!

RCY Walks out of SDS

One hundred supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League, walked out of the March 30-April 2 SDS National Convention chanting "Fight for Socialism, Down with Liberalism!"

Since SDS' break from New Left populism in 1969 in favor of a subjectively revolutionary pro-working-class orientation, RCY (formerly RMC) and the Spartacist League had been the Trotskyist left opposition within SDS, fighting the rightward drift of SDS under Progressive Labor leadership. RMC had consistently posed the need for a non-exclusionist, openly socialist youth organization based on a working-class program of transitional demands, counterposed to PL's economist, social-worker approach. RMC's principled struggle within SDS drew around it many former PL supporters. The founding of RCY as the youth section of the Spartacist League was in large measure due to the experience and cadres won by RMC by its political struggle in SDS.

SDS' political degeneration, in retreat from the positions taken at the 1969 split, was qualitatively deepened in the period preceding the last convention. PL's own right turn in favor of class collaboration was reflected in a new, profoundly liberal line for SDS: the "Anti-Racist Textbook" campaign. RCY denounced the deliberate separation of the issue of racism from capitalism and the class struggle. SDS' new single-issue orientation abandons the struggle against the matertal oppression and exploitation of blacks and other minorities in favor of empty moralism in alliance with academic liberals—the ideologues for the liberal wing of the ruling class—against academic reactionaries.

In between SDS convention sessions—during which RCY intervened to present and argue for its counter-proposal "Out of the Classroom and into the Class Struggle!"—RCY members attended an expanded RCY National Committee plenum.

Read the RCY NEWSLETTER
May-June Issue on SDS Split

BOOK REVIEW:

George Morris and the CP—

RECORD OF BETRAYAL

REBELLION IN THE UNIONS, a handbook for rank and file action, by George Morris; New Outlook Publishers, 1971.

—•—

The unwary student or trade unionist reading Rebellion in the Unions might not see it as a wholesale attempt at distortion designed to hamstring rank-and-file opposition and tie it to the very labor bureaucracy and ruling class it seeks to fight. Yet under the guise of "revitalizing" the labor movement, long-time Communist Party "labor editor" George Morris sows confusion, and more.

His main proclaimed concern is the struggles against class collaboration, anti-communism and racism in the labor movement. He bemoans the labor bureaucracy's links with the CIA, its reliance on the capitalist state to bail it out of difficulties with the ranks, and support for the "wrong" Democrats in the elections. He rails against Lovestone and Meany and concentrates heavy fire on Joseph A. Beirne, CWA president, as an opponent of strikes and a company unionist in the Thirties. The "progressive" veneer is pretty thin, however; throughout this incredibly inconsistent and self-contradictory book, Morris covers up both his own past and the record of CP betrayals, slanders revolutionary critics and builds the basis for a repetition of the very evils he opposes.

Though you would never know it from the blurb on Morris' previous works or from the book itself, Morris authored another work in 1945 with a different slant but the same method—a pamphlet entitled "The Trotskyite 5th Column in the Labor Movement," in which he attempted to demonstrate that the "Trotskyite disrupters" (who wanted to continue the class struggle and fought the CP's patriotic "no-strike" policy) were the direct agents of the Nazis. A comparison of the two "works"—of the CP's record then and its goals now—is even more instructive than the contradictions of Rebellion in the Unions itself.

Morris denounces the class collaborationism of "most" trade union bureaucrats that led them to support a war in Vietnam until it became too unpopular for them. "If the policy is to make the trade unions partners to capitalism,-then it inevitably leads to partnership with imperialism and all its crimes against the people at home and abroad." He cites the support of the British labor aristocracy to British imperialism in the last century. He condemns the "American Century" and the drive "to line up the unions for the 'world leadership' march" which led to red-baiting after World War II, claiming that the CP opposed a "labor aristocracy" and its identification with U.S. imperialism.

Pro-Capitalist, Anti-Strike

In 1945 Morris' tune was a bit different; more like a screech, in fact: "in their attitude to the war, the Trotskyites hardly conceal their anti-war sabotage. Every issue of their weekly paper, the Militant, denounces the Allied powers as 'imperialist'.... To give their splitting and pro-Hitler policy a 'socialist' tone, they shout loudly that management and labor cannot possibly have a joint interest...." As to the post-war drive "to line up the unions" Morris complained, quoting the Militant, that the "Trotskyites" were trying to wreck that, too: "Allied unity has always been distasteful to them."

The Communist Party was the most consistent class collaborationist force in the labor movement before, during and after World War II (except for a brief interlude after the Hitler-Stalin pact). The diplomatic needs of the counter-revolutionary ruling elite in the Soviet Union dictated and still dictate the politics of the Communist Parties. After surrendering the German workers to the Nazis without firing a shot in the early Thirties, the Stalinist bureaucracy called for diplomatic alliances against fascism with the "democratic" imperialist countries. To please the "democratic" imperialists, who were panting in anticipation of Hitler's inevitable drive to destroy the Soviet Union, Stalin ordered his CPs in those countries to quell the class struggle as much as possible and collaborate. Since the CPs had become instruments of the Stalinist bureaucracy rather than of the international working class massive class struggles in Spain, France, th U. S. and elsewhere were deprived of revolution ary leadership and led to the imperialist slaughter as the Stalinists hid their treachery behind the banner of the October revolution.

in the U.S., the CP fought to keep working-class organizations tied to Roosevelt and the Democrats. The party used the selfless organizing zeal of many CPers to provide a left cover for the CIO bureaucrats' efforts to get the confidence of the workers in order to limit the struggle to reformism. During the war the CP was the most ardent advocate of class peace and collaboration. Besides supporting the no-strike pledge to the bitter end, the CP was the only force in the labor movement which outspokenly backed Roosevelt's repeated attempts to impose a vicious labor conscription law (hailed by the Nazis as a trick from their bag). Although labelling the Trotskyists "fascists" for maintaining the Leninist position of class struggle against all the predatory imperialists, the CP consistently forgot to mention that these "Trotskyite fascists" unconditionally defended the Soviet Union throughout the entire war.

in Rebellion, Morris never once even mentions the CP's position on World War II, its total support for the Roosevelt government (including betrayal of blacks to Roosevelt's Dixie-Democrat friends), or its line for class peace after the war as well, to allow the "partnership" of the U. S. and USSR to develop into a permanent division of the world. Earl Browder, since discredited (his name appears nowhere in Morris' book), set Stalin's line for the entire CP, including Morris: "If J. P. Morgan supports this [Anglo-Soviet-American] coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand...we frankly declare that we are ready to cooperate in making capitalism work effectively in the post-war period....We communists are opposed to permitting an explosion of class conflict in our country when the war ends...we are now extending the perspective of national unity for many years into the future" (from the CP's January 1944 National Committee meeting). This should be enough to dispel the notion that the CP's class collaborationism was motivated by the "holy war" united front against fascism; it was solely for the purpose of supporting the Soviet bureaucracy, which wanted nothing better than class peace everywhere in return for capitalist promises of safety within its own borders. This position was taken in the face of the most massive and politically conscious upsurge in U.S. labor history, beginning with the miners' strike of 1943 and culminating in the unparalleled strike wave of 1946. The CP attempted to continue its wartime strikebreaking policy during this strike wave, but was eventually swept up in it itself, in the rear.

When the bourgeoisie, in its drive to institute the "American Century" of U.S. world domination, had to turn on its erstwhile Soviet allies, a campaign of anti-communist hysteria was necessary at home both to subdue the militancy of the labor movement and subordinate it to the new "cold war" foreign policy. In Rebellion, Morris sees the adoption of the cold-war stance by the CIO as a key turning point, which coincided with the beginning of the current class collaborationist policies, and led to red-baiting in the labor movement and later to support for the Vietnam war and all the other well-known evils.

Anti-Communism Nothing New

But this "turn" was really nothing new. It was a shift in line by the trade union bureaucracy of the CIO and AFL in keeping with its thoroughly established policy of toeing the ruling class line on politics and foreign policy. It was a "turn" for the CP—against them—for which they had prepared not only by their class collaboration but by their own red-baiting as well. In 1945, having claimed that "Trotskyites" were no longer a legitimate current in the labor movement and "have been swept out of every decent political or labor organization as so much vermin," Morris ran off at the mouth with examples of "Trotskyite disrupters" popping up everywhere fomenting strikes as in Michigan, where only "an eleventh hour intervention of responsible C. I. O. and A. F. of L. leaders saved the key war state from a disastrous general strike..." etc.

CP Unites with Red-Baiters

in Rebellion, Morris repeatedly counterposes the "progressive" CIO to the "reactionary" AFL until the cold-war "turn" changed all that and paved the way for the 1955 merger sponsored by anti-communists like Arthur Goldberg. Yet at the end of his 1945 pamphlet, Morris appended an article by Thomas J. Flynn, executive assistant to Teamsters international president Daniel J. Tobin, uncritically endorsed in the text and purporting to show how "labor" had learned about the "Trotskyites." After pointing out that "Trotskyites cannot be good union men because they do not believe in the principles of unionism nor do they believe in the American form of government or the American flag," Tobin's flunkey concludes, "The Trotskyites were wrong in Russia. They are wrong in the United States. Fortunately, Trotsky is now dead. Unfortunately, too many of his followers are not."

Daniel J. Tobin was a determined opponent of industrial unionism, one of the most reactionary upholders of old-line craftism in the AFL, and a notorious red-baiter. The opinions in his article appended by Morris flowed from the success of Trotskyists and others in the struggle for militant industrial unionism in the Teamsters union. in the 1934 Minneapolis general strike, led by Trotskyists and others in Drivers Local 544, it was Tobin who red-baited the leadership, giving the cue for "commie scare" to the local bour-

geoisie. The 1934 Minneapolis strike, which coincided with the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the San Francisco general strike, was part of the workers' initial upsurge for industrial unionism. That struggle was anathema to Tobin and others in the old AFL, who fought might and main to reverse the tide. Tobin and the bourgeoisie sustained their persecution of the Minneapolis leaders until Local 544 was finally destroyed and the government had railroaded 18 Trotskyist leaders and unionists to jail for opposing the war (with Tobin's boundless help in supplying "witnesses"). That this wartime "conspiracy" trial laid the foundation for the later cold-war persecution of the CP is an elementary lesson in class politics which the likes of Morris will never learn. To this day, a hallmark of Stalinism is its betrayal of left-wing opponents in the labor movement to the class enemy. The CP supported the first Smith Act jailings (the "Minneapolis 18") as it had earlier supported the passage of the Smith Act, the reactionary law which the government later used against—the CP.

CP Betrays Itself

When the time came to red-bait the CP, the policy of class collaboration extending more than a decade had trained the CP to see surrender as struggle. William Z. Foster, later to replace Browder, had the method well mastered in 1941: "During the past few months reactionaries of all stripes—business-as-usual-ists, open sboppers, fifth columnists—taking advantage of the fact that the trade unions have agreed not to strike during the war, have been delivering a ferocious offensive against workers and their organizations.... If successful, this anti-labor drive would sbarpen the class struggle, weaken national unity, and undermine the whole war effort.... Labor's best protection against such reactionaries is to intensify greatly its war work on every front, to become an ever more dynamic force in our national unity" (Foster, American Trade Unionism, p. 292). The CP mouthed phrases about the dangers of capitulation—and capitulated. At the CIO convention in November 1946, it supported the policy declaration that "we resent and reject the efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." Morris wrote at the time that this was "the long sought-for answer of the CIO" to the demands for a reactionary red purge. The CP "always favored a statement telling the world the CIO isn't Communist," said Morris (Daily Worker, 19 November 1946). Little wonder that when Morris and the CP "fought" anti-communism they lost. Immediately after this declaration, in lockstep with each new cold-war Truman aggression, the purge began, until all the Stalinist-led unions were expelled from the CIO, union militants and "reds" of all stripes driven from their unions and jobs and the labor movement purified for capitalism for more than a generation. The CP fought only where it had bureaucratic control assuring automatic majorities.

Fundamental to the CP's ruin in the unions was its reputation for both undemocratic control and betrayal exemplified by the no-strike pledge. Many workers, demoralized by CP betrayals, regarded the anti-CP aspiring bureaucrats as more militant. Morris excorlates Beirne—correctly—for his company union past. But the CP's policy had saddled unions with a chief characteristic of company unions—the promise not to strike. In unions like the UAW, the NMU, and others the present bureaucracies seized control largely on the basis of revulsion in the ranks at CP policy. The bureaucratic regimes which came to power in the cold-war period—assisted by the demoralization of workers by the CP's own policies—retain their stranglehold over labor to the present day.

Seeks New Bloc with Bourgeoisie

But today, Morris says he's against class-collaborationism, anti-communism, political subservience to the bourgeoisie, and the rest. Has the old boy changed? Hardly. "We have yet to see acceptance of labor leaders into cabinet positions, or their assignment as ambassadors to a country with more than two million population," whines Morris in Rebellion, dreaming of a new day of popular-front crumbs from the capitalists. Morris has a good word for the popular front government of Chile, where the CP helps Allende keep the mass movement within capitalist legal channels, setting it up for the mounting reaction, and for Ceylon, where the government shoots down "ultra-leftist" radical youth in the streets.

His support for labor's "political independence," his central political slogan, is a mass of contradictions. On the one hand, "The Democratic Party is a political arm of capitalism, as is the Republican," says Morris, almost as an afterthought (p. 157), but on the other hand, "the absence of real independence and of a class approach in political activity takes the dynamics out of political action even if it is waged for a labor-endorsed liberal in the Democratic or Republican party" (p. 32). What's left of an "independent class approach" waged in "the political arm of capitalism"? Morris complains that "the start has to be made sometime" and that Meany is "working to hold the unions within the two-party system," yet he rails against all attempts to call for a break with the two-party system as "premature" because they lack "labor backing." Thus the Chicago "Rank and File" Conference in 1970, which Morris and the CP regard highly, endorsed a labor party "in principle," but since such a thing was "not in the cards" it "declared its support of any Democratic and Republican candidates who merit it by the records on domestic and Vietnam issues." By such a policy, the entire labor bureaucracy, "progressive" and conservative alike (as Morris points out, even Beirne says he's for "independence") has been in the Democratic party since Roosevelt, backing Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey and now choosing amongst Lindsay, Muskie, Jackson, etc. Needless to say, the CP helped out on most of these (Goldwater was a threat to "peace" and Humphrey, coming straight from the Johnson administration, was still somehow better on "Vietnam issues").

GM Sit-Down Strikers Oppose 1937 Injunction—Stalinist Leadership in Auto and Other Unions Channelled Massive Wave of Labor Militancy into Support of FDR and No-Strike Pledges.

The Record on the Labor Party

Morris points out that "labor or third parties had a short life in the United States because old party politicians often take over the issues on which the independent parties ride. The Democrats under Roosevelt absorbed several... [such parties] or substantial movements for them...." It's surprising that Morris should mention this, since the CP opposed all these movements more vigorously than anyone else in the labor movement except the most reactionary bureaucrats. After the miners' strike of 1943, the massive upsurge of strikes against the no-strike pledge, and Roosevelt's attempt to impose labor conscription, even the most compromised bureaucrats, who had only a year earlier labeled the miners "fascists," and who clearly depended on Roosevelt politically, hesitated to call for his re-election. The CP had no such qualms. It was the first element in the labor movement to call for a fourth term! Morris makes much now of "independence"—i.e., choosing from among many oppressors rather than being "frozen" in one party—yet the CP fought to a split in the American Labor Party (a gimmick to get socialist-voting workers in New York to back Roosevelt) for unwavering support of Roosevelt against even such "independence." The upsurge in the second half of World War II, culminating in 1946, saw the breakaway of John L. Lewis and many labor conferences calling for a labor party, yet the CP waited until it could support the pro-capitalist liberal Wallace—from Roosevelt's government—on a "peoples party" ticket in 1948 that had minimal "labor backing" by comparison! Since the Progressive Party was designed to have Roosevelt's program, the Democrats easily absorbed it. Said Morris at the time, "Liberals who favor further advances along the Roosevelt path to 'make capitalism work' won't get us sore. On the contrary, they have and will continue to find us among the most vigorous supporters of every step."

Morris' complaint (supposedly aimed against the labor bureaucrats) that labor parties fail because of lack of "labor backing" is really an excuse for attacking the left, staying in the two-party system, and for ducking the issue of why capitalist third parties fail. In Rebellion, Morris omits any specific mention of the Progressive Party experience, preferring to deftly interchange the words "new," "third" and "peoples" with "labor" party (the official CP program is more consistent; it favors a "peoples party"). Third parties seeking to reform capitalism fail because the Democratic Party is stronger and in a better position to deliver on the identical reformist promises. Pro-capitalist third parties indeed do help "make capitalism work"—usually by undermining themselves and strengthening the two-party system. As the Trotskyists pointed out at the time, the class nature of a party is not determined so much by what class supports it (the Democrats have plenty of "labor backing"), but by what class it supports in its program, politics, etc. Morris to the contrary notwithstanding, only a party which is controlled by labor (based on the trade unions) will be viable and supportable as a working-class alternative.

The Trade Union Bureaucracy

The labor movement today is dominated by an oppressive trade union bureaucracy, the function of which is to keep labor locked into the capitalist system through reformist policies, suppression of militants, etc. This concept is completely foreign to Morris. Throughout the book he always draws the distinction, historically and currently, between "most" trade union leaders, the reactionary bureaucrats, and "some," the progressive. For Morris, the chief difference between the "progressives" and the "reactionaries" is their willingness to work with the CP ("anti-communist" doesn't refer, of course, to the baiting of militants to the left of the CP) and mouth a few phrases for "peace" and "against racism." ("There can be no equivocation on racism anymore than on... strikebreaking" moralizes Morris; but the CP favored strikebreaking in favor of black community coalitions with the likes of Lindsay and the Ford Foundation.) The CP's "progressive" unions have always been substantially identical to the "reactionary" ones. The CP ran Curran's NMU—until he turned on them—with a bureaucratic fist of iron. Today, District 65 in New York masks its bureaucracy under a thin democratic facade: it left the AFL-CIO and joined the ALA without a single membership discussion or vote! Usually

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Break the Two-Party Stranglehold!

problems which only the workers themselves can solve.

McGovern: "Clear Cut" Imperialism

McGovern's record reveals his real allegiances. The man praised by the Communist Party as "clear cut" on the war has voted against repeal of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, voted for the 1967 Vietnam war appropriations, and supports NATO and SEATO. He supported compulsory arbitration in the recent dock strike; he favors the anti-union "right to work" section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act and supported the enabling legislation which permitted the viciously anti-labor wage-"price" freeze. His promise to get out of Vietnam within 90 days of election conditional upon a release of POWs is as reversible as Johnson's "peace" campaign against Goldwater during which Johnson had already planned the first massive bombing of Vietnam, and as reversible as Nixon's promise to have ended the war by now. If the ruling class deems it necessary to expand the war further and can keep the working class captive of the bourgeois parties and their supporters in the trade unions, McGovern will be more vicious than Johnson or Nixon before him—promises be damned!

Wallace: Fascist Danger?

Wallace is a populist-racist demagogue who appeals to the "little man," but not a fascist about to occupy the Chancellor's seat, as the Stalinists of the CP and the "Trotskyists" of the Workers League would have us believe. In fact Wallace has toned down his 1968 slogan "there is not a dime's worth of difference between the two parties" in order to play his card in the Democratic primaries. Wallace's "protest" vote indicates nascent fascism to about the same degree that McGovern's "protest" vote represents a nascent liberal third party. Fascism, to which the bourgeoisie resorts to preserve its rule in times of total social breakdown, is characterized by dispensing with all bourgeois-democratic forms in order to attack the working class and destroy its organizations—principally the trade unions—as possible institutions of struggle. George Wallace is no more a fascist than was Senator Joseph McCarthy; the fake lefts' wailing about "fascism" is only a cover for spreading "lesser evil" illusions.

Wallace's entire strategy is to pressure the Democrats and Republicans from the outside and the inside in order to shift the whole spectrum of bourgeois politics to the right. The CP's cry of an imminent fascist threat from Nixon, thus building up the Democrats, parallels the WL cry of imminent fascism from Wallace to build up the credit of the labor bureaucrats. Both objectively strengthen the two-party system. Just as the CP's call for an "anti-monopoly peoples party" is subordinated in practice to the Democrats, the WL's call for a labor party is subordinated in practice to embellishing the role of the union bureaucrats.

CP Aids Liberals

The Communist Party, by portraying the Democrats and particularly McGovern as candidates of peace, is an important prop of the bourgeois two-party system. A front-page story in Peoples World (15 April 1972) described McGovern and Chisholm as "clear cut" on the war and CP vice-presidential candidate Jarvis Tyner as the "most clear cut"—placing the candidates on the same continuum. The CP's basic electoral policy has not changed since Stalin's popular front strategy gave rise in 1935 to the "broad anti-monopoly coalition." By running its own ticket while whitewashing the Democrats the CP hopes to deflect criticism from militants in its own ranks, especially those recently recruited around the Angela Davis defense. The party gives "top priority" to its own campaign on the grounds that the liberals must be pressured to expose Nixon fully, that "at the present level of the campaign they cannot defeat Nixon." (Political Affairs, March 1972)

In the same issue of Political Affairs Gus Hall renders liberalism more profound:

> "To expose Nixon is to expose the present policies of state monopoly capitalism. To defeat Nixon is to expose the reactionary fascist danger."

By identifying Nixon with the "reactionary fascist danger," by making his defeat the real aim of pressuring the liberal imperialists to advance from "clear cut" to "most clear cut," the CP prepares a whole new generation of cadre for betrayal. At a time when it must recognize unprecedented opportunities for mass work, it builds confidence in the Democratic Party. In his revolting social-chauvinist statement from a Hanoi bomb shelter to the American people, Gus Hall said not a word of criticism or warning about the role of the Democrats. He hopes that the shelter will protect him from revolutionary criticism as much as from imperialism's bombs.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), employing sophistic arguments perhaps unprecedented in its history, has condemned the CP-led PCPJ "anti-war" campaign as a "multi-issue reformist campaign" which will lead to a class collaborationist, reformist electoral expression. The SWP argues that this approach will "exclude" revolutionists and some black nationalists who disagree with the full reformist program whereas the SWP's "single issue" approach will draw them in. The SWP approach is to the right of the CP (if only slightly) since it permits sections of the liberal bourgeoisie to participate in and dominate the "anti-war" movement based only on verbal agreement with NPAC's single issue—thereby giving the Hartkes even greater room to maintain their reactionary labor stand. The essential difference comes down to the CP's multi-issue reformism vs. the SWP's single-issue reformism.

Meany's Grandstand Play

George Meany's break from the Pay Board in no way represents a break from class collabora-

continued on next page

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist working-class monthly published by the Spartacist League, is for truthful and merciless revolutionary criticism and exposure of lies, hypocrisy, oppression and betrayal.

In order to build the circulation of its press, the Spartacist League National Office is calling for a drive to obtain 800 additional subscriptions to Workers Vanguard and to increase the circulation of the RCY Newsletter. An increase in our circulation, especially of Workers Vanguard, is essential if the projected expansion of the SL press is to continue.

The SL wants to maintain a press which actually reflects, and is linked with our intervention in the labor and radical movements. We want a press that is no mere showpiece, but is itself an intervention with real people to shift the axis of real struggles, transforming the consciousness of the militants involved. Thus not only the financing of our press expansion, but also the quality of the coverage itself, depends heavily upon our ability to get it into the hands of more readers, especially activists in the labor and radical arenas of our work.

Local organizations will be responsible for organizing the drive in their areas, meeting the quota, and making sure that every SL and RCY member is participating. Following are the proposed quotas for the local areas:

Berkeley-Oakland	55
Boston	125
Chicago	40
Los Angeles	50
New Orleans	15
New York	180
San Francisco	25
San Diego	10
Stony Brook	20
Washington, D. C.	10
At-Large	90
Total	600

The comrade nationally who sells the most subscriptions during the two-month period of the drive will receive as a prize the choice of the new hardcover Prison Notebooks of Gramsci, the hardcover edition of Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution or the new hardcover 1905 by Trotsky. There will be a booby prize, too—the National Office proposes to award the comrade selling the fewest subs a commemorative silver half dollar bearing the likenesses of Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver, minted in the 1950's expressly "to oppose the spread of communism among Negroes in the interest of national defense."

WORKERS VANGUARD

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tion. Meany recently stated that he favored either full controls or no controls, as if the bourgeois state could behave in a "neutral" fashion harnessing labor and capital alike. Meany's "rebellion" is not some latter-day discovery of incompatibility with Nixon's program, but an attempt to refurbish the long-standing illusion that the Democrats are the party of labor while the Republicans are the party of big business. Meany stands in Humphrey's camp and is an old supporter of the war. The Democrats consider the economic issue their "winning card" and Meany advances his position with them by his grandstand play.

The Workers League seeks to embellish Meany's role, thereby ultimately relying upon labor bureaucracy as the conduit of working-class pressure and as a counterweight to the "fascist threat" the WL sees posed by Wallace. Instead of recognizing Meany's move as a collaboration with Democratic capitalists, the WL states:

> "Meany's walk off from the Pay Board signified the whole breakup of the traditional relation of class compromise between the labor bureaucracy and the capitalist class."
>
> —Bulletin, 10 April 1972

The Bulletin goes on to describe Meany's walkout as a consequence of "the movement of the American workers which forced Meany off the Pay Board [which] does not merely coincide with the Vietnamese offensive that is part of the same struggle." If the WL maintains that Meany's walkout was prompted by the movement of the American workers and not primarily by Meany's desire to make himself more valuable to the Democrats and enhance their election chances, how will it explain the probable future development—Meany and his fellow bureaucrats walking back on a Pay Board of the Democrats when the American working class may be exerting even more pressure?

The WL needs a bogey from the right in order to justify its distorted evaluation of the present motion of the labor bureaucrats. Its Bulletin creates one in its description of Wallace's Florida victory as a fascist plot and a "tremendous threat" which is part of "Wallace's and the capitalists' plans for dictatorship. . . ."

Which Way for the Black Movement?

The eclipse of the Panthers following their split left the leadership of the black "movement" more firmly in the hands of the bourgeois forces. In class terms, the small rising black petty bourgeoisie ranging from extreme nationalist strikebreakers like Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones) to nationalist reformists like Jesse Jackson inherited the vague mantle of leadership of the black movement with determination to form a bloc with the black representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie like Mayor Hatcher of Gary and others.

This bloc with the bourgeoisie was consummated at the recent conference in Gary, Indiana. Jackson's crucial role at this conference (along with Jones) was to pass his "Economic Bill of Rights" and remain formally independent from the Democratic Party in order to maximize bargaining power at the Democratic Convention through politicians like Shirley Chisholm. Jackson voiced his conception of black liberation a few months ago when he stated that blacks should stop standing outside the office of the Welfare Department and start standing outside the office of the Treasury Department.

The conference also exemplified the capitulation of the bourgeois black leaders to white segregationist policies, covering their retreat with clouds of nationalist rhetoric. The easily passed anti-busing resolution was defended by Roy Innis of CORE as proceeding from the nationalist view that black people should control their own schools, whereas Wallace's fight against busing was based on white racism. The fact remains that Wallace would like nothing better than to see blacks remove themselves from the fight for white-controlled educational resources through "black community control" of schools.

The contradiction inherent in the slogan of all-black unity grows more apparent as a thin layer of blacks (the new "talented tenth") rise into the petty bourgeoisie and find their conditions of life improving absolutely and relatively while the great mass of working-class blacks and those forced out of the working class find their conditions of life deteriorating.

The economic crisis has brought more unemployment while many of the state governments have begun to crack down on the welfare rolls. Watts, for example, is in worse shape than on the eve of the 1965 Watts uprising despite innumerable showcase poverty programs.

The illusion of improvement in the conditions of blacks derives from this growing class differentiation within the black community between the downtrodden masses and the petty government bureaucrats, new black businessmen, students entering colleges in larger numbers, and celebrities sprinkling the mass media, cultural and sports world. The hegemony in the black movement of the representatives of the aspiring strata is bound to come into increasing conflict with the mass, whose conditions have actually declined, and who can provide an important, dynamic and even leading sector of a labor party alternative to the capitalists.

The Newton wing of the Panthers continues to address itself to the conditions of the mass of blacks but as social workers, not revolutionists. Black businesses are boycotted until they deliver a kickback which is then distributed to the poor at mass rallies under the slogan "This will tide us over till liberation." This is just another variant of the semi-municipal fake "socialism" of consumption of the community control schemes. The programmatic bankruptcy of the Panther Party will not, however, tide it over to liberation. It is quite likely that virtually all the voters among the 16,000 people fed at the Giveaway will vote Democratic in the absence of a working-class alternative, and, if Wisconsin is any indication, for the Humphrey wing at that. The Panthers have themselves just announced their support of the Chisholm candidacy, a milestone in their degeneration into bourgeois reformism.

The recent spate of muckraker articles and exposures directed against the Nixon Administration is an excellent example of guided ruling-class propaganda. The exposure of the ITT-Republican alliance which brought to the Republicans a guarantee of $400,000 to bring the 1972 Republican Convention to San Diego sought to discredit the Republicans through selective revelations of monopoly control of the party. What leading liberal Democrat John Tunney of California and others refused to bring to light was the complicity of ITT with the Democratic Party in ITT's acquisition of Hartford Insurance Co. and other aspects of ITT's expansion in 1965-68.

Bourgeois rule has been shaken by Nixon's policies which are themselves a continuation of the policies of the Democrats before him. The liberal bourgeois politicians are seeking to shore up illusions in the Democratic Party, attempting to rescue it from its past and create the illusion of a genuinely democratic process. The opportunist "vanguard" parties that can do no better than tail after the bourgeois and reformist trade union leaders contribute their share to the continued enslavement of the working class. ■

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IS Prepares to Desert...

or do you not support the current North Vietnamese offensive?" the ISers evaded: "This is a forum on Cuba only" the chairman asserted; another stated "we are not interested in intramural debates with Spartacist." The question was never answered.

In the past, the IS has attempted to justify its support to the NLF on the grounds of "self-determination for the Vietnamese." While this is a correct Leninist slogan, it is nevertheless also true that if a particular national liberation struggle becomes absorbed into a general imperialist conflict, the slogan of self-determination becomes only an excuse for taking sides in an imperialist war. For example, to raise the slogan "self-determination for Serbia" after 1914 could only mean support to the Tsarist government against the Hapsburgs. It is well known that the NLF has been a political captive of the North Vietnamese Communists since the early 1960's, and that the North Vietnamese, insufficiently aided by the Soviets and Chinese, were carrying the main burden of the military effort by the late 1960's. To the IS, North Vietnam, the Soviet Union and China are "imperialist" powers; thus support to the NLF was sheer opportunism which flew in the face of all IS' theories. For our part, as Trotskyists we consider North Vietnam a deformed workers state—the victory of its army over Saigon would mean a tremendous gain since it would mean the destruction of imperialism in South Vietnam. If the IS thinks "self-determination" is all-important, even above class questions, then logically it should now be defending Saigon against the North Vietnamese invasion on the basis of "self-determination" for South Vietnam. Who knows—maybe this will turn out to be the new IS position! ■

Spartacist Local Directory

ATLANTA. Box 7886, Atlanta, Ga. 30309.

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RECORD OF BETRAYAL

the "progressives" are better on rhetoric only to be worse on economic issues: Bridges of the ILWU sold out more thoroughly on containerization than the reactionary ILA, which won earlier the guaranteed annual wage for some of its members. The real function of the "progressives" within the trade union bureaucracy, to the minimal extent that they differ from the rest, is to contain discontent with liberal rhetoric.

The purpose of the CP is to help create such a "left" trade union bureaucracy, using what is left of CP credibility to prop it up, on the basis of a mild reformist program and a few radical phrases and goals "in principle." This is the meaning of the Chicago Rank and File Conference. The Conference was ostensibly for "independent political action," rank and file democracy and "action" (whatever that means), but it was highlighted with a speech by newly elected Democratic Mayor Gibson of Newark, since a notorious strikebreaker, and it was dominated by union bureaucrats and functionaries, some "oppositionists," some not, from such unions as West Coast Pulp and Paper, UMW, Steel, UAW, etc. A keynote speaker referred to criticism of the recently signed GE contract as irresponsible radicalism and "company propaganda." Action on some minimal reforms was discussed, but all discussion on a program of transitional demands to break the labor movement out of the reformist grip of the bureaucracy was considered out of order.

"Progressive" Bureaucrat Reports on Vietnamese "Progressives"

The dangers to the Vietnamese revolution posed by its Stalinist leadership are well described by a friendly source who recently visited Vietnam. District 65 President David Livingston reported on his trip to Hanoi (with Teamster Vice President Gibbon and Amalgamated Meatcutters Vice President Caldwell) at a union meeting on April 27. In Hanoi, he had spoken to Le Duc Tho, a chief North Vietnamese negotiator, who had met with Kissinger in secret talks. Tho said North Vietnam was ready to resume peace talks in Paris, that he was not in favor of a Communist government in the South, but a "three-segment government" including (1) the present Saigon administration (minus Thieu); (2) the PRG (Provisional Revolutionary Government), only a "tiny minority" of whom are Communists; and (3) "unaffiliated independents." Tho said that they did not seek a Communist government, but one that is "independent and neutralist," that they did not seek to humiliate the U.S. after the war is ended, but that they wanted good relations with the U. S. government. Tho also said that they do not seek total military victory in the current offensive, but only seek to expose phony "Vietnamization" and pressure the U. S. back to the peace talks.

"Left" Bureaucrats Squash the Left

Attempts made at the Conference to interject a class-conscious program apparently spurred Morris to do some homework on "ultra-leftists" and to spend almost 30 pages attempting to discredit them, mostly through guilt by association. Interestingly, the evil Trotsky-"ites" of 1945 are now Trotsky-"ists." Morris has indeed forgotten much since then. Gone are the lurid tales of how Himmler was sponsoring a "Fourth International" to wreck the Allied war effort, etc. It appears that the Trotskyists keep popping up in the unions and having to be answered, despite having been swept out "as so much vermin" by Morris in 1945!

The Stalinist method of today, however, is essentially the same. Morris quotes a number of things from Workers Action (since incorporated in Workers Vanguard), Spartacist-West and a position paper entitled "Stop Manipulation—Power To The Ranks" (Morris failed to identify the authors of the paper: International Socialists, Spartacist and several union caucuses) as well as attacks by pseudo-Trotskyists and Maoists, to prove that these "ultra-lefts" attack only "progressives" and are therefore "encouraged" by "reactionaries." (The position paper linked "left"-sounding bureaucrats with the entire trade union bureaucracy, called for immediate independent labor political action to agitate for a labor party and fight union endorsement of Democrats and Republicans, and demanded "democracy in this conference," including "majority rule and minority rights." Needless to say, the bureaucratic leadership had no more time at this conference to hear the opposition than it does in its local unions: the paper's supporters were suppressed at the microphones.) After passing over these groups that he has to deal with in the labor movement with a few quotes, Morris then tries to discredit them by linking them with Stanley Aronowitz, Monthly Review, the literary "New Left," various unnamed anarchists, etc., whom he takes to task at length for abandoning the struggle in the unions. The lesson from Lenin on this question is something Morris has managed to remember; so he proceeds to knock down his straw men with righteous orthodoxy.

Morris Turns Lenin into His Opposite

At the end of this exercise, Morris quotes a couple of passages from Lenin against "revolutionary phrase-making" unidentified as to context and Lenin's purpose. The quotes were from articles written against those who wished to suck out of their thumbs a revolutionary war against Germany in 1918, instead of temporarily accepting Germany's terms dictated at gunpoint in order to preserve revolutionary Russia. Morris, of course, completely misapplies them: the 1918 Bolsheviks had a revolutionary perspective hampered in application by backward objective conditions; the American working class today faces a world objectively ripe for revolution and speedy construction of socialism, but lacks the subjective awareness of this imperative. It is precisely the task of communists to aggressively apply a revolutionary program, not by seeking to bypass the unions or by individual terrorism, but by raising consciousness in the labor movement through persistent exemplary struggle around transitional demands.

The CP program is a pablum of meaningless abstractions; it is the mush remaining after forty years of cooking up new dishes out of the same old unprincipled twists and turns, blunders and betrayal. Every step of the way, Morris changes his line, covers his tracks, tones down his verbiage from the past—but at every step he prepares again both the betrayals of the CP and the rise of new Lovestones, Beirnes and Meanys. While the CP attempts to bring together into a so-called "left" the future bureaucratic henchmen of capital, serious union oppositionists must set about the task of building an alternative leadership. The Spartacist League seeks to build such a leadership by the only possible method: the organizing of caucuses and creation of a communist cadre in the unions on the basis of the Transitional Program. This program calls for breaking state wage controls, a sliding scale of wages and hours, opposition to the special oppression of blacks and women, strike action against the Vietnam war, defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism, opposition to renewed protectionist nationalism by the bureaucrats and the renewed threat of inter-imperialist war, and breaking the grip of the two capitalist parties through a workers party based on the labor movement. ■

CP Slander Exposed

In George Morris' "World of Labor" column in the 19 October 1971 Daily World of the Communist Party U.S.A. appeared a broadside directed against all critics of the liberal labor bureaucracy and the liberal bourgeoisie. Morris was not satisfied with accusing his opponents of "disruptive antics" and sabotaging the "unity" with people like Mayor Lindsay (who "came forward as a powerful voice for an end of the war") and his political allies in the unions. He went further:

> "Who are the people engaged in this dirty business? There are among them some duped youths who may honestly think that the measure of 'revolutionism' is how violently you denounce union leaders. But in terms of what they accomplish, the ringleaders of these sects are clearly getting encouragement from very reactionary sources—as employer agencies, police, FBI, CIA or any of the other instruments for disruption and division in the progressive sectors of the working class movement.
>
> "What else can you say of groups that make those who move forward their major target? What else can you say of a group like the 'Labor Committee' that seems to have ample funds to saturate every demonstration with printed leaflets?....
>
> "This is not a 'revolutionary' group: it is a counterrevolutionary conspiracy and should be known as such."

Hard upon the Daily World charges came physical harassment of LC members by individual CPers.

On October 21 the Labor Committee published the demand that the CP publicly retract the charge. Silence was the CP's reply.

A Commission of Inquiry composed of notable left-libertarians (Rowland Watts, Eric Bentley, Fred Cook, Nat Hentoff, Conrad J. Lynn, Dwight Macdonald, Richard Ohmann) was constituted. On 20 January 1972 it wrote to the CP demanding that the party substantiate its charges against the LC or publish a retraction. The letter noted that such charges have often been used to justify violence against political opponents.

On February 9 the commission wrote the CP announcing a hearing to be held on February 23 and warning that continued failure by the CP to submit documentation justifying the charges would necessitate the commission's finding against the CP.

The CP did not respond, and the commission ruled that

> "Therefore, the commission is left with no alternative but to publicize its judgment that the Communist Party is unwilling or unable to substantiate their charges made against the National Caucus of Labor Committees."

An organization with a history of betrayal as long as the CP's (see "Record of Betrayal" in this issue) must resort to slander, frame-ups, hooligan violence and assassinations to silence opposition and to harden up its own supporters with the bond of guilty consciences. ■

Farinas Jailed

On March 20 Workers League supporter Juan Farinas began serving a two-year sentence in the Federal Penitentiary at Danbury, Conn. Farinas was prosecuted for distributing an anti-war leaflet on his induction January 31, 1971. The Supreme Court has refused to review his conviction; on March 27 District Court Judge Milton Pollack rejected Farinas' motion for modification of sentence.

The Workers League, in addition to its hypocritical record on defense of the left against repression, has substituted for proletarian democracy a self-serving sometime lip service to this aim, alternating with the justification and practice of thuggery. Nevertheless Farinas' victimization is a blow from the state against the entire workers' and radical movement. His conviction and sentencing for the distribution of leaflets—a widespread practice and evidently no offense at all—stands in marked contrast to the more successful defense efforts on behalf of other militants, such as the Harrisburg defendants, many Black Panther militants, and the recent government offer to drop most of the charges faced by Puerto Rican activist Carlos Feliciano.

Immedtate unconditional freedom for Juan Farinas!

We demand the expunging of his frame-up conviction and removing his status as a convicted felon, thus restoring his full civil rights.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 9 June 1972

World Power Balance in Vietnam:

Nixon on Offensive; USSR-China Temporize

The Nixon administration reacted to the initial successes registered by the April DRV/NLF offensive with brutal and provocative retaliation. Like a losing poker player who pushes all his chips into the pot, Nixon turned to the mining of the Haiphong harbor complex and the North Vietnamese coast as well as massive bombing of North Vietnam and its rail links up to China's borders. Nixon gambled with possible escalation into World War III in order to cover up and reverse the defeat of his Vietnam policies.

The North Vietnamese offensive had exploded the fraud of Vietnamization. Massive bombing of the DRV and its forces failed to halt the offensive or even prevent the flow of DRV tank columns into South Vietnam. Wherever they confronted DRV/NLF troops the ARVN forces fled in terror or capitulated outright. With the fall of Quang Tri in the northernmost province of South Vietnam the important centers of Hue and the provincial capital of Kontum in the Central Highlands were turned overnight into ghost towns manned by troops far more concerned with their escape routes than their lines of resistance. Commerce ceased and the frightened wealthier strata became refugees. Despite the notable absence of DRV shelling of Saigon, the tank victories immediately to the north around the town of An Loc added to the panic and sense of impending doom in the Thieu government and army.

Militarily, Hue was to be had for the asking, and the momentum of such a victory on the heels of triumph at Quang Tri might have placed the DRV/NLF in a nearly irresistible position of strength. Yet the offensive came to a mysterious halt. The 29 May Newsweek reported, "But the most prevalent feeling was simply bewilderment. 'I really don't understand it,' said one U.S. officer in Saigon. 'The longer the Commies wait, the better it is for the ARVN. Surely the enemy must realize this.'"

Time Out for the Summit?

At this critical point Nixon announced his military measures in the North, directed primarily at the Soviet Union. Nixon's direct statement to the Soviets in his 8 May address read in part: "We do not ask you to sacrifice your principles [!] or your friends [!]. But neither should you permit Hanoi's intransigence to blot out the prospects we together have so patiently prepared. ...We are prepared to continue to build this relationship. The responsibility is yours if we fail to do so."

The world anticipated a repetition of the Cuban missile crisis. And this time the Soviets held most of the trump cards: In contrast to 1963, the U.S. is thousands of miles instead of 90 miles away from the scene of the conflict. The U.S. ruling class is deeply divided while the mass of the U.S. population resents the war, and the decades of Vietnamese valor and suffering have created enormous sympathy and support for their cause. In addition the clear violation of Soviet international maritime rights coupled with the improved Soviet military position compared with a decade ago made Nixon's operation a dangerous adventure.

Nevertheless Nixon's coldblooded gamble worked. The Soviets waited three days to deliver a vague ultimatum which did not even clearly assert Soviet rights in the matter. The real message was appropriately conveyed by none other than the Soviet trade ambassador who when asked if the summit was still on declared (as reported in the San Francisco Chronicle): "We never had any doubts about it. I don't know why you asked this question. Have you any doubts?"

Nixon succeeded in forcing the Soviets to acquiesce to his massive escalation of the war

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TELEGRAM:

Defend the DRV-NLF!

Embassy of the U.S.S.R.
Washington, D.C.

U.N. Mission of the
People's Republic
of China
New York, N.Y.

On behalf of the urgent revolutionary needs of the international working class and in accord with the inevitable aims of our future workers government in the United States, we demand that you immediately expand shipment of military supplies of the highest technical quality to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and that you offer the DRV the fullest all-sided assistance including necessary Russian-Chinese joint military collaboration.

No other course will serve at this moment of savage imperialist escalation against the DRV and the Indochinese working people whose military victories have totally shattered the myths of the Vietnamization and pacification programs of Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon.

signed: Political Bureau,
Spartacist League of the U.S.
8 May 1972

copies to: DRV and NLF delegations,
Paris

Podgorny and Nixon at Moscow Airport.

THE UAW AND THE CRISIS IN AUTO

The crisis of the U.S. automobile industry is an important, integral part of the crisis of U.S. capitalism as a whole. Faced with a declining rate of profit curtailing new investment and threatened with mounting foreign competition, notably Japanese, the future for U.S. auto companies is bleak unless they can expand investments abroad and heighten the exploitation of labor at home—at the expense of their foreign rivals and U.S. workers.

Nixon's aggressive economic policies of August 1971 were largely a response to the particular needs of U.S. auto makers, whose situation exemplified the needs of U.S. capitalism as a whole. Nixon sought to subsidize auto profits by curbing imports, paving the way for continued U.S. capital expansion overseas and ending the auto excise tax. Domestically, he ordered a wage freeze and an intensified "productivity" (read speedup) campaign. Despite this attack on American workers for the sake of corporate profit, the United Auto Workers bureaucracy under Leonard Woodcock continues the Reutherite tradition of subordinating the interests of the auto workers to those of capitalist production.

What's Good for GM Is Good for the Country?

Unlike the postwar U.S. economy as a whole, the auto industry had relatively high rates of growth, profit and increase in labor productivity. While subject to the same chronic slumps as the rest of the economy, the "Big 3" regularly returned a higher dividend rate to stockholders than other manufacturing companies. Yet in the last 20 years, this rate of growth has been steadily declining. Capitalist unwillingness to accept a declining rate of profit on invested capital prevented new investments and caused stagnation in labor productivity, which is dependent on the relative amount of capital investment per worker.

By the end of the Sixties, the auto industry was in a virtual state of disaster by capitalist standards. 1970 was especially bad: production was lower than at any time since 1961. 955 domestic new car dealers went broke for lack of profits. GM's margin of profit on sales was lower before the auto strike of fall 1970 than in any year since 1946; and, most significantly, its 1970-71 profits on invested capital were down to 9.8% from 15.5% in 1969-70, 17.7% in 1968 and 25.2% in 1965 (Rothschild, "GM In More Trouble," New York Review of Books, 23 March 1972).

As U.S. auto headed into contraction and slump, foreign auto production was expanding. In 1955, the U.S. produced 72% of the world automobile output; in 1959, 52% and by 1969, 36%. Despite a massive effort to stem the flow of imports through

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Nixon Offensive

and belittle its significance. The Soviet bureaucracy first described the action as brinkmanship but quickly came to pretend that nothing special had happened. The Stalinist press has in the three months since the China visit caught itself in a grotesque contradiction. The Daily World of the Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA) on 23 February reacted to the Nixon-Mao talks with the headline "Nixons Applaud Ballet As Bombings Escalate." The same could be said (but of course wasn't) of Nixon's stay in Moscow.

The military value of the blockade in interdicting the supplies of an increasingly well-armed DRV striking force was disputed by many of Nixon's own advisors, including the CIA. The Soviets have also alluded to the blockade's questionable military significance as a justification for not seriously opposing it. The Soviet and Chinese claims that supplies can and will be sent along other avenues are at best a partial truth. It is no accident that the sea lanes have carried the bulk of supplies until now. Nixon's moves, in addition to tying Soviet hands at sea, will increase the costs of aid and affect its amount of aid as well, especially since the Chinese have denied the Soviets use of ports for delivery to the railheads and have not sent back the thousands of railroad workers withdrawn several years ago, who could greatly speed repair of bombing damage. But Nixon's purpose was as much political as military. He is playing his Russian card.

Stalinists as Prop of Bourgeoisie

In 1968 Nixon stated: "We need a new policy that will awaken the Soviet Union to the perils of the course it has taken in Vietnam." Today Nixon turns to the Soviet bureaucracy to extricate himself from the most serious defeat ever suffered by U.S. imperialism. Nixon justifies his policy on the premise that Soviet aid is responsible for the war's continuation, i.e., for the ability of the DRV/NLF to survive. Certainly the lack of aid is the primary reason the DRV/NLF have not won the conflict—combined Soviet and Chinese aid equals less than one fiftieth of U.S. expenditures on the war. The Soviets have been far more willing to provide aid to the bourgeois United Arab Republic—in the form of SAM III missiles (which could reach the high-flying B52s which are wreaking such devastation on Vietnam) and the latest MIG fighters (which even sophisticated anti-aircraft can't touch). The less the total Soviet aid, of course, the more vital will be every scrap obtained! Nixon therefore shrewdly chose the eve of a summit on which the Russians were counting heavily in order to once again bring pressure to bear.

There is a widespread sense that Soviet-American deals are being hatched behind the backs of the North Vietnamese or with their partial connivance. No less an imperialist spokesman than Hubert Humphrey hinted in a Los Angeles television interview that "secret arrangements" had been made in advance between the USSR and the U.S. on the blockade of North Vietnam. (A current joke has it that if Haiphong were completely sealed off the Soviets would retaliate with the devastating blow of cutting off the fall tour of the Moiseyev Dancers.) The CPUSA felt compelled to denounce Humphrey, the former "progressive," as an "unscrupulous scavenger," reflecting the contradiction between the CP's role as apologist for the Moscow bureaucracy's foreign policy and its desire to keep in step with its subjectively anti-imperialist youth supporters (as well as the fact that Humphrey is out as a major contender for the Democratic nomination). Arrangement or no arrangement, Kissinger's presence in the Soviet Union at the time of Nixon's speech was hardly coincidence, and certainly no military mobilization like that during the Cuban crisis occurred.

The Soviets' gross conciliation in the face of Nixon's provocations demonstrates that they are setting great store by the summit talks, and the struggle of the Vietnamese will not be permitted to get in the way. The Vietnamese Stalinists are duly worried and Soviet-Viet conflict is mirrored indirectly in the Hanoi press. The Hanoi leadership has reported attacks on Soviet ships while Moscow is silent, and Hanoi has denounced the Nixon summit in language reminiscent of Peking's attacks a few years back on the Paris talks.

Despite Hanoi's concern over the summit meeting, the overall strategy of the Vietnamese Stalinists is for a negotiated settlement short of a workers' and peasants' victory. Madame Binh recently declared:

> "I believe that the most firm guarantee of this question is the aspirations and will of the people. Since 1960 we have stood for a peaceful, independent, democratic regime and neutral Vietnam. That is to say that we have a desire to build in South Vietnam a broad, democratic regime that is not a socialist regime." [emphasis ours]
>
> —Daily World, 12 May 1872

By counterposing a "broad, democratic" regime to a "socialist regime" the Stalinists reveal their intentions to prevent the construction of a workers and peasants government, in favor of a bourgeois coalition government which would mean at best a renewal of the civil war at some later date, with probable imperialist intervention, or at worst a new massacre of militants by the forces of the bourgeois regime. Until now the Thieu government and its U.S. masters have turned a deaf ear to the Stalinists' coalition proposals. The dynamic of the struggle thus forced upon them may impel the Vietnamese Stalinists (as it did the Chinese CP before them) to preside over the creation of what they define as socialism, i.e., a bureaucratically deformed workers state, in order to protect their own existence and future as a bureaucratic stratum. Such a real, though limited and ultimately reversible, social transformation would occur under the worst possible conditions, following years of Stalinist attempts to stifle social revolution and refusal to mobilize vital elements, particularly the urban working class. The Stalinists fear the Vietnamese proletariat since they know that its objectives will be socialist and not merely bourgeois-democratic.

The Russian Card and the Nixon-Mao Summit

The Nixon-Mao summit set the stage for the present talks with Brezhnev. Freed from the worry over a denunciation the Chinese can now ill afford to make, the Soviet bureaucrats can now more openly seek further accommodations with U.S. imperialism. The Chinese bureaucrats' silence on the escalated bombings during their dealing with Nixon, coupled with fears of Moscow's belligerence, have diminished their role as "left" critics of Soviet Vietnam policy.

The Nixon-Mao accords which pose a potential anti-Soviet bloc increased Soviet apprehensions, manifested physically in the deployment of approximately 44 divisions (around 400,000 men) along the lengthy Sino-Soviet border. The burden of this massive concentration of troops and matériel is a powerful impetus to the Soviets to stabilize U.S.-Soviet relations thereby contributing to China's isolation. The fanfare over the present summit, as one of "substance" in contrast to other meetings as "froth," is designed to upstage and partially cancel the significance of the earlier Mao meeting. In diplomatic jargon this tactic is an example of the principle of encirclement and counter-encirclement.

The principal Soviet strategic aim is the final ratification of a European treaty ending World War II. The Soviets desire this partly to avoid a possible battle on two fronts, but also because their long-term strategy of "peaceful coexistence" turns upon a neutralized European bourgeoisie particularly in West Germany.

The overall Soviet goal at the summit is to reframe and solidarize the division of the world based upon a growing Soviet relative strength—particularly a rough military parity. The decline of U.S. hegemony vis-a-vis the other imperialists, the capitalist international monetary crisis, the U.S. recession and the running sore of the Vietnam war indicate that the U.S. needs the summit as well—not to speak of Nixon's desire for reelection.

Despite these shifts in position and advantage, the determining factor remains U.S. economic superiority. The commodity, as Marx once remarked, still has the ability to batter Chinese Walls, and the prospect of significant trade on favorable terms with the U.S. is the principal carrot that Nixon dangles before a Soviet bureaucracy whose existence is a brake on the whole development of the Soviet economy. Despite Khrushchev's boastful predictions, the strength of the Soviet economy relative to the American remains qualitatively what it was in the Fifties.

Political Strikes in Germany

The European question retains primary significance not only because of Europe's industrial power but because of its division into capitalist and deformed workers states. These two blocs are themselves Balkanized—yet Europe as a whole is economically interdependent. The unsettled boundaries and disputes arising out of former imperialist wars plus its overall strategic significance make a settlement in Europe the main question in preventing World War III.

The Soviets correctly place their main policy emphasis on Europe, but in a completely reformist fashion. The slogan of a socialist United States of Europe adopted by the Third Congress of the old Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky was directed against capitalism, reformism and the outmoded character of the national economic boundaries. The Stalinists have long since abandoned such a perspective and instead rely upon the liberal bourgeoisie and their political allies the labor bureaucrats to "reduce tension" and "peacefully coexist." The Soviets have turned to Willy Brandt and his Social Democrats to create a treaty to settle the outstanding issues of World War II. Unless such a settlement is accomplished through the intervention of the revolutionary proletariat it will constitute only new terms of truce between imperialist wars. It is therefore of the highest importance that German workers from the Ruhr and other areas took to the streets in the first political strikes to occur in Germany since the movement against the co-determination laws in 1952.

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SPARTACIST LOCAL DIRECTORY

ATLANTA
Box 7686
Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 84701
(415) 848-3029

BOSTON
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 876-1787

CHICAGO
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 643-4394

DENVER
(contact New York)

EUREKA
Box 3061
Eureka, CA 95501

HOUSTON
(contact New York)

LOS ANGELES
Box 38053,
Wilcox Sta.
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CA 90038
(213) 467-6855

NEW ORLEANS
Box 51634, Main P.O.
New Orleans,
LA 70151
(504) 868-8384

NEW YORK
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001
(212) 825-2426

SAN DIEGO
Box 22052,
Univ. City Sta.
San Diego, CA 92122
(714) 453-1436

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 40574
San Francisco,
CA 94140
(415) 826-8259

WASHINGTON, D.C. -
BALTIMORE
(202) 223-1455

(FRANCE)
Paris—887.67.13

Threat to NY Abortion Right Stalled

Attica Butcher Rockefeller Rescues WONAAC

FOR FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND!

The near enactment of the Donovan-Crawford bill to repeal New York State's liberalized abortion law threatened to return women to the purview of the 19th century statute which decreed that abortions could be performed only when the life of the mother was in danger. Since the passage of the liberalized law in 1970, bills to repeal or modify it have been introduced into every session of the New York State legislature as the result of pressure from the Catholic Church and so-called "Right-to-Life" groups maintaining that abortion in any form (even when the mother's life is endangered) is murder. At the same time a suit to strike down the liberalized law has been filed in the courts by Robert Byrn, a reactionary Fordham University law professor who was proclaimed by a Catholic judge to be "a guardian of all fetuses between the 4th and 24th week of gestation." Of course all the crusaders for repeal refuse to admit that reinstatement of the old law will not qualitatively reduce the number of abortions performed on New York State residents. Those who can afford it will go elsewhere for their abortions or pay outlandish prices for "safe" illegal abortions. Working-class women who had been able to take advantage of the new law despite the high cost of legal abortions will be consigned to back-room butchers with the usual resultant high mortality and sterility rates. Maternal and infant mortality rates dropped substantially in New York State following the passage of the 1970 law.

Legislators Run for Cover

The Donovan-Crawford bill received much more attention than similar bills in the past and managed to pass both houses of the state legislature. 1972 is an election year and all the legislators are highly concerned with their images in their home districts. Many had been challenged on the abortion issue and others hoped that they could divert their constituencies' attention from other issues by playing up the abortion repeal drama. The complete hypocrisy of the legislative shell game is evident in the fact that some legislators who favored the liberalized law and voted for its passage in 1970 voted for the Donovan-Crawford bill this time around simply because they knew that Rockefeller planned to veto it anyway!

Rockefeller's Motives

Governor Rockefeller had pledged all along to veto any attempt to repeal the liberalized law and did indeed veto the Donovan-Crawford bill even after the infamous letter written by President Nixon to Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of New York—in which Nixon told the Cardinal that he was opposed to abortions and "would personally like to associate myself with the convictions you deeply feel and eloquently express"—had been made public. Rockefeller could go ahead with his veto since Nixon's position on abortion is not a serious potential rift between the two Republican leaders, as indicated by the White House's rush to claim that the letter had been intended to be private, that Nixon (for whom Rockefeller will act as campaign manager in New York State) did not intend to embarrass Rockefeller, etc. Rockefeller's veto is hardly an expression of his concern for the rights of women; rather, he is also up for re-election this year and needs to woo the liberal voters. He intends to get a portion of the conservative vote too, by his support for a "compromise" measure which would reduce the time limit within which legal abortions could be performed from 24 to 18 weeks of pregnancy. Rockefeller's real motives become clearer when viewed in the context of recent events in the State of Connecticut. The U. S. District Court recently struck down as unconstitutional Connecticut's ancient anti-abortion statute, leaving no law in force in Connecticut. Governor Thomas J. Meskill (a Roman Catholic who considers abortion to be murder) called the General Assembly into special session to write a new abortion law. The Assembly quickly delivered the goods—a measure as restrictive as the old law, permitting abortions only if the mother's life is in danger—which Meskill promptly signed into law. Rockefeller has pointed out that if the U.S. District Court's ruling is upheld, the old New York law, if reinstated, would be invalidated as well since it is practically identical to the Connecticut law. That would leave New York with no law at all which would mean—no restrictions on abortion!

Separation of Church and State?

The reactionary nature of the Catholic Church and the ties between church and state have been clearly evident throughout the New York State abortion fight. The Catholic Church has sought to push its medieval moral doctrines into law by using its wealth and influence to pressure the New York State government to repeal abortion reform. According to the Church, women must be punished for their "original sin" by bearing the pain of childbirth and caring for unwanted children—they should not even be allowed to practice birth control, let alone have any rights at all to abortion. Furthermore these doctrines must apply not only to practicing Catholic women, but to all women, since the Catholic Church appoints itself the moral guardian of society as a whole. The Catholic Church stands on a history of the slaughter of thousands of "heretics" during the Holy Inquisition. The American bourgeoisie stands on a history of the slaughter of millions in its imperialist

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The German workers correctly sensed the revanchist maneuvers of the right wing of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) to sabotage the treaties. Rainer Barzel, who heads the CDU, insisted upon a "clarifying clause" restating the German right of "self-determination" and disclaiming any binding character to the agreement with regard to defining future European borders. The workers political strikes meant that they were not relying automatically on Brandt to carry through the treaty. Brandt in fact compromised and accepted Barzel's "clause" in order to ensure a Social-Democratic majority in the vote in the Bundestag. The Brandt coalition fell short of a majority vote until the CDU abstained.

The passage in the Bundestag on May 17 and 19 of the Russian and Polish treaties affirmed the Oder-Neisse frontier as the boundary between the German Democratic Republic and Poland: the treaty renounced the use of force and gave de facto recognition to the GDR. The Soviets considered the passage of these treaties even in watered-down form as essential for a successful summit. They expect a better treaty to come out of a proposed European Security Conference which would also lead to a reduction in troop strength on the part of NATO and the Warsaw Pact powers.

The chain of events unfolding in West Germany on the eve of the summit played a central role in shaping a "soft" Soviet response over Vietnam. Anticipating this, Nixon was emboldened toward reescalation.

Pro-Imperialist "Peace" Movement

The U. S. bourgeoisie was almost unanimously united in favor of the Vietnam war in its early days, as directed ultimately against China. The drastic effects of the Cultural Revolution internally on the Chinese military-economic readiness, however combined with the isolation of the Chinese Stalinists internationally, especially after the 1965 massacre of hundreds of thousands of pro-Peking Indonesian Communists, gradually convinced most influential sections of the American bourgeoisie that the Chinese threat to U. S. hegemony in Asia had for the time abated, and with it the advisability of continuing in Vietnam the war they had come to regard as a sheer adventure. But the failure of the U.S. to disengage from Vietnam is not simply the result of governmental inertia—such a withdrawal, while advisable for U.S. imperialism, would nonetheless constitute a defeat, unless complete betrayal on the part of the Vietnamese Stalinists and their allies, especially the Soviet Union, can be assured. Hence the inability of the U. S. to pull out despite the widespread and by now long-standing bourgeois opposition to this particular war. The U. S. bourgeoisie may even ultimately have recourse to the method of the French, which had to resort to coup d'etat, installing General de Gaulle, to extricate itself even on favorable terms from Algeria.

Tailing the large section of the bourgeoisie now seeking an escape from Vietnam (to put the forces of U. S. imperialism to work elsewhere) is the U. S. anti-war movement held together by the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance. The SWP/YSA recalls its Trotskyist past well enough to offer a few clumsy, almost Pavlovian dissimulations in response to criticism of its bloc with the anti-war bourgeoisie and its pop-front formations' refusal to call for DRV/NLF military victory, labor strikes against the war, etc.

The SWP/YSA asserts its "independent" "socialist" campaigns as evidence of innocence of the pop front charge—after all, if the SWP has bourgeois, pop-front politics, why does it continue to run its own campaigns, criticize the Democrats, etc.? What the SWP's "independence" in fact illustrates is its impotence in the eyes of the U. S. bourgeoisie. The U.S. ruling class has at present absolutely no need for the SWP as a political partner beyond joint participation in the liberal vote-gathering jamborees organized by the SWP-led National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). That the bourgeoisie has no need for electoral pop-front collaboration with the ostensibly socialist SWP should not be confused with the question of SWP program and appetites, through which the SWP has completely prepared such collaboration, sponsoring bourgeois politicians in its own "single-issue" front groups.

In 1953 an SWP leader, Farrell Dobbs, wrote:

> "...the most vital place to carry on anti-war agitation and participate in anti-war actions is in the unions where the masses are. We have always envisaged the struggle against war as an extension of the class struggle onto a higher plane. The fight against the war can really be effective only to the extent that the workers adopt class-struggle policies in defending their interests. If we are to help this process along we must be in the unions...."

This Marxist line on imperialist war has vanished without a trace from the SWP's politics.

Student Strikes, Labor Unrest

A series of student strikes responded to Nixon's brazen challenge to North Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The student response was generally less political than the response to the Kent-Cambodia events of two years ago, reflecting a general but very uneven de-politicalization of campus life. Meanwhile the U. S. working class, seething with discontent over the war and economic conditions but lacking an independent political vehicle and ignored by the anti-war pop-front bandwagon which touts its bourgeois and bureaucratic betrayers, can only express its rage by wildcat strikes (e. g. Norwood and Lordstown in auto) and "protest" votes for Wallace and McGo-

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Nixon Offensive

vern, both promising quick and "radical" solutions to the war and the economic crisis.

The SL has fought ceaselessly to expose the student-based pro-imperialist "peace" movement and orient militants toward working-class strike actions in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. We sought to use the recent student strikes as an opportunity to supplement our propaganda within the labor movement for labor strikes against the war, through the vehicle of Work Stoppage Committees. Students from the WSCs addressed union meetings urging anti-war strikes, stressing class solidarity with the Vietnamese working people's struggle and the need to programmatically break the U.S. labor movement from the bureaucracy's collaboration with the class enemy. The SL also demonstrated against the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists' military and diplomatic betrayals of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Soviet refusal to seriously oppose Nixon's attempt to strangle North Vietnam is a heavy blow against the working masses everywhere. The recent European treaties are objectively advantageous to the proletariat, but only in the sense of buying time for revolutionary working-class intervention which alone can prevent the next world war. The motives of the Soviet bureaucracy, of course, are the same in the Vietnam betrayal, the European boundary treaties and the summit agreements. Unable and unwilling to rely on the strength of the world proletariat, the bureaucracy attempts to preserve its strategic position through stabilizing relations with imperialism, now by outright betrayal, now by detentes which may incidentally benefit the workers but are designed simultaneously to circumscribe their struggle. Only the political revolution, based on the program of a reconstructed Leninist-Trotskyist Fourth International, can lead the workers to destroy the usurping Stalinist bureacracy and seize the political control of their destinies in the deformed workers states, maintaining international defense against imperialism and providing inspiring example and aid to workers under imperialism. ■

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..... Abortion Threat Stalled

ploys throughout the world. Even as Nixon again escalates the war in Vietnam, he finds time to babble with obscene hypocrisy to his friend Cardinal Cooke about their mutual commitment to "the sanctity of life." Both Cardinal Cooke and Bishop Edwin B. Broderick, chairman of the New York State Catholic Committee, sent statements to Rockefeller urging him not to veto the Donovan-Crawford bill. Meanwhile the New York State legislature has just passed a bill granting state aid to parochial schools.

WONAAC: Minimum Demands

The New York State government nearly managed to take away the minimum gains that have been won in the struggle to abolish all abortion restrictions because of the weakness of the movement behind it. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) and its Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) leadership have made the abortion issue the single-issue focus of the women's liberation movement. Of course we must defend any gains in the struggle for abortion reform (such as the liberalized New York State law). Abortion is a basic right and must be won as part of a fight to free women from the restrictions of the nuclear family which places total responsibility for children (whether wanted or not) upon the mother. But the abortion demand is nonetheless basically a reformist one, which the bourgeoisie could grant with relative ease. Abortion restrictions are not necessary to the maintenance of the nuclear family, but rather serve as a subsidiary prop. Many bourgeois countries have already abandoned abortion restrictions as the liberal wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie wants to abandon them.

WONAAC: Bought Off

WONAAC and the SWP/YSA have consciously sought and cemented an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie in order to maintain the illusion that they are leading a "mass movement" for abortion reform. They boast as supporters such bourgeois politicians as Bella Abzug, the Democratic Party's token women's liberationist. The recent May 6 WONAAC demonstration in New York City featured a whole panoply of bourgeois speakers—Abzug, Shirley Chisholm and Mary Lindsay (wife of the mayor of New York City who has been responsible for a prolonged and vicious attack on the working class: squashing strikes, laying off city employees, reactionary welfare legislation, etc.) after which the SWP spokesman got up to say "we have no faith in either of the capitalist parties—Republican or Democrat"! Were he a woman, one would not be surprised to see Rockefeller himself, the butcher of Attica, on the platform of the next WONAAC demonstration. Except for their ceaseless prating about "the movement" being "independent" (certainly not from the ruling class) and "in the streets," the WONAAC spokesmen have never gone even quantitatively beyond the stand taken by Rockefeller. His repeal statement sounded like the typical speech of a WONAAC member:

> "The truth is that this repeal of the 1970 reform would not end abortions. It would only end abortions under safe and supervised medical conditions.
>
> "The truth is that a safe abortion would remain the optional choice of the well-to-do woman, while the

continued next page....

Letters

Princeton, N. J.

I am using this opportunity to give you my opinions, in a comradely fashion, about your organization and your paper. So as not to keep you guessing, I am a member of the I.S. and a high school student.

The only time I have ever come into direct contact with your group was at a forum of yours about a year ago, and I must say I was not too impressed. The sum total of anyone there's discussion with me was when one of your people, in fact the person who had apparently organized the thing, asked "Do you want to buy a subscription to the Spartacist, kid?" I doubt this is [your] usual line toward high school students - we don't in general enjoy having our intelligence insulted - I don't think you would have much luck in getting your program across to us with attitudes like that. In all probability, I was addressed in that manner on account of politics, as I was wearing an I. S. button. However, had I been black I don't think you would have said, "How about a subscription to the Spartacist, n----r?" At any rate, it left a rather lousy taste in my mouth.

The main reason I am subscribing to your paper is that it is interesting to read your criticisms of the I. S., because we are sure to [be] mentioned at least twice every issue. Just out of curiosity, how many workers do you think could really care less about our position on this or that or Wohlforth's latest flip-flops? Your paper, I feel, would [be] much more interesting if you avoided all the sectarian trivia that now takes up so much space. In fact, I pledge $5.00 to you if I see an issue that does not engage in long polemics against one or another left group. It would be well worth it.

One last note. If you have anything about high school situations I would very much appreciate it if I could see them, or get in contact with any h.s. members that you have. I will definitely reciprocate.

Yours for the Revolution,
Carl M.

•

Moshelm, Tenn.

Please stop sending me mail (i.e. take my name off your mailing lists).

I've joined Zero Population Growth and Friends of the Earth and am no longer interested in revolutionary ideas.

Thank you.

Michael C.

•

East Orange, N.J.

You can take your "Revolutionary Communist Youth Movement" and stick it right up your a-s. If you think Communism works, try the other side of the Iron Curtain.

Your organization is a downright insult to the Anti-War Organization of America. We want to stop war, you claim to also. But you want to cause another Civil War in the U.S. Forget about it. Ending capitalism in America, and setting up Communism, is going from bad to worse.

The SMC couldn't give two s---s about the SDS, as far as we're concerned, you can blow each other away. And take your f-----g RCY with you!

Peace Now, Communism No!
Tom C., SMC

•

Tempe, Arizona

There are some YSA comrades here in the Phoenix local and some in the newly-formed Flagstaff-at-large-area who have become increasingly disillusioned with the "politics" of the YSA/SWP. As the Educational Director of this local, I have had to spout nonsense about "recruitment on the basis of nationalism and feminism" which you rightly call, the lowest common denominators. I have been told by the National Office that recruiting workers in my factory is unimportant if they cannot find time to do "mass work" on the campuses here. The possibility of a struggle for a union at my plant and myself playing a key role in that fight is of no interest to the Regional Center in L. A. Running a little petty-bourgeois creep, who I must call comrade, for a student government office at Arizona State University is of paramount importance to the RC, however. My discontent with the lack of a proletarian orientation has caused the Regional Organizer to say that, I "don't understand YSA politics" and that I will, eventually, "join the Sparts." We also have a comrade at a... plant here who has been told that his primary concern with his fellow workers should be getting them to "help build the anti-war movement." These guys on his crew are being investigated for "possible subversive activities" by the FBI.... And, to top it all off, these same workers put out a very militant, underground labor paper. The YSA's concern, however, is not with labor militants. Our concern is in putting across our "transitional program for students." We had a comrade at a steel plant here until he transferred to L. A. He was told to "play it cool on the job." "Don't antagonize the bosses. You need the job to pay your sustainer."...

One of the Flagstaff comrades said he was completely dismayed by the number of pacifists he was discovering in the YSA. Pacifists! This same comrade, even though he is a student, is thoroughly disgusted by what he characterized as the "petty-bourgeois reformist politics" of the YSA. Two close friends of his and mine (one a former member of the YWLL and the other a woman in the... union) are completely unimpressed by YSA's "working class politics," but are, however, interested in the Spartacist League.... Before any of us consider joining the RCY or League, however, it is neces-

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Abortion

poor would again be seeking abortions at a grave risk to life in back-room abortion mills.

"The truth is that, under the present law, no woman is compelled to undergo an abortion. Those whose personal and religious principles forbid abortion are in no way compelled against their convictions under the present law. Every woman has the right to make her own choice."

—New York Times, 14 May 1972

WONAAC refuses to demand even the minimal reform, Free Abortion on Demand, and confines its slogans to "Repeal All Abortion Laws," "Repeal Restrictive Contraception Laws," and "End Forced Sterilization," in fear of alienating its capitalist friends who will not tolerate even the struggle for free abortion with its limited attack on capitalist privilege and profit. WONAAC thus abandons the needs of the majority of women—poor and working-class women—who would not be able to afford the high cost of legal abortions.

Women's Liberation Is Class Issue

Even winning the important free abortion reform will not liberate women from their social and economic oppression in class society. Working-class women are oppressed not only by the atomization and degrading roles they are forced into through one of the main social institutions of class society, the nuclear family, but face sexual discrimination in hiring, promotion, and wages in addition to the general oppression and exploitation faced by all workers. As part of a huge pool of reserve labor, marginally employed, women in particular suffer from the necessary "safety valves" of the capitalist system, such as the wage freeze and the chronic unemployment of a large segment of the work force. Women will win "control over their own bodies" only when the capitalist system has been destroyed and replaced by socialism. The struggle for women's liberation requires for its fulfillment a class struggle, based on the recognition that there are irreconcilable conflicts between the needs and interests of working-class women and men and the needs and interests of the bourgeoisie—male, female, liberal or otherwise. WONAAC/SWP confines the women's liberation movement to the single reform issue of abortion law repeal, carefully divided from other social struggles, in order to maintain within its ranks the enemies of the working class. Under its present leadership, divorced from the working class—the section of society which has the social power and the objective interests to liberate all of society—this "women's liberation movement" will be as unsuccessful as the SWP-led, class-collaborationist anti-war movement, after six years of marches and a bourgeois "pacifist"-imperialist ideology.

Fake Lefts Cover Betrayal

Tagging along in the wake of the SWP/YSA are the International Socialists (IS) and the Progressive Labor Party (PL). IS plays the same loyal opposition role in WONAAC that it does in the SWP/YSA's other alliance with the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). At the February WONAAC conference the IS voted against a Women and Revolution proposal demanding exclusion of bourgeois politicians and repudiation of the expulsion of communists from the conference. (Members and supporters of Women and Revolution, the Spartacist League, and Revolutionary Communist Youth were excluded from the opening session of the conference after attempting to present a resolution to bar the class enemy from the platform—see Workers Vanguard #6). IS' own resolution would have permitted bourgeois representatives to participate in WONAAC if they or their parties favored free abortion. (No doubt the IS will tolerate only those representatives of the bourgeoisie in NPAC who are for immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam—like Vance Hartke.) IS' refusal to base itself on a clear break from class collaboration in the fight for women's liberation can only mean that it entertains and sows illusions about WONAAC.

Joining IS in spreading the criminal illusion that popular fronts like WONAAC can be pressured into fighting in the interests of the oppressed and exploited is the Progressive Labor Party's "left-center coalition," the University Action Group (UAG). Previously characterized by sectarian refusal to participate in principled united fronts with other tendencies, the hopelessly muddled politics of PL/UAG now push them eagerly into the arms of WONAAC. This action follows PL's decision to "relate constructively" to NPAC at the Cleveland conference last December, where PL pledged support to the next peace crawl. Since its right turn, PL is finally caught in the tentacles of fatal, class-collaborationist politics.

WONAAC Brags

WONAAC and the SWP/YSA have falsely inflated the size and success of the abortion reform movement, claiming that "the fact that opponents of women's liberation have made abortion the central focus of their counter-attack on the women's movement emphasizes the importance of this issue." The gains in this struggle have been minimal at best. The liberalized New York law has been retained but is being eroded—abortions can no longer be performed outside of clinics or hospitals and will no longer be paid for by Medicaid. WONAAC has learned nothing from the legislature's near-successful attempt to reinstate the old law. WONAAC and the SWP even claim that Rockefeller was forced to move to immediate veto of the Donovan-Crawford bill because he was scared by WONAAC's planned demonstration for May 15! And they plan to continue their fight with the same old tactics—a recent New York WONAAC meeting entertained suggestions for more letter-writing campaigns, more phone calls to legislators and more meaningless "mass" marches, with of course no mention of the class nature of the women's liberation struggle. These tactics will never lead to real advances because they are undertaken with the perspective of pressuring the bourgeoisie for minimal democratic reforms. To claim otherwise only invites cynicism and demoralization on the part of women participating in the movement. The movement as it presently exists is doomed to powerlessness and defeat unless it can break out of its middle-class isolation and ally in struggle with other oppressed sectors of society in a unified working-class movement. To do this the women's liberation movement must have a working-class orientation both as women and as workers!

Only clearly defined revolutionary perspectives embodied in a program of transitional demands can build a mass, class-conscious women's liberation movement capable of giving women the right "to control their own lives and their own bodies." Free abortion on demand, free birth control for men and women, and no forced sterilization must be fought for in the context of and along with these and other demands:

- Free quality health care for all.
- Free 24-hour quality child-care centers controlled by parents and staff.
- Equal pay for equal work—equal access to all job categories. No job discrimination based on sex.
- No laws against any form of sexual activity between consenting individuals. End the legal persecution of prostitutes.
- Employment for all; "30 for 40"—thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay. Control prices, not wages.
- For labor political strikes against the Indochina war.
- No confidence in bourgeois politicians, male or female: Break with the capitalist parties. Build a labor party based on the trade unions.
- Women's liberation through socialist revolution —Build a socialist women's liberation organization! ■

Continued....

sary for us to clarify several points in our minds. As a member of the executive committee here, it was decided by interested comrades that I should take steps to get the desired information and present it to them. I will list below the points which we would like clarified for us. Please cover these as fully as possible in order to facilitate a better understanding.

(1) An analysis of the '53 split in the Fourth and the subsequent reunification. Explain the nature of Pabloism, its roots, etc.

(2) Your position on a Labor Party in the US.

(3) Your policy on trade union work. What is your reply to the SWP assertion that to build communist fractions in the unions is to "bury ourselves until such time as the trade union layer of the working class begins to radicalize." What is your assessment of the present state of the Labor Movement and its roots.

(4) Your analysis of the "national liberation struggles" in the US. Your stance on these movements. The standard defense of the SWP/YSA against an attack on their position is that our opponents on the Left do not distinguish between the nationalism of the oppressed and that of the oppressor. It is also pointed out to skeptical comrades that Trotsky was in favor of our supporting the right of blacks to self-determination. How do you counter this. We would also like your analysis of the ghetto rebellions by black workers over the past decade and your position on these rebellions.

(5) Your analysis of the recent prison revolts such as Attica.

(6) An analysis of the anti-war movement and the concept of "non-exclusionary mass movements" in general. Drawing a class line? Why is NPAC a popular front, i.e., we are aware of the presence of capitalist politicians and labor skates as "honored guests" at NPAC sponsored rallies, but what is your analysis which leads you to characterize the NPAC program as bourgeois?

(7) An analysis of the student movement and its class nature. SDS—bourgeois formation, social-democratic? Your analysis of PL's intervention in and subsequent takeover of the remnants of SDS.

(8) Analysis of the "women's movement" and its class nature.

(9) Position on the current SWP election campaign.

(10) Your general defense policy—not only political defense but also your attitude toward armed self-defense.

(11) General analysis of the current radicalization and its roots.

(12) Your reply to Ernest Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism.

(13) Your analysis of the colonial revolutions and the concept (first advanced by Pablo?) of epicenters of revolution. An analysis of the Cuban Revolution and your position on Cuba.

(14) Analysis of the Middle East and your stance on it.

(15) Your analysis of the revolutionary upsurge of May-June '68 in France and the events in Italy in the fall of '69.

(16) Analysis of and position on current struggle in Ireland. What is your attitude toward the regular IRA?

With communist greetings,
Steven P.

(Editors' note: For interested readers of WV, virtually all the above points are extensively covered in earlier [and still available] issues of Workers Vanguard, Spartacist and/or the RCY Newsletter.)

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Chicago, Ill.

I have been buying Workers Vanguard whenever I've had the occasion to be at meetings where your members were present. Though I have some political disagreements with you, nonetheless I find your paper to have a consistently high level of political and theoretical analysis of issues and questions of vital concern to revolutionaries everywhere. I particularly enjoy your coverage of the insane courses of the I. C. and the United Secretariat. Consequently, I enclose $1.00 for one year's subscription to your paper. Thank you.

For a Socialist World

This pattern of recent correspondence indicates that our press serves its proper Marxist function—repelling reformists and philistines and attracting those with a potential role in the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Our refusal to spell out some of our correspondents' words is based on different considerations. Our objection to "dirty words" is not primarily a matter of taste, but of legal liability especially in the uncertain future. We object to racist epithets in principle—language reflects thought and conditions deeds.

"Therefore, the sections of the Fourth International should always strive not only to renew the top leadership of the trade unions, boldly and resolutely in critical moments advancing new militant leaders in place of routine functionaries and careerists, but also to create in all possible instances independent militant organizations corresponding more closely to the tasks of mass struggle against bourgeois society; and if necessary, not flinching even in the face of a direct break with the conservative apparatus of the trade unions. If it be criminal to turn one's back on mass organizations for the sake of fostering sectarian fictions, it is no less so to passively tolerate subordination of the revolutionary mass movement to the control of openly reactionary or disguised conservative ("progressive") bureaucratic cliques. Trade unions are not ends in themselves; they are but means along the road to proletarian revolution."

—Leon Trotsky, "Transitional Program," 1938

"Left-C Betray Welf Uni

in the recent hotly-contested leadership election in the Social Service Employees Union (SSEU)-Local 371 in New York, concluded on April 28, the "Committee for New Leadership" (CNL), a caucus supported by Tim Wohlforth's Workers League (WL), consummated a betrayal of basic Trotskyist principles in a straight Stalinist-model left-center coalition. Foregoing an independent slate entirely, the CNL joined with the Communist Party-supported Unity Caucus and the SSEU Black Caucus to support the incumbent union president, Stanley Hill, against an opportunist breakaway slate headed by Bart Cohen. Cohen and two others on his slate had been officers under Hill, a leadership which the CNL had denounced for two years as sellouts, betrayers, and even red-baiters, since the Hill slate was elected with WL/CNL support in 1970.

Since December 1967, when the Workers League launched its short-lived "Trade Unionists for a Labor Party" on an opportunist, five-point program deliberately omitting reference to racism or the Vietnam war, the WL has amply demonstrated that its fundamental orientation to the organizations of the working class is that of left pressure group on the existing trade union bureaucracy, accommodating to and ultimately reinforcing working-class political backwardness. Its most criminal demonstration of its attitude was the support to the reactionary anti-labor "strike" of New York City police last year, a capitulation to the widespread illusions among workers that the police are their friends and fellow-workers (see "Police Militancy vs. Labor," Workers Action, April-May 1971). Under the pressures of the current economic crisis, the WL's appetite for a gimmick has developed under the umbrella of increasing warnings of the rapid development of "fascism," reflected most recently in the WL's May Day call "Stop Wallace! Build a Labor Party Now!" The Communist Party's cry of imminent fascism from Nixon (or Goldwater, Eisenhower, Dewey, etc.) is intended to build up the Democrats. The WL with its cry of imminent fascism from Wallace intends to build up the credit of various labor bureaucrats, who in turn support the Democrats however loudly the WL demands from them the formation of a labor party. The WL call for a labor party, instead of being used as a battering ram against all the labor fakers, is subordinated in practice to embellishing the role of the "progressive" union bureaucrats as opposed to the "reactionary" bureaucrats, in the long-established pattern of Stalinist betrayal in the labor movement.

WL Finds Greater Evil

To establish SSEU incumbent president Stanley Hill's "progressive" credentials with a view toward supporting him in the April election, the WL/CNL had to first create a "greater evil" in the Cohen opposition slate by characterizing it as—you guessed it—"a reflection of the completely reactionary and racist Wallaceite movement in our union" (CNL leaflet). Earl Browder himself would be proud of that formulation. Cohen is in fact a much more systematic and determined career bureaucrat than the weak and vacillating Hill. But his principal claim to notoriety was not as a "Wallaceite," but as the part of the Hill-Cohen leadership heavily responsible for establishing and conducting SSEU negotiating policy (although Victor Gotbaum personally is automatically chief negotiator for all DC37 locals). In 1970 Cohen became Vice President, Legal Services, because the Hill slate did not oppose his candidacy even though he was running as an incumbent on the Morgenstern slate, and together with Hill had run successfully for office on the Morgenstern slate in 1968. Cohen has been an officer in the union bureaucracy since 1965, and a working associate of Hill for four years! The actual composition of the Cohen slate itself illustrated further the fictitious and self-serving nature of the WL characterizations. Of the Cohen slate of eight officers, four were black and five were incumbents under Hill since 1970! Apparently they became "racist Wallaceites" only after their break with Hill. One of them, Joe Sperling, was (and possibly still is) a member of the Unity Caucus which formed part of Hill's coalition and which the WL described as supported by the Communist Party. Impressed by Sperling's occasional opposition to Hill from the "left," the CNL attempted to court him and for a brief period even invited him to its caucus meetings. But what the WL/CNL had once called simply the "Hill-Cohen leadership" began to be qualitatively differentiated at least by the editors of the WL Bulletin in an 18 October 1971 article titled "Right Wing Goes on Offensive in SSEU" in which a grouping around Cohen was described as the emerging "right-wing pro-Gotbaum section" of the Hill leadership. (Victor Gotbaum heads District Council 37, AFSCME, of which SSEU is a member local as a result of a disastrous re-merger in 1969 which wrecked the internal democracy of the SSEU and set up the political preconditions for the series of defeats suffered by the membership since then. The CNL claims major credit for that merger "even though it was on unfavorable terms." The CNL forces were then known as the "Affiliation Now Committee"—see "Death of a Union," Spartacist #14.) Although they hadn't yet discovered Cohen to be a "Wallaceite" the WL/CNL had begun to lay the foundation for their rotten bloc with Hill and his Stalinist supporters.

WL Denounces Hill

The bloc with Hill developed gradually. In a WL Bulletin article of 29 November 1971 responding to an attack by Communist Party hack George Morris in his pamphlet Rebellion in the Unions, a Handbook for Rank and File Action (described by the Bulletin as "an apology throughout for the so-called liberal wing of the trade union bureaucracy") Dennis O'Casey cited CP support of the "progressive" wing of the labor bureaucracy and stated:

> "Stan Hill is no exception. Hill has openly refused to break with Gotbaum while Gotbaum stands as a firm supporter of Meany's role on the pay board."

But only one month before we were told that it was Cohen who was the "right-wing pro-Gotbaum section" of the SSEU leadership. Obviously then we would conclude, and did, that both Cohen and Hill support Gotbaum—that there was no fundamental difference between them then or now. Apparently O'Casey at that time agreed for he stated:

> "What this shows is that it is precisely those who support one wing of the bureaucracy claiming that this is the way to fight the other wing that end up in support of the policies of the bureaucracy as a whole. It is Morris and his [Communist] party who back up Meany through the so-called lefts in the labor bureaucray."

Prophetic words indeed! O'Casey observed that "The Hill leadership in spite of its CP backing is falling apart at the seams." He concluded with the resounding declaration:

> "The CNL's perspective is to now take full advantage of the new situation by launching the most ambitious drive ever to win the SSEU officers' election in April 1972."

Win the election for whom?

Preparing for the Bloc

By 20 December 1971 the Bulletin "lesser evil" strategy began to blossom:

> "The right wing, pro-Gotbaum opposition to Hill can play a very dangerous role by utilizing the legitimate anger of the membership with Hill, to get those who would be even worse into office."

This was the turning point. In the Bulletin of 6 March 1972, the left-center betrayal fully flowered: "CNL Demands That Hill Defeat Right Wing in SSEU Election." This article proceeded to list the programmatic points determining the support to Hill. The first two were workload ratio and negotiating demands. The third condition would have been crucial were we dealing with Trotskyists instead of centrist opportunists:

> "that the SSEU must repudiate Gotbaum and Wurf's [national president of AFSCME] call for support to Muskie in the '72 electoral campaigns and come out for a labor party."

The article concluded with a statement that if Hill did not accept these conditions for support, "the CNL is prepared to wage an independent campaign against the Cohen forces" and stated the CNL was publishing a newspaper, the Campaigner, presumably fighting for these positions. However, the Campaigner, already issued in February, did not list the labor party demand as a precondition for support to the Hill slate! Instead it substituted a demand that Hill call for "city-wide union action." This cynical deception—one "line" for Bulletin readers and another for SSEU members—showed that the WL/CNL had never intended that the labor party demand be a basis for support to Hill! As a matter of fact, in Hill's main election brochure, issued before these WL/CNL articles were written, he boasted that he had obtained support against various regressive welfare programs "from the majority of elected officials in the New York area and from such national leaders as Senator George McGovern." For what small change did Judas-Wohlforth sell the crucial demand for a labor party? Part of the answer is contained in the very same issue of the Bulletin in another headline, "SSEU Head [Hill] Endorses YS March for Jobs." (The Young Socialists are the latest WL youth group.) In bourgeois political parlance this is called mutual back-scratching. Workers League-Hill-McGovern in the SSEU; Workers League-NPAC-Hartke in the anti-war movement! So much for the WL "labor party" call: endlessly repeated, dropped immediately to support a Democratic bureaucrat.

"Vote Hill"

By the end of March the WL/CNL had abandoned any pretense of "critical" support in their all-out campaign for Hill's reelection. Hill and his supporters spoke at public meetings of the CNL. One photo in the 27 March Bulletin depicted Hill at one such meeting "denouncing Cohen for spreading racism in the union." Following Hill's prearranged endorsement of a CNL motion at an SSEU general membership meeting calling for a work action (described by the Bulletin of 3 April as "a sharp departure from [Hill's] previous policy of inaction" that "also provides the basis for a sharp counteroffensive against the right wing insurgency of Bart Cohen") the CNL issued a leaflet titled simply "Vote Hill," criticizing only the "pack of right wing reactionaries" of the Cohen slate. Tacked on at the end—this time—was the demand "For a labor party in '72," ending with the statement:

> "We call upon all those who support this program

Center" ayal in fare ion

to vote Hill Friday and to join the CNL to take forward this fight."

The point cynically obscured here is that the program upon which the WL/CNL based their support to Hill was not the program that Hill was running on! A particularly gross example of the fraudulent nature of the WL/CNL's newly discovered differences between Hill and Cohen was revealed in the Bulletin of 17 April where they ominously warn:

"If these Cohen forces are elected there will be a vicious red-baiting witch-hunt of all militants in the union."

Yet an "Open Letter to Stan Hill and the Hill Leadership" signed by Dennis Cribben for the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership, appearing about two years ago in the 16 October 1970 issue of the SSEU newspaper The Unionist, charged:

"The vicious red-baiting attack on the CNL launched by Les Phillips in the last issue of the 'Unionist' is in our opinion an open announcement by your administration that it will now attempt to witchhunt the CNL out of the union."

The very same Les Phillips ran this year in the number two spot of Executive Vice President on the CNL-supported Hill slate! Apparently the WL/CNL decided that a "progressive" red-baiter was preferable to a "Wallaceite" red-baiter.

"Committee for the Same Old Leadership"

The 1972 SSEU election was not the first time with brother Hill for the WL/CNL. In the previous 1970 elections, the very same "Committee for a New Leadership" (which should be retitled the "Committee for the Same Old Leadership") again urged "Vote Hill," but under slightly different circumstances. Marty Morgenstern was then SSEU President, with Hill as Vice President of Organization. In 1969 Morgenstern and Hill had pushed through a contract constructed around a reorganization scheme announced by the Welfare Department that promised to freeze out 75 per cent of the existing caseworker staff. It resulted in a catastrophic deterioration of working conditions.

Whence Morgenstern?

It is worth noting that in 1968 Morgenstern was elected on a major plank of re-merger with Gotbaum's DC37. Instead of fielding a full slate, the CNL (then called the "Affiliation Now Committee") ran Dennis Cribben alone as token opposition for the bottom position of Treasurer, campaigning fully for merger, and giving Morgenstern's campaign a left cover by tacking on the equally token "labor party" demand. Only the SSEU Militant Caucus—supported by the Spartacist League—ran an opposing slate on a full program of transitional demands and opposed to merger as a defeatist trap, receiving 22 percent of the vote! The ANC/CNL, in a de facto bloc with Morgenstern and a Progressive Labor-supported caucus, helped push through the final vote for merger on January 10, 1969 under the call that "only through the unity of strength provided by merger with DC37 can we fight the City's re-organization scheme." Of course, as predicted by the Militant Caucus, precisely the reverse was the outcome.

And by the 1970 elections, the mood prevailed that "anything would be better than Morgenstern." Hill, a key part of Morgenstern's justly despised leadership, split and formed a Black Caucus-Unity Caucus coalition (the same one as this year) with nothing more than an anti-Morgenstern program. Both the CNL and the Militant Caucus ran opposing slates. Before both were eliminated in a runoff election, the 6 April 1970 Bulletin described the Hill slate thus:

"The openly racist anti-union black nationalist poison spewed out by Hill & Co. is deliberately calculated to channel the legitimate hostility of thousands of black SSEU members... into the blind alley of the black caucus slate."

The elimination of both independent slates left only the opportunist Hill coalition to battle the incumbent opportunist Morgenstern. Then the WL/CNL developed a "new" strategy revealed in the 27 April 1970 Bulletin which boasted "CNL Holds Balance of Power in SSEU Elections." The WL/CNL instantly threw its approximately 6 per cent vote (about equal to the Militant Caucus vote) into a game of two-bit power broker! The article stated very clearly:

"The CNL maintains today just as it has throughout the campaign that the Hill candidacy differs in no respect from that of Morgenstern, that in fact these two bureaucrats are absolutely identical."

To Kill an Illusion...

Unable and unwilling to withstand the overwhelming anti-Morgenstern mood and seeing its first opportunity to bargain for patronage, the WL developed a slimy rationale that was a perversion of the Leninist tactic of critical support to reformist labor leaders to hold them to their promises and expose them before the masses they have fooled—when the reformists claimed to contend for power against the bourgeois class enemy. But the WL maintained that the way to demolish the illusion that one bourgeois-supporting bureaucrat (Hill) was superior to another bourgeois-supporting bureaucrat (Morgenstern) was to help put the currently popular faker into office!

Of course the ranks would soon learn how wrong they were to support more-of-same Hill out of revulsion against Morgenstern's sellouts. But the WL/CNL did not merely warn the members of this—it told the ranks to vote for Hill. To prove to the members that Hill was no better, it supported Hill, that is, lied to the members that Hill was better, reinforcing the very illusions it claimed to be destroying. An enlightened SSEU member would say, "We were fools to support Hill. We should dump him and reject those who supported him like the WL/CNL 'Trotskyists' who led the pack."

...Support It

The Bulletin of 27 April 1970 made a general statement of the WL strategy for dealing with fake insurgent bureaucrats lifted straight out of Stalinist practice:

"With the deepening crisis of the bureaucracy in the American labor movement all sorts of fake militants will advance themselves out of the bureaucratic woodwork on the back of rank and file revolt against the traditional union leaders. The construction of revolutionary leadership in the labor movement will require the testing and exposing of each phony alternative in the actual course of struggle before it is rejected by the ranks." [Emphasis ours]

The WL statement is nothing less than a general license for the grossest opportunism in the labor movement, plunging head first into the "lesser evil" swamp of the Morrisseys, Yablonskis, Foxes, and on ad nauseam. The CNL leaflet on the final runoff two years ago was even more blatantly contradictory. While urging their supporters to "Vote Hill" (with not even a pretense of a "labor party" escape clause) it stated that:

"The CNL has absolutely no confidence whatsoever in the ability of Hill to take this fight forward one inch."

Then came the punch line:

"At the same time, the only way that Hill, who now comes forward in the mantle of partial opposition to reorganization, can be exposed for the fraud he is; the only way the rank and file of the union can be broken from him, and the struggle against the city taken beyond him as it has already been taken beyond Morgenstern, is by placing him in the position of SSEU-371 president." [Emphasis ours]

Militant Caucus: No Difference Between Slates

The Militant Caucus, also eliminated in the first vote, issued a leaflet prior to the second vote which told the truth. It stated:

"In our opinion, there is no qualitative programmatic difference between these slates and a vote for either one would be a wasted vote.... In this vicious run-off fight, where each side is revealing the inside dirt about the other (and we have no reason to doubt either side's accusations), no matter who wins, the membership loses."

The CNL leaflet tried to cover its exposed flanks, claiming that because:

"[The] Militant Caucus are against taking forward the fight against reorganization or the fight to break the rank and file from both the Morgenstern and Hill leaderships, that they fight for abstention in Friday's runoff election, thereby fighting to guarantee the reelection of the Morgenstern leadership."

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As Seen by Workers League—

The Many Faces of Stanley Hill

Stanley Hill: "Absolutely identical" with Morgenstern—1970.

Stanley Hill: "Vote Hill"—1970.

Stanley Hill: "Betrays ranks in first week of office!"—1970.

Stanley Hill: "Vote Hill"—1972.

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THE UAW AND THE CRISIS IN AUTO

the "productivity" drive and special product development to improve competitiveness, such as GM's costliest project ever to create the new "Vega," imports mounted. Despite GM's predictions that 1971 sales of foreign cars would only amount to 10% or 11% of the domestic market, they were double that figure by August. In the first year after the launching of the Chevrolet Vega and Ford Pinto "sub-compacts," Toyota sales increased 74% and Datsun's 108%.

Profits Are the Problem

At this juncture, the auto companies, along with American capitalism generally, demanded special measures to cope with the situation, including greater "productivity" sacrifices from American workers to make U. S. industry more competitive with its "cheap labor" rivals. But it is not the workers' lack of sacrifice that makes U. S. industry uncompetitive and unproductive; it is the capitalist demand for profits. Capitalists produce not when it is socially desirable or useful to do so, but only when it is profitable to do so.

Emma Rothschild, writing for the New York Review of Books, 25 February 1971 and 23 March 1972, provides useful information on this process as it applies to the U. S. auto industry, yet falls into the trap, in at least some of her conclusions, of seeing the basic cause of the crisis as saturation of the market—the automobile glut which has provided the U. S. with at least one car for every 2 1/2 people. This over-production, Rothschild concludes, caused the drop in sales, which in turn led to lower profits, less investment incentive and stagnating productivity. Her statistics, however, show that U.S. auto companies still have a strong though shrinking edge over their foreign rivals in capital assets per employee. This means that the productivity of the American auto worker is greater than that of his foreign counterpart. It also means, however, that the rate of profit on new investment has been driven down, since profit is derived from labor, and the more productive the labor, the more initial capital investment is required to begin the labor process. While the immediate cause of falling profits in U.S. auto is the competition of foreign manufacturers, this takes place within the framework of the longer term phenomenon Marx described as the "tendency of the rate of profit to fall," affecting all capitalisms in all countries. It is this process, not the "glut" of the market, which halts productive new investment and brings on economic crises.

The "glut" of too many automobiles is apparent to any big-city dweller, especially one caught in a traffic jam. It is not the reason for lagging sales of automobiles, however. If cars were made cheaper through reduction in auto company profits, more people would buy them, since the need for adequate transportation is by no means "glutted." The opposite is true: massive new production is needed to entirely change the nature of the transportation system from one based on inefficient, polluting private vehicles to an efficient system of widespread mass transit, using clean power sources and private vehicles only in uncrowded areas. This task would require unified central planning and expropriation of auto and other transport industries by the workers. It is blocked only by the power of private capital—the handful of private owners of industry who must produce only what is immediately profitable to them.

The auto capitalists have two basic courses open to them as the squeeze of a failing rate of profit clamps down on them: I) seek to export capital overseas to take advantage of their competitors' "cheap" (but less productive) labor, or II) try to drive up their rate of surplus value (rate of exploitation).

I—The Drive to Export Capital

The drive to export capital in addition to cars is greater in the older U. S. companies than in their newer rivals, but all are headed in the same direction—toward the inevitable clash over limited investment fields. GM, which advertises the Vega as "a car built in America to American tastes," has subsidiaries producing for the U. S. in Germany, England, Australia, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and South Africa. 20% of GM output (including manual transmissions for the Vega) is produced outside North America and the percentage is rising. The other two of the "Big 3" import more components for their "anti-import" compacts, and Chrysler has contracted with a Japanese firm to produce the engines for Chrysler's entry into the diesel truck market. GM may have the biggest foreign ambition of all: beating Japan to the China market. It is already well down the road toward this central U.S. strategy, with sales of heavy duty equipment to China through an Italian associate and setting up of operations in South Korea, Phillipines, Malaysia, Thailand and Japan itself.

European and Japanese companies, too, are fighting for new markets for sales and investments, but even as they gain headway in the U. S. market—especially vital for Japan—they face Nixon's retaliation on behalf of the U. S. bourgeoisie. Worldwide expansion will not lead to the "rushing toward alliances" envisioned by Automotive News, except in the short-run sense of overseas mergers now being actively pursued even in Japan by U.S. companies. Rather, it tends toward a life-or-death struggle for control of the world between the major capitalist powers. Like Nixon's August 1971 challenge to U. S. trading partners, the clash of the world's auto giants, which are a vital center of the capitalist industrial system, forewarns the approach of yet another, perhaps final, inter-imperialist war for redivision of the world.

II—Productivity and the Rate of Exploitation

The rate of exploitation is determined by the ratio expressing the part of the working day the worker receives back in wages and the part acquired by the boss. This concept is also known as the rate of surplus value. One means of increasing this rate is to increase the productivity of labor without the worker expending any more energy or time. Raising productivity means investing in new labor-saving machinery (usually accompanied by layoffs to reduce the overall work force).

It is possible, however, to increase the capitalist's profits (his part of the day) without increasing productivity through (1) increasing the amount of work performed in the day (speedup); (2) cutting wages; (3) prolonging the working day. The demand for "productivity" through speedup and other worker sacrifices is a major capitalist hoax. Even when the capitalists do stop their phony howling for more "productivity" from the workers to actually engage in productive investments, layoffs and intensification of work are again the usual results for the workers.

Therefore, to concentrate only on wage gains linked to productivity increases, while allowing layoffs, speedups and compulsory lengthening of the working day to proceed unchecked, as the UAW bureaucracy has done virtually since its inception, is to follow exactly the capitalists' demands. Their essential interests are advanced, while those of the workers suffer. Nevertheless, the tendency of the rate of profit to fall is only temporarily slowed by these measures. The inevitable crisis will come, whether in the form of a new world war or an intensified depression or both; and when it does, the workers will be disarmed and unprepared by a policy of capitulation.

Bureaucratic Treachery in UAW

The UAW bureaucratic elite, which was cast into an impervious leaden mass and draped in pious social-patriotism and liberal hypocrisy by Walter Reuther, has indeed been most effective in lashing the workers to the fortunes of their capitalist opponents. GM responded to the present crisis in the U.S. with two fists: Lordstown and GMAD. The $100-million new factory complex at Lordstown, Ohio to produce Vegas was designed to raise actual labor productivity, while the special General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) management team was created to drive up the rate of exploitation through layoffs and speedup at Lordstown and throughout the GM system. The UAW leadership considered itself a slightly critical partner in both these forms of capitalist aggression against the auto workers, rather than an opponent.

Because the Lordstown experiment was the most expensive project of its kind ever undertaken by a U.S. corporation and a key test in the capitalist "productivity" drive against foreign competitors, the events at the specially designed, super-fast and (supposedly) super-efficient plant since the arrival of the GMAD management team, leading to a strike last February, were well publicized in the capitalist press. Intensification of work through the elimination of "unproductive" motion, etc., was made intolerably worse by GMAD's further intensification through layoffs, increased work loads, and victimization of those who couldn't keep up. Less well known is the fact that these policies are commonplace at other GMAD plants and throughout the industry, and that many other locals, such as Norwood, Ohio and Buick Local 599 in Flint, Michigan were considering strike action over similar grievances at about the same time as the Lordstown workers. The UAW bureaucracy managed to stall the others so that Lordstown, and then the Norwood local after it, struck separately. This UAW policy is precisely what GMAD wants—isolated strikes to break morale and force the workers to accept layoffs and speedups. GMAD itself sparked six such strikes in 1969 alone.

The Absurdity of Isolation

The workers at Lordstown, Norwood and other plants throughout the Midwest, know the absurdity of one local union trying to defeat management policies by striking alone, especially against a giant like GM. The Lordstown strike, besides forcing GM to close Fisher Body plants in Syracuse, Buffalo and Detroit, began to affect steel production in Youngstown and Warren (where 5,000 tons of steel per week is produced for Lordstown) and tire production in Akron (Vegas take 10,000 per day). The Lordstown strikers received the support of the 10,000-member IUE Local 717 in Warren, representing GM workers who make electrical wiring harnesses and other assemblies for Vegas, as well as that of many other workers in industries throughout the country. The youthful and militant Lordstown strikers themselves showed imagination and recognition of the need for international solidarity of workers: they wanted to send delegations to get the support of striking West Coast dockers and Japanese auto workers. Not only was this request refused by the UAW bureaucracy, which sends its bureaucrats on international pleasure trips in the name of fighting multi-national corporations, but "Solidarity" House finally succeeded in railroading the Lordstown strikers back to work with the speedup unchanged, compulsory overtime to 9 hours a day, the disciplinary layoffs (DLO's) unresolved and the other 800 laid-off workers somehow "lost" in a supposed "miscount" of the actual number laid off! (Union bureaucrats never miscount their dues-paying members!)

Recognizing the central importance to the auto companies of the kind of cost-cutting campaigns conducted by GMAD, the UAW bureaucracy, in keeping with its general policy of partnership in

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the main interests of capitalism, remains consistently soft on this monster. Exasperated by the UAW tops' inaction in the face of the GMAD assault, one lower-level bureaucrat (the secretary of UAW Local 34, GMAD, in Atlanta) complained:

> "Since we were changed from Fisher Body and Chevrolet Division of General Motors Assembly Division we have experienced not only much difference in bargaining with the Company but also a marked difference in the attitude of our upper leadership.... Leadership should not mean followship and that is the way it appears to the members of Local 34, especially since we have been GMAD.... We... believe our leadership has reached a place of complacency...."
>
> —The United National Caucus, Special Convention Issue, April 1972

The UAW bureaucracy's position is not fundamentally different than right-wing AFL-CIO protectionism. Both put the national interests of U.S. corporations above international labor solidarity. This leaves the bureaucrats open to attack from the right, as evidenced by the many locally-endorsed protectionist resolutions submitted to the 1972 convention. The bureaucrats have no answer except to sweep the whole problem under the rug or capitulate to the right. The March 1972 issue of UAW Solidarity ran an article entitled, "We're Still Not Fonda Honda," which reported that because of some unspecified UAW influence, Honda had announced a reduction in the work week for its employees. There was no mention of the need to establish concrete links of solidarity with Japanese workers, or of the need for a shorter work week in the U. S.

As to layoffs, 100 UAW workers walked off an assembly line in Detroit to protect the jobs of 5 fired workers. But the UAW "leadership," faced with the closing of Fisher Body plant No. 23 in Detroit, threatening "most" of 1,100 jobs permanently, offered a two-fold response: 1) they "demanded" that the Mayor set up a "Jobs For Detroit Committee," which they then sat on, and 2) they called for a federal law to "force" runaway plants to apply for a federal permit before they run away! The latter point would obviously make runaway plants perfectly legal, providing the bureaucrats with an iron-clad excuse for not opposing them. Instead of relying on strike action to fight the layoffs which have put 300,000 auto workers out of work and caused a 15% drop in UAW membership—despite an actual increase in production so far in 1972—the bureaucracy looks to the capitalist class and its politicians to save it from its plight. Said Woodcock to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in 1971, "... it is up to you and to your decisions that we look for the leadership... which our country needs...." (UAW Solidarity, March 1971).

Woodcock Ignores Ranks

The auto worker ranks never endorsed this bureaucratic policy of cooperating with the capitalist enemy and its political stooges. Many have outspokenly opposed it at every step of the way, but the bureaucracy hears little and forgets the rest. When Nixon declared his wage freeze, 2,000 auto workers from Illinois and Iowa demonstrated, including Local 997 Maytag workers from Newton, Iowa who had just completed a 5-month strike. The latter demanded a nationwide strike against the freeze. Although showing his "left" face at the time, Woodcock chose to completely ignore this demand.

GM Contract Betrayal

The contract agreed to by the UAW tops to end the 1970-71 GM strike was typical of the pattern of cooperation with capitalism. It provided some wage gains and limited cost-of-living protection against inflation, but completely sold out on speedups, layoffs and working conditions. The grievance procedure was actually weakened, compulsory overtime was maintained despite promises to eliminate it, and 30 demands for improved safety and working conditions were simply dropped altogether. As stated in the introduction to the contract: "General Motors holds that the basic interests of employers and employees are the same." Brother Woodcock couldn't agree more.

Walter Reuther

Leonard Woodcock

Carnival in Atlantic City

If anyone still doubted the treacherous nature of the UAW bureaucracy after the betrayal of the GM national and Lordstown strikes, the April 1972 UAW convention in Atlantic City should have dispelled them. Despite the defeat at Lordstown, massive grievances, speedups, layoffs, etc. throughout the auto industry, and an ongoing strike at Norwood, Ohio, over these very questions, the convention payed virtually no attention to the vital interests of auto workers. The nearly 3,000 delegates, almost entirely local union officials and a few of their hangers-on, spent most of their time listening to capitalist politicians, passing meaningless resolutions for the politicians to act on, and going to booze parties. It was left to Kennedy to note in an address to the convention that conditions on the auto assembly lines are so bad that workers are sometimes forced to run to keep up with them.

"Don't Worry About Your Contracts, Leonard"

Woodcock's dull State of the Union address to an inattentive audience emphasized his pro-capitalist ideology. Referring to inflation, Woodcock asserted that "labor, fighting to recapture its eroded position, began to be part of the problem...." He criticized the 1970 Teamster wildcat victory of a $1.85 hourly increase as inflationary, and wondered aloud why the Pay Board had been critical of the Aerospace pact, since:

> "UAW contracts, I repeat and insist, are socially responsible, are counter-inflationary; the leading industrial spokesman on the Pay Board, Mr. Virgil Day, said to me, 'Don't worry about your contracts, Leonard, they are on the side of the angels.'"

The first day of the convention was devoted mainly to post-mortem worship of Walter Reuther, and included the showing "for the first time anywhere" of a film about his life—some of it. The film reminded the delegates that the union wasn't built on wage demands alone, but on the struggle against speedups and intolerable working conditions—implying, of course, that all this had been taken care of the minute Reuther left the auto plants and became a union bureaucrat.

The Heritage of Walter Reuther

Reuther was a bureaucratic leader whose accomplishment was to forge an impervious bureaucracy to control a powerful, lively and sometimes "unruly" union. He didn't change conditions on the auto assembly lines; he did succeed in deadening the union. Woodcock is an equally bureaucratic follower whose accomplishment will be to preside over the disintegration of that bureaucracy (it is already beginning to crack) until he is discarded, or thrown out of office by the auto workers. There is a tendency on the part of dolts like Daily World columnist George Morris to assume that Woodcock represents a shift to the right away from Reutherism who is unable to carry forward the "progressive tradition" of the UAW. Says Morris: "... the pace of decline in the UAW's relative progressiveness... has increased since Leonard Woodcock stepped into the union's presidency" (Daily World, 4 May 1972). What Morris is trying to cover up beneath an elaborate, phony theory of "good-guy" progressive trade union bureaucrats like Reuther vs. "bad-guy" reactionaries like Meany, is that Woodcock represents absolutely nothing new: Reuther did it all, in a much slimier fashion, long ago.

It was Reuther who firmly established bureaucratic one-man rule in the UAW in 1949, after years of lively and relatively democratic factional struggle. His complacent slogan, "teamwork in the leadership and solidarity in the ranks," which is so highly touted by his squabbling heirs, was the drapery that concealed his steamrolling, in one way or another, of all those who dared oppose him. It was Reuther who laid the groundwork for Woodcock's betrayal on Nixon's Pay Board by thoroughly establishing the "principle" of class collaboration and participation on every available government board and agency—during World War II, the Korean War and in between. It was Reuther, too, who established once and for all the "tradition" of linking wages to increases in productivity and letting working conditions go to hell. Those who praise Reuther's "achievements" also boast of reversing many of his distinctive "achievements"—contracts as long as 5 years (over the original 1 or 2) with separate termination dates for the major companies, no-strike and "company secu-

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All this led to a slow start in our Workers Vanguard subscription drive. But as the figures show, all SL local and organizing committees and RCY chapters are making heavy, sustained and successful efforts to meet their quotas. While subs are generally easiest to get from students and undifferentiated youth, all local units, individual comrades and especially industrial fractions must stress securing subs from young workers and union militants in our areas of industrial concentration.

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Area	Now	Quota
Berkeley-Oakland	21	55
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Los Angeles	32	50
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New York	63	160
San Francisco	9	25
San Diego	4	10
Stony Brook	5	20
Washington, D.C.	7	10
At-Large	36	90
Totals	250	600

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.....UAW

rity" clauses imposed in defiance of explicit convention decisions, taking wage cuts under pressure and bargaining away cost-of-living protection. It was Reuther, moreover, who rode to power and stayed there as one of the worst red-baiters in the labor movement, combining with reactionaries and racists in and out of the labor movement to defeat his opponents, even setting them up for persecution by government witch-hunting agencies such as HUAC!

"Peoples Car"— "Peoples" Capitalism

It was Reuther who established the slick social-patriotism which characterizes the UAW bureaucracy today. His biographers emphasize how he was always coming up with "Reuther plans" to make things work better for the capitalists, such as getting fighter plane engine production on an assembly-line basis during World War II and drastically reducing the amount of labor time required in the boring of tank cannon and artillery. A more recent example, which would be ludicrous if it weren't serious, demonstrates clearly how Reuther's "leftism" was only designed to make U.S. capitalism more efficient. Concerned about the threat that imports posed to U.S. auto capitalists from the very beginning, Reuther proposed that the major auto makers be permitted to set up a joint-venture corporation to produce a "people's car" to compete with Volkswagen. This would turn back the import threat, help sales and profits, fight unemployment and strengthen the U.S. balance-of-payments position. "[Lyndon] Johnson was impressed..." (Cormier and Eaton, Reuther, 1970, p. 365).

Reuther was a "new-style" bureaucrat, unlike old-line AFL leaders (like Tobin, Hutcheson, Green, etc.), who could never have kept power in a union like the UAW. Without ruling out open suppression of opponents, he generally used more subtle means to stay in power. He pretended to agree with a position or program he actually opposed, to avoid an honest confrontation of views. He used "tactical" and organizational excuses to defeat principled demands such as the creation of a labor party, a shorter work week at no loss in pay, opposition to class collaboration, etc., so he could sabotage them later. This was the school in which Woodcock learned to whine out of both sides of his mouth.

Reutherite Slime: Food for Liberals

Reuther succeeded by combining militant phraseology and social demagogy with maneuvering, trickery and cunning. Probably his most important single "achievement" was at the 1944 convention, where his trickery prevented the UAW from discarding the wartime no-strike pledge, thereby beheading the powerful class-struggle momentum which was strongest in the UAW ranks. His use of social demagogy and his ability to conceal undemocratic acts under a cloak of pseudo-democracy made him popular with intellectuals and liberals. He was regarded as a man of "social vision" because of his fluency in blocking or confusing the discussion of class-struggle policies and cloaking his basically conservative, bureaucratic machine in an aura of social and political progressive rhetoric.

Reuther's fundamental opportunism was established as early as the 1936 convention when, as a newly elected executive board member, he covertly aided John L. Lewis' pressure to overturn the convention's pro-labor party and anti-Roosevelt position in order to appear "respectable." From that point on, his position on the labor party was always, "Now is not the time." With this excuse he supported the Democrats and finally, at the 1955 CIO convention, with the ranks disillusioned and demoralized—and the CIO bureaucrats eager to prove their respectability to their soon-to-be marriage partners in the AFL—Reuther's real position came out: "A labor party would commit the American political system to the same narrow class structure upon which the political parties of Europe are built.... Basically what we are trying to do is work within the two-party system of America..." he said. So it was that a great industrial union was brought back to the reformist cretinism of Samuel Gompers.

The Old Opposition

There has been a long history of opposition to reformism and bureaucracy in the UAW, even extending through the Reuther-dominated cold-war years, when other unions were more easily cowed. Auto workers demonstrated their contempt for the cold-war witchhunt when, at the height of it, they came out in force to defend a small strike in Detroit being balted as "communist" and attacked by the police. UAW oppositionists spoke out against the Korean War at the time, and the leadership of the giant Ford Local 600 staged a long rebellion against Reuther, emphasizing among other things the demand for a labor party. Yet at no time during this period did the opposition manage to forge a permanent, cohesive organized force based on a principled program. Without a consistent anti-bureaucratic and anti-capitalist perspective, the groups tended to come and go, some selling out to Reuther's bureaucracy, others leaving the labor movement. A long-term political focus and basic cadre for overthrowing the bureaucracy and replacing it with revolutionary working-class leadership was lacking.

The New Opposition

The new opposition is destined to travel the same road as the old, unless it learns the lessons of the past. Many caucuses exist ("Rank and File for Progress," "Action Caucus," etc.), but the only serious political opposition to the machine at the 1972 convention came from the United National Caucus (UNC). The UNC is loosely structured and based on previous caucuses, particularly Art Fox's caucus in the skilled trades unit of Local 600, but it represents the fusion of diverse forces and new ideas. Fox himself, no longer the sole leader, publicly spurns his own opportunist past without having changed one iota. The new caucus has a relatively advanced program on paper, with demands for 30 for 40, no labor participation on government boards, immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia, and for a labor party. It prides itself on efforts to become integrated and to develop programs to combat racism from a working-class standpoint. Yet the caucus incorporates the grossest opportunism within its ranks because of failure to appreciate the true nature of its tasks.

With no membership requirements beyond dues payment, the UNC stands open to many completely contradictory, even counterposed political tendencies and to careerists simply looking for an avenue to personal power. Many of the latter, like the frustrated candidate for president of Local 600 who received special speaking rights at the UNC caucus meeting at the '72 convention, are fully embroiled in suing the union in the capitalist courts, a basic class betrayal which can only increase the tendency toward government control over the unions. Illusory, immediate or personal gains may sometimes be won in this way, but the workers will never advance under this cop-out masquerading as a "tactic": in fact, rank-and-file control will be blocked and militants victimized.

Wives of sit-down strikers talk with their husbands at Fisher Body No. 1, 1937: Reuther's job was to tame militancy which built UAW.

as bureaucratic control is supplanted by direct government supervision from judges to "arbitrators" to HUAC-style inquisitors. Bureaucracy must be fought by rank-and-file caucuses based on a principled program of struggle within the labor movement to defend it against all interference from the capitalists and their state machinery.

Despite UNC labor party rhetoric, a leaflet issued by the League of Caucuses at the convention contained a statement which could easily be construed as backhanded endorsement, or at least softness toward, a "reforming" orientation toward the Democratic Party. In "An Open Letter to the Membership of the UAW," the League declared:

> "All over the United States, the people are in motion, trying to make institutions which are important to them (such as the Church, School, Political Party) more democratic, more sensitive and responsive to their needs."

And in response to the convention's grant of honorary UAW membership to Senator Edward Kennedy, UNC leader Art Fox declared that the caucus was considering making New York Democratic Representative Bella Abzug an honorary UNC member!

Convention Maneuvers

Because of the UNC's loose attitude toward program, it largely succumbed to pressure to drop most of its program at the convention in favor of support to a referendum system for the election of all UAW officers (instead of delegated elections at conventions), a position endorsed by 13 local unions prior to the convention. The referendum position has a history in the UAW (it got more support in '68 than in '72), and gave the UNC the opportunity of appearing to head a powerful movement beyond the limited scope of its own forces. To aid this opportunist impulse, the UNC set up a "League of Caucuses" before the convention, based on only two points: the referendum vote question and a court-suit campaign against the union on the retiree-vote question (the retiree vote is used by the bureaucracy to maintain conservatism and even overturn the wishes of the working majority, as happened in a recent Local 600 election). Thus the UNC's more radical and class-conscious paper positions were revealed as empty rhetoric to be dropped at the first opportunity in favor of a power bloc around abstract "democracy"—the real program of the UNC.

Supporters of sit-down strikers arrive from other auto and steel plants, 1937.

Although some UNC members regretted it, and the "League" didn't function as an organization on the convention floor, the UNC itself concentrated on a push to get the referendum question on the floor. This effort was quashed by the bureaucracy in high-handed fashion, leaving the UNC with little to show for its effort. Some Caucus leaders, such as co-chairman Pete Kelly, who spoke from the floor for the labor party, seemed more concerned about the struggle for the full Caucus program; yet none were willing to fight inside the Caucus for a split with the careerists and re-

continued next page....

formists, politically hardening the better elements.

Real Meaning of Referendum Proposal

The referendum proposal appears to make the union more democratic by placing decision-making power directly in the hands of the ranks. A sheer illusion! A referendum system is in fact less democratic in that it reduces the decision-making body to dispersed and isolated individuals who never come together in a discussion in which counterposed proposals and programs are debated. Union policy is thus determined by polling the existing consciousness rather than a process of political struggle. One need only look at the ossified National Maritime Union (NMU) or the rigid Steelworkers Union, both of which use the system, to see its effects. The backers of the referendum answer by combining the referendum slogan with other democratic demands, such as unlimited free access to union periodicals for opposition groups, etc.—but who is to say that these demands will be any safer under a different structure as long as the same bureaucracy is running headquarters?

The UNC should study the history of the referendum issue in the UAW; it was precisely through a referendum promise that Reuther got the 1944 convention to reverse itself and endorse the no-strike pledge! Once the convention was over nothing mattered—its will had been subverted and it was dispersed. A bureaucracy in power can manipulate a referendum system ten times more easily than it can dominate a rebellious convention. If adopted, the referendum system would immediately disarm the rank-and-file opposition by separating the choosing of leaders from the making of decisions at national conventions, thereby enabling a bureaucracy to remain in power through stalling, mobilizing backward elements, etc. Oppositionists should shun such gimmicks like the plague, and concentrate on the serious political work among the ranks required to get committed, principled delegates to the conventions.

Two Methods

The UNC on the referendum question is one example of orientation toward immediate advantage as opposed to a long-term struggle based on firm principles. Failure to make the right choice will lead the UNC into making a much more serious and costly mistake: opportunist adaptation to a wing of the reformist bureaucracy as against a serious anti-bureaucratic perspective, again, based on principles, not "tactical" advantage. Already the method of jaded ex-radicals such as Fox and his fake-left supporters in the International Socialists (IS) is clearly toward following rifts in the bureaucracy and seeking a broad, unprincipled bloc with one wing of a deep split in the UAW bureaucracy. Fox openly expresses (and the IS pants for) the possibility of a unification of the UNC with ex-Western Regional Director Paul Schrade and his supporters, who, according to the Daily World include Emil Mazey and other prominent members of the International leadership.

When a bureaucracy splits, both wings, especially those who are "out" and want to get back "in," try to appear to be to the left of the other, in order to gain or retain power. Schrade, dumped with Woodcock's blessings at the '72 convention, was always indistinguishable from the other bureaucrats on "trade-union" questions but active in the anti-war movement and generally a liberal outside the union. Schrade had gone along with the rest of the bureaucracy in selling out the Aerospace workers, whose contract was scotched by the Pay Board upon which Woodcock continued to sit. Unfortunately for Schrade, most of the Aerospace workers happen to be in his region. Schrade furthermore made the mistake of not supporting Woodcock for president following Reuther's death. Therefore, ambitious bureaucrats from the apparatus in Schrade's region were allowed to take over unhindered, accusing Schrade of "not paying enough attention to union issues," which was hardly the problem.

"Left" Circus on Schrade's Ouster

Schrade is no better or worse than his accusers; his liberalism has simply served for many years to help shroud with a thicker fog of Reutherite social demagogy the bureaucratic betrayals which he and the rest have jointly perpetrated on the workers. Yet the various fake-left organizations, in their grasping after straws for various self-serving and opportunist purposes, present a ludicrous example of the lengths to which one can go—and the depths to which one can sink—in tailing after either wing of such a meaningless, bureaucratic split. The Daily World (Communist Party) and the Militant (ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party) both tended to favor Schrade, since they are both primarily motivated by building popular-front coalitions of liberal capitalist politicians and "left" trade union bureaucrats like Schrade who, they like to think, represent workers in the anti-war movement. Said the Militant, "The issue was right-wing opposition to Schrade's positive role as an activist in social movements, not a militant opposition to his role as a bureaucrat" (12 May 1972).

The wretched "Workers" League, however, although it supports the pop front anti-war movement and blocs with the bourgeoisie to attack "Stalinism" in the movement, is more concerned than these others in going after the real source of bureaucratic power as rapidly as possible. The WL tended to support Whipple, who defeated Schrade, seeing a possible direct route to the core of the UAW leadership itself. Although it later declared that all parties concerned (Woodcock, Schrade, Whipple) were wings of the bureaucracy, the WL's initial reaction in the 1 May 1972 Bulletin was very emphatic: "UAW Rebels Dump Woodcock Man" screamed a front-page headline, over an article calling Whipple's victory a "... rebellion [which] reflects a deep dissatisfaction among rank and file members...." The Bulletin neglected to mention that Whipple, too, was a "Woodcock man" (perhaps even more so than Schrade), and was a top member of the "Schrade team" itself until shortly before the "rebellion." The WL tails the UNC bandwagon in order to imply that its positions have influence there. The 1 May 1972 Bulletin printed an interview with a UNC member headlined, "UAW Ranks Speak Out on Labor Party—National Caucus Member: Bosses Control Democrats." Unfortunately, in small type in the body of the article is revealed the ambivalence characteristic of the UNC:

> "Bulletin: Who do you think controls the Democratic and Republican parties?
>
> "Maddox: I think big business does, but I think there should be a national caucus of the working people and give our vote to whatever party is going to do our bidding whether Republican or Democratic."

The WL is also more than eager to drop its erstwhile—and incorrect—characterization of all black caucuses as simply "reactionary," when organizational advantage beckons. Its 24 April Bulletin features prominently, and without criticism, an interview with Nat Mosley, chairman of the Black Caucus in Local 25, St. Louis, under the headline "Auto Worker Demands Labor Party!"

The Sliding Scale of Social-Patriotism

Reuther: "... America is a society... in which we do not have this rigid class structure.... Basically what we are trying to do is work within the two-party system of America..." (1955)

Woodcock (on inflation): "... labor, fighting to recapture its eroded position, began to be part of the problem..." (1972)

Sims (Co-chairman of United National Caucus): "... to make your America great, to make it productive... you're not going anyplace without me or someone like me," (1972)

Fox (United National Caucus): "We are fighting to save our union, and, in a broader sense, to save our country." (1972)

Sliding Scale of Social-Patriotism

Some UNC members seem to have learned literally nothing from either the history of past oppositions in the UAW or the whole development of "Reutherism." Reuther's chief method for holding power was to pass off his social-democratic and patriotic schemes for making capitalism work better ("serve the people") as a substitute for the working class struggling in its own name for its own interests. One finds a remarkably close resemblance between Reutherite demagogy and statements of supposedly "left" UNC leaders. Caucus Co-chairman Jordan Sims, a black Local 961 worker who was fired by Chrysler for his militancy, said, "... you recognize one thing: to make your America great, to make it productive, to make it serve you and benefit you—you're not going anyplace without me or someone like me" (UNC, April 1972, emphasis ours). This bit of social-patriotic demagogy was not only featured prominently on the front page of the special convention issue of the Caucus paper, but was also picked up and quoted without criticism by the UNC's chief outside supporters, the IS, in Workers Power #52. The IS has once more demonstrated the existence of a social-democratic and patriotic (and therefore anti-communist) continuum through which it, as the extreme left-wing representatives of this social-democracy, is linked with an indissoluble political umbilical cord to the right-wing anti-communist social-democrats such as the very heirs of Reuther. As it so easily sells out today to tail after the relative small fry like Fox and Sims, all the greater will be its betrayals tomorrow to the Schrades, Mazeys, Woodcocks and Reuthers.

As if this weren't enough, Fox added his bit to the social-patriotic, Reutherite bandwagon by pointing out quite seriously in the UNC caucus meeting at the '72 convention that, "We are fighting to save our union and, in a broader sense, to save our country." He has yet to find, in his search for any fake-left handle with which to smash every last shred of his radical background, the answer to the question: what is "ours" in the most powerful imperialism of the world?

The IS, which eagerly built public meetings for Fox in several cities, refrained as usual from attacking him for his wretched social-chauvinist remark or any other aspect of his opportunism, happy to present this cynical reformist in the role of working-class leader in exchange for a chance to brag about its informal ties to Fox—a "real" (and "influential") "militant" worker!

Program and Party

The UNC cannot achieve its objectives—even partially—with a partial perspective. To defeat a well-entrenched bureaucracy, which well understands its central role of containing the class struggle within bounds acceptable to capitalism, requires a full program of struggle against the system, not just for "saving" the union or reforming the country. No aspiring "democratic" bureaucrats can provide a definitive programmatic break from all forms of labor-capital "partnership." Without such a break the most honest, decent and democratic oppositionist will be driven into the Reutherite swamp, whining over the lot of the wage slaves while supporting their slaveholders. To ensure that the programmatic requirements for achieving working-class power and not "partnership" are maintained, such caucuses must be linked to the revolutionary vanguard party, which struggles in all arenas of society for a revolutionary program leading to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of workers power. While the caucus cannot normally advance the full program of workers' revolution in its day-to-day work, it must uncompromisingly carry out a transitional program which is fully consistent with the revolutionary goal. It is such a party and such caucuses that the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, seek to build. ■

CORRECTION

The May 1972 issue of WV contained the following factually incorrect statement in the article "George Morris and the CP—Record of Betrayal": "... District 65 in New York... left the AFL-CIO and joined the ALA without a single membership discussion or vote!" The official vote on disaffiliation took place at a General Council meeting on April 15, 1969. Locals voted during the period from late March to late April. According to the District 65 Constitution, the votes in locals were meaningless since the General Council has the power to overrule any membership vote. 65's letter of application for ALA affiliation was accepted by the ALA on April 16, 1970, and the official announcement made within a day or so. In at least some locals the membership vote on affiliation did not take place until May 5, 1970.

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"Left-Center" Betrayal in Welfare Union

Having already stated that Hill was a "fraud" and "absolutely identical" with Morgenstern, the CNL fought to put Hill in office (with Morgenstern's politics) and called opposition to both bureaucrats support for Morgenstern! Nowhere in the WL/CNL "lesser evil" scheme was Trotsky's demand to fight for independent revolutionary leadership in the trade unions "boldly and resolutely in critical moments advancing new militant leaders in place of routine functionaries and careerists. . . " This—the perspective advanced by the Militant Caucus and the Spartacist League—was labelled "abstentionist" by the Workers League!

The WL Smells Influence

A component of the capitulation two years ago that should not be overlooked, especially since it loomed very large for the WL, was their exulting in the new-found role as "power brokers" in a close fight, strutting around and puffing in the Bulletin of 27 April 1970: "This places the CNL in the position of holding the decisive margin to swing the runoff elections toward the candidate it chooses." Following Hill's election on May 1, 1970, the WL bragged in the 11 May Bulletin:

> "Hill's election in this very close race was due primarily to the fact that the Committee for New Leadership. . . fought to transfer its 6% vote gotten in the April 17th election to the Hill slate."

Here stand revealed the real appetites of the Workers League toward hopefully becoming "left" office boys for some grateful bureaucrat. Of course, it still had to maintain the facade of putting Hill into office in order to "expose" him. Sure enough, it didn't take very long, for the Bulletin of 25 May 1970 carried a big headline screaming, "Hill Betrays Ranks In First Week of Office!" Well, you can't say they didn't warn you.

Hill Exposed—Hill Loses

Two whole years have passed since and, as accurately predicted by the WL, the betrayals of its candidate have been thoroughly exposed and amply covered in the pages of the Bulletin. Regarding the 1971 SSEU contract it wrote on 9 August 1971:

> "President Stanley Hill has brought to the membership of SSEU Local 371 a settlement that is not only a sellout on wages, but completely hands over the job security of every member to Welfare Commissioner Sugarman and to Nixon."

and again on 30 August 1971, "Hill Pushes Sellout Through!" and so on. But apparently Wohlforth's much-vaunted "scientific method" is not yet satisfied that Hill has been sufficiently exposed. However, the WL has accomplished its hypocritically stated intent of 1970 "to break the rank and file from Hill"—since Hill lost the election on April 28 to Cohen by a vote of 4022 to 2664! But the Workers League, especially since the "Wallaceite" opposition to Hill is now in office, is still trying to keep its rotten left-center coalition together, holding out dirty hands once more to Hill. The Bulletin of 8 May 1972 ends an article covering the "right wing victory in the SSEU" with an appeal to Hill & Co.:

> "In the course of preparing to build the CNL as the real alternative to Cohen, the CNL appeals in particular to Hill and those active in his campaign that they now break with those who are advocating making peace with Cohen and particularly those like Vinnie Davis who advocated on April 26 that SSEU members withdraw from the Union. What is necessary now is that they join with the CNL in the fight to reverse the dangerous situation created by this election." [Emphasis ours]

The meaning of the WL's anti-Leninist betrayal in the SSEU goes far beyond that particular New York white-collar union. Its SSEU intervention spans more than six years, its longest continuous organized activity in any trade union. The CNL, in intimate contact with the New York national center of the WL, provides the most authentic expression of the WL's wildly oscillating politics. The CNL betrayals are not the blunders of inexperienced people, nor simply more of the many "mistakes" the WL seems proud of. For the WL its heavily publicized SSEU activity is the prototype for all its trade union work, and represents the acid test for this organization on the key question facing Trotskyists the world over: how to resolve the crisis of leadership of the working class that stands as the principal obstacle to proletarian revolution. The Workers League has generalized on its SSEU experience, developing a consistent practice of taking the working class from one betrayal to yet another, a policy "theoretically" justified by the insistence that to dispel the illusions of the workers about "all sorts of fake militants" it is a "necessary and progressive step" to put each currently popular labor hustler into power! This is nothing less than a reformist theory of stages that completely obscures the critical difference between destroying illusions and creating them. We, as revolutionists, want the working class to leap over the road of reformist dead ends, not lead them into it. If we should nevertheless fail in this task, the defeat suffered by the working class at that particular intersection of class forces should be in spite of a relentless struggle beforehand to expose their traitorous misleaders, in the course of which the foundation has been laid for future victories.

Stan Hill (left) confers with Dennis Cribben (right) of CNL and Jack Talbutt (center) of Stalinist-supported Unity Caucus.

But not so for the Workers League, since its "program" is determined by petty opportunist appetites and the Healy-Wohlforth method of cynicism, a desire to be big-time operators, tailending the fake leaders while offering lip-service opposition. Thus in the 16 December 1968 Bulletin the WL issued a call, "Vote Morrissey Ticket" in the National Maritime Union (NMU), claiming once again that "the election of these men can be an important step for the rank and file seamen," when in fact Morrissey was a co-bureaucrat of NMU President Joe Curran for years, sharing in all his betrayals until it seemed opportune to "break" from Curran, and then turning to the ruling class' courts to clean up the NMU mess. The Bulletin currently features uncritical reportage on the pro-Yablonski "Miners for Democracy" opposition in the United Mine Workers, and the "United National Caucus" in the United Auto Workers, an unprincipled coalition led by Pete Kelly and one Art Fox, a former political collaborator of Wohlforth's. So when the Workers League calls on "progressive" bureaucrats like Victor Gotbaum, David Livingston, Jack Spelgal, et al. in a Bulletin editorial of 5 October 1970 "to take the lead" in forming a labor party as "the only way to beat back the right-wing attempts to build a reactionary movement to destroy labor in America," we know the programmatic meaning of its current sloganeering to "Stop Wallace! Build a Labor Party Now!" It is the Stalinist call for a left-center coalition, a call to build nothing but the prestige of "progressive" labor traitors, a call for the betrayal of the working class! ■

Demand New Trial for Martin Sostre!

In June, 1968 Martin Sostre, operator of the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Buffalo, New York, was convicted and sentenced to a 31 to 41-year term on drug charges. Sostre was convicted on the testimony of one Arto Williams, a repeated drug offender at the time, and Detective Sgt. Alvin Gristmacher, since dismissed from the Buffalo Police Department for suspected graft and drug dealing. Sostre can receive a new trial if Williams receives immunity from prosecution for perjury in order to return to testify at a new trial. Williams now admits that the narcotics squad pressured him into framing Sostre.

The Vanguard Defense Committee for Martin Sostre is circulating a petition asking New York Governor Rockefeller and Judge Bayger to grant Williams immunity from perjury prosecution so that he can testify, and to free Sostre on bail pending a new trial. Defense of Sostre's right to a new trial in which the nature of his frame-up conviction can be exposed is the more important now since according to the Vanguard Committee, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) has abandoned its defense effort on his behalf.

The Vanguard Defense Committee for Martin Sostre may be contacted and petitions obtained at its mailing address, Box 839, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, N. Y. 14205.

SL Initiates DRV-NLF Defense Call

NEW ORLEANS—A united front organized by the Spartacist League demanded defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against the current wave of imperialist attacks. The Womens Socialist Study Group, the Marxist Socialist Study Group, the Marxist Studies Committee and the Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist Study Group joined with the SL in sending the following telegram to the Chinese mission to the UN and the Russian embassy in Washington:

> "In the interests of the international working class movement, we urge you to expand shipment of military supplies of the highest technical quality to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and that you offer the fullest military assistance to the DRV including the necessary Russian-Chinese joint military collaboration. The interests of the international movement and the Vietnamese struggle demand that no strings be attached to this aid.
>
> "We also urge that you engage in no political alliances with imperialist governments."

Maoists Capitulate to Chauvinism

All working-class tendencies in New Orleans were contacted by the SL. Many, including Youth Against War and Fascism and the Young Workers Liberation League, refused to participate in the action, claiming that the Vietnamese did not lack arms. The Red Collective, a Maoist grouplet with fraternal relations with Mike Klonsky's October League and the Georgia Communist League took the road to capitulation before patriotic sentiment as its reason for non-participation. While initially showing reserved interest in the project, the Red Collective's representative, Gi Schaefer, argued that workers in this country would not like the idea: "They would say to us, 'You guys want more bombs dropped on our heads.'" The Red Collective found it easy to send a telegram congratulating the DRV at the beginning of its offensive, but when bourgeois pressure intensified they quickly backed into the more comfortable position of saying nothing. Mao, after all, is now dealing with Nixon. Those whose purported loyalty to a workers state means acceptance of the limits imposed by the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy are inevitably led to betray the working-class duty to fight against imperialist war. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 10 July-August 1972

Angela Davis Acquitted

— Free Ruchell Magee!

This is the summer of content for American liberalism. A long unsuccessful war, contributing to an inflation and economic contraction, has created a general lack of confidence in the traditional patterns of bourgeois rule. This is manifest in the heavy Wallace vote and the McGovern victory in the Democratic Party.

It is against this background that we must view the unwillingness of white middle-class juries to convict Angela Davis and other black militants such as the remaining Soledad Brothers, Huey Newton and the New York Black Panther 21. Even with liberal juries, the bourgeois penal-judicial system regularly metes out injustices on left-wing political prisoners. Angela Davis was kept in prison for a year. The same "public opinion" which is credited with defending and freeing Angela Davis has virtually ignored her co-defendant, Ruchell Magee, who remains imprisoned and stands a far smaller chance of acquittal. Ruchell Magee, like almost all working-class and black militants, is no philosophy professor—Angela Davis' education and concomitant middle-class standing made her case relatively attractive to white liberals.

The New York Times naturally crows over the acquittals of Davis, Newton et al. as a great demonstration of American democracy and lectures radicals to take this to heart.

> "The acquittal of Angela Davis should—but unfortunately will not—deflate worldwide propaganda aimed at perpetuating the myth that American justice, represented in San Jose by an all-white jury, is loaded against all political dissenters, black revolutionaries in particular.... the jury trial in the American judicial system... represents confidence in the sound judgment of the general citizenry—a faith scorned by the political ideologies to which Miss Davis is attracted."
>
> —New York Times, 6 June 1972

In like manner, the Stalinist Daily World accepts the Davis acquittal as proof that "progressive" pressure can blunt the cutting edge of the repressive state apparatus. Henry Winston, Communist Party National Chairman, declared the trial verdict was "a blow struck for liberty and peace throughout the world."

Juries are not the basis of the repressive apparatus. Its core is the power of the police. If the "democratic" methods of the repression (white middle-class juries) fail to destroy black militants, particularly those accused of attacks on police, the police will destroy them without the benefit of trial by jury. And this is what is happening. Chicago's DA Hanrahan stepped up the pace of police executions in the murderous attack on the Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The Attica massacre and killing of George Jackson show how prisons are becoming a death trap for blacks. If Angela Davis had been killed "resisting arrest" in that New York motel room there would be no possibility of a "blow struck for liberty and peace" at her trial. Enough verdicts like Davis' and Newton's and tomorrow's Davises and Newtons won't be getting trials.

Even reactionary regimes often try to appear formally progressive. Eighteenth-century Tsarist Russia was one of the first countries to abolish the death penalty for most major crimes. While Catherine the Great corresponded with Voltaire, however, sentences of 12,000 blows with the lash were common; no one could survive more than 3,000. The American ruling class is more reactionary and vicious in the twentieth century than Tsarism was in the eighteenth. Anyone believing that the U. S. ruling class will permit the unreliable functioning of its "justice" or the vagaries of middle-class "public opinion" to prevent it from destroying working-class and black militants exists in a fool's paradise. Either the juries will be circumvented, the "public opinion" altered, or both.

from THE BLACK PANTHER

Ruchell Magee

The acquittals of Angela Davis and other militants are a victory for the working class—of an extremely temporary and reversible character. Leftists must intensify efforts to obtain the freedom of radical and working-class victims of bourgeois repression, not abandon them in a sense of impending doom. But while using to the fullest the avenues allowed by a fragile bourgeois legality, the working-class and radical movements must place no confidence whatever in the bourgeoisie's ultimate commitment to that legality. Bourgeois democracy—i. e., "fair" trials for the rich and prominent, cop brutality and frame-ups for the rest—is one form of bourgeois rule. The other is fascism, which only workers' revolution can prevent. The CP's pious preachments serve only to disarm the class before that menace. ■

AS FISCAL CRUNCH SWELLS UNION RANKS

AFSCME Woos Cops, Mayors, Democrats

Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), AFL-CIO demonstrated at the union's 19th International Convention in Houston, Texas, how seriously he meant his remark: "I do not intend to be the head of the most militant union in the country." Wurf insisted again and again during the four days of Convention sessions that in the words of his pamphlet, "From Confrontation to Cooperation": "Confrontation is not the purpose of this union."

To attain his goal of "more" for AFSCME, in the tradition of Samuel Gompers, Wurf seeks to create a "united front" (his words) with mayors and governors, with the capitalists and especially with the Democratic Party. Crucial to his coalition is the growing police constituency in the union which Wurf advertises as a kind of experiment in reconciliation of counterposed forces.

The nation's city and state budgets have been tightened and in some cases have virtually collapsed under the strain of increased expenditures in the face of diminishing revenues. The fiscal crunch, itself a product of the depressed state of industry and the economy, has led to massive employment cutbacks, speedup and abuse of public employees many of whom have until recently been unorganized. AFSCME's spectacular growth has been the result; yet union organization is only the precondition for waging the economic struggle and not at all the equivalent of victory.

Wurf stands therefore in the contradictory position of claiming credit for the membership growth under his administration and simultaneously applying the brakes to an increasingly restive and growing rank and file.

AFSCME is today the fastest-growing major union in the U. S. It has gained an average of 1,000 new members per week for the past two years. The Brookings Institute recently concluded that AFSCME, with 2,400 locals and representing 1,000,000 workers in bargaining, was the sixth largest AFL-CIO union today and destined to become the largest in the country. With a power base of this size, the Wurf/Lucy administration drools over the possibilities of lobbying in Congress and influencing the Democratic bigwigs.

International Secretary-Treasurer Joe Ames introduced Wurf's main Convention address. He attributed union gains to Wurf's brilliant leadership with the implication that everything would

continued on page 13

Special Feature: *PAGE 4*

Trotsky and the Spanish Revolution

by Pierre Broué

Ranks Angry, Beirne Holds On

Business as Usual at CWA Convention

Despite the bureaucratic stranglehold imposed on the Communication Workers of America (CWA) by the leadership headed by President Joseph A. Beirne, anger and unrest among the ranks have increased dramatically in recent years, surfacing in numerous large-scale wildcat actions. The recent 34th Annual Convention of the CWA demonstrated, however, that oppositional voices remain isolated, localized and generally tied to liberalism, with the masses of telephone workers alternating between outbursts of tremendous militancy and resentful demoralization.

In 1968 the large Michigan Local 4016 voted to stay on strike after rejecting Beirne's national contract; only by splitting the Local, forcing out the Local President and joining with the Company to cut off the Local's dues did Beirne manage to beat the ranks into line. In the 1971 strike, Beirne's wildcat problems mushroomed. Five days after promising that only a membership vote could end the strike, Beirne accepted Company terms and called off the strike. Important sections of the union refused to go back to work, including locals in New York, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois and Michigan.

New York Local 1101 stuck it out for seven months, forcing Beirne and Local President Carnivale to put on a face of support for the strike (see WV #5). But by February of this year isolation and Company pressure finally enabled Beirne and Carnivale to end the strike and accept a meager Company offer which did not even compensate for inflation. Typically, the operators, at the bottom of the pay scale and represented by a Company union, received the smallest increases. The bureaucrats obtained the "modified agency shop" provision to swell the treasury without strengthening the union (as under this arrangement dues are collected from all workers with no requirement to join the union—in fact, an escape clause allows members to quit, helping disgruntled elements to purge themselves).

The exceptionally long and bitter New York strike was undermined not only by local misleadership and Beirne's blatant treachery, but by the striking workers' inability to shut down telephone service. Although part of the problem is that the the industry is highly automated, crucial to the Company's ability to continue service was the fact that the operators did not strike. Shortly before the strike began, the CWA had actually been defeated by the Company union in an election for bargaining agent to represent the operators. The refusal of the socially reactionary CWA leadership to concern itself with the needs of these women workers by fighting for higher wages, upgrading to skilled job categories (now virtually the monopoly of male workers) and an end to Company paternalism and harassment of the operators heavily reinforced the apathy and anti-union attitudes among the traditionally less militant operators and led directly to the CWA's defeat in the bargaining election. Thus "business union" policies destroyed the possibility of workers' unity against the Company and demonstrated their inability to secure even "bread and butter" gains for the membership.

More of the Same

Against the backdrop of membership unrest, the 34th Annual CWA Convention, held in Los Angeles June 12-16 with over 2,000 delegates, demonstrated once again the urgent necessity for an anti-capitalist program to fight the bureaucrats. It was clear that Beirne and Co. know where their interests lie. While their resolution "Politics—1972" did not endorse a specific candidate, it urged members to vote for labor's so-called "friends" among capitalist politicians by checking voting records; meanwhile, literature was distributed urging donations to COPE (the AFL-CIO's "Committee on Political Education" which metes out labor's endorsements to bourgeois candidates). Behind Beirne's denunciatory rhetoric about lying politicians stood the time-worn bureaucratic strategy of supporting the "friends of labor" who have stabbed labor time and again. (McGovern, the current Democratic favorite, supports Nixon's wage control program with only minor differences in style.) Another resolution sought to lend respectability to the capitalist two-party system through proposing a National Primary. Supporters of the CWA Militant Action Caucus distributed a leaflet titled "We Need a Labor Party!" pointing out how the bureaucracy functions to aid the capitalist class, and noting that "A fight for such a party will involve throwing out the reactionary union bureaucracy that ties the unions to the Democrats."

Beirne opposes Nixon's anti-strike legislation in order to support the Democrats' anti-strike legislation. While formally opposing Nixon's compulsory arbitration plans, the "Arbitration" resolution endorsed Senate bill S.832 "sponsored by Sen. Harrison A. Williams, chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which would regulate transportation strikes so that essential goods are delivered, and single carrier strikes are permitted." The resolution further implied that the union could support compulsory arbitration under another (Democratic?) administration:

> "There is another aspect to the Administration's compulsory arbitration legislation which is worth looking at. Under it, the present administration in office could be expected to please its friends in management by appointing arbitrators who would favor industry.
>
> "But Administrations change, and another President could be expected to consider the interests of American workers, and their need for decent wages and working conditions, more important than inflated corporation profits."

Beirne supports the capitalist attack on the working class, but would prefer that the slicker Democrats carry it out.

There was no major opposition to Beirne on the floor. All the official resolutions were passed. Only two fights broke out which reflected the underlying unrest. New York Local 1101 sought consideration for its motion to exempt its members from paying back dues owed from the period of the seven-month strike. A vote to get this motion on the floor passed on a division of the house. Many expressed sympathy for New York but called the motion a "bad precedent." An amendment to exempt Western Electric and Long Lines workers who had supported the New York strikers was defeated. Finally Beirne announced that the exemption motion required a 3/4 vote as a constitutional change, effectively killing the motion even though the final vote was about 50-50.

Another fight broke out over the Foreign Policy Statement. An impulse in favor of withdrawal from Indochina (mixed with anti-communist sentiments) led to an attempt to delete the Statement's sections on Vietnam and China. The motion to delete got a sizable vote but lost. The Foreign Policy Statement, which was overwhelmingly passed, demonstrates the connection between bureaucratic betrayal of the day-to-day needs of workers on the job and virulent anti-communism. The document contains statements of position on China, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Ireland, the Middle East, South Africa, Latin America and Greece. In keeping with the cold warrior tradition of the Beirne leadership, the document stands to the right of Nixon's statements on Vietnam and China, warning that Nixon has come dangerously close to "unconditional surrender" by his visits to Moscow and Peking and his offers to Hanoi. The document endorses operations like the "American Institute for Free Labor Development," a CIA-sponsored project for establishing anti-communist "free trade unions" in Latin America.

Merger Hoax

The only real Convention surprise was the first resolution. It announced the intention to merge the CWA (550,000 members) with the American Postal Workers Union (300,000 members). Reason: "When unions merge, their strength has been shown to grow." Other things being equal, of course, union mergers increase the power of the workers affected. But other things are often not equal, and merger schemes have very often proven to be ways to strengthen bureaucracies against restive memberships, for example, the proposed merger between the ILWU and the Teamsters, the main purpose of which is to reinforce Bridges against the angry Longshore ranks by joining with the wealthy, corrupt and heavy-handed Fitzsimmons Teamster bureaucracy (see WV #6).

The very way the merger idea was put forward was indicative: delegates did not know about it until they arrived at the Convention; and the resolution, which was passed, empowers the President of each union to appoint merger committees, authorizes the Executive Boards to finalize the proposals, and allows the final agreement to be "by convention and/or membership referendum." Hence the merger can be pushed through with a minimum of membership discussion or challenge; the bureaucracy enjoys wide latitude in choosing the means of final ratification, and if it resorts to the referendum method, it will face only dispersed, isolated grumblings from the ranks.

The postal strike of 1970 was a massive wildcat against the rotten postal union leaderships which opposed it every step of the way. Although several postal unions have merged since then, it is by no means clear that the leadership of the fused union is any better. CWA members must recognize that strength is not achieved simply by merger of bureaucracies and treasuries. Only the ouster of the sellout leaderships of both unions in favor of a working-class program can unite the telephone and postal workers behind working-class policies.

The CWA Convention revealed how little Beirne has changed since his years as a company unionist in the 1930's and his subsequent enlistment in the ranks of the most extreme cold warriors within the union movement. A change cannot be staved off forever, as the widespread wildcatting of recent years demonstrates. Whether Beirne will be replaced merely by some slicker, less tarnished bureaucrat or by a leadership dedicated to the fight for workers' power, to replace Beirne and the system which spawned him and kept him in power, will depend in great part upon the work of those in the CWA struggling to found a national oppositional caucus based on a thoroughly anti-capitalist program. ■

SPARTACIST LOCAL DIRECTORY

ATLANTA
Box 7886
Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701
(415) 848-3029

BOSTON
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(817) 878-1787

CHICAGO
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60880
(312) 643-4394

DENVER
(contact New York)

EUREKA
Box 3061
Eureka, CA 95501

HOUSTON
(contact New York)

LOS ANGELES
Box 38053,
Wilcox Sta.
Los Angeles,
CA 90038
(213) 467-6855

NEW ORLEANS
Box 51634, Main P.O.
New Orleans,
LA 70151
(504) 888-8384

NEW YORK
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001
(212) 925-2428

SAN DIEGO
Box 22052,
Univ. City Sta.
San Diego, CA 92122
(714) 453-1436

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 40574
San Francisco,
CA 94140
(415) 826-8259

WASHINGTON, D.C.-
BALTIMORE
(202) 223-1455

(FRANCE)
Paris—887.67.13

Caucus Gains in Phone Ranks

OAKLAND, CALIF.—In Local 9415 of the Communication Workers of America (CWA), the dissatfaction characteristic of many CWA locals has surfaced in an exceptionally militant and class-conscious form. What especially distinguishes the Oakland local from most other CWA locals equally dissatisfied with the policies of the international bureaucracy headed by President Joseph A. Beirne is the presence of a caucus, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), struggling to transform the rage of the membership into a class-struggle program which can combat the root causes of Bell Telephone's offensive against its workers and the Beirne bureaucracy's capitulations.

In summer 1971 Local 9415 greeted the news of Beirne's back-to-work decision ending the national strike with extreme hostility. MAC members at that time called for continuing the strike. Despite enthusiastic membership response, the proposed wildcat strike did not materialize. The membership was not yet prepared for such a step, and Local President Loren Blasingame persuaded the ranks to return to work.

In recent months unrest has again surfaced in Local 9415. In April, 19 operators walked out at the Franklin center in response to the arbitrary firing of a black trainee. The company rehired the trainee, but retaliated by suspending the 19 operators including a shop steward in May.

Members of the MAC proposed a special strike-vote meeting demanding no reprisals, but Blasingame instead pushed through the most minimal "defense"—a one-day sympathy "work holiday" strictly limited to the Franklin St. offices. The Company answered this posture of weakness with an attack on the whole Local: President Blasingame was fired and suspensions meted out to officers and 14 stewards. Blasingame launched a half-hearted and ill-prepared strike. Eleven Bay Area local presidents met and talked of strike action, and district councils threatened statewide action. But despite widespread membership approval of strike action, the local leadership caved in, apparently under pressure from Beirne himself. The final "settlement" accepted a 60-day suspension and final warning for the President, and suspensions for many other local officers, stewards and rank-and-file militants. To top it off, the union agreed not to use the grievance procedure further on the firing or suspensions, though there was no provision against reprisals. As a result of this backdown, numerous militants have been threatened by final warnings and other actions. In total fear of mobilizing the ranks, the bureaucrats have opened the union up for total wrecking by the Company.

Throughout the recent struggle, the role of the MAC has been exemplary. While opposing the rotten Blasingame leadership, the caucus did not flinch from defending it against company attack, seeking at every turn to widen the scope of the union's defense by calling for such actions as Central Labor Council support through a general strike, massive picketing to stop scabs, etc.

MAC's Program

But the caucus program is much more than militant strike policies—it is a recognition of the need to fight the entire capitalist system, and especially the bureaucratic agents of the capitalist class in the workers movement, the conservative union "leadership." In the recent election for alternate representative to the Executive Board, Jane Margolis of the MAC (who is on final notice because of her participation in walkouts) won in a runoff election by a vote of 73 to 71. Her platform included such demands as: End Racial and Women's Oppression—equal pay for equal work, equal access to all job categories; For an Equalized Wage System—raise the lower paid categories; End Unemployment—30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay; End Government Control of Unions—no court or cop interference in union affairs; Rank-and-File Control—for direct election of shop stewards; Immediate Unconditional Withdrawal of U.S. Troops from Southeast Asia—labor strikes against the war; Nationalize the Phone Company and all major industry under workers control; a Workers Party—toward a Workers Government. The victory of the MAC candidate is more significant in light of the fact that her opponent was a black woman union steward who ran on no program, but enjoyed the prestige of having led the first walkout.

To remain at the level of trade union militancy will mean death or cooption for any caucus, as it has for all the recent wildcats. A caucus which intends to mobilize the workers to fight for their class interests must provide an understanding of the role of the labor bureaucracy and its relationship to the capitalist class, and provide an explicit program to throw out the labor bureaucrats. In short, the caucus must provide class consciousness through the struggle for a working-class program.

The workers in Local 9415 have had an opportunity to compare directly the programs and behavior of another "militant" alternative, a splitoff from MAC supported by the International Socialists. Its publication, The Bell Wringer, has gone through five issues since April without once mentioning vital demands such as the call for a labor party counterposed to the parties of the bourgeoisie. The paper concentrates instead on narrower grievances such as undemocratic selection of shop stewards. Criticism of the local bureaucrats is subdued in line with spontaneist theories which reject Lenin's insistance that consciousness and program must be created by the vigorous and forthright intervention of worker-communists. The 30 May issue of The Bell Wringer disingenuously explained "We have our own criticisms of Blasingame, but we think it is up to the rank and file to decide what to do about him." The 7 June issue merely offers the solution of more trade union reformism:

> "The events of last week have proven that the union leadership will do everything in their power to prevent direct rank and file activity. Their negotiated deal with the company, without a strike, proves that they're even willing to weaken the union to maintain their positions of leadership. Direct rank and file action can only lead to a democratic union which, controlled by the ranks, not the bureaucrats, will fight militantly for our needs.
>
> "... Democratic control of the union must start at the most basic level—the shop floor. We must have people who represent us in fighting against the everyday harassment on the job. This means DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED STEWARDS. Election assures that we are represented and that the stewards who fight militantly will have a base of support behind them.
>
> "... Elected stewards is only one step in building a democratic union. We must go on to build a strong stewards' council, then to challenge the local leadership, and finally to ally with rank and file groups nationally to win democratic control of the International." [Emphasis in original]

On what program can the struggle lead up to "control of the International"? The bureaucratic suppression of union democracy is required by the bureaucrats' loyalty to the class enemy—the capitalists—through the state and the capitalist parties, especially the "friend of labor" Democratic Party. For this reason no real struggle to democratize the unions can be waged in the absence of political demands such as those raised by the MAC. The fight for union democracy opens a wedge into which a working-class program can be driven, but the struggle for "democracy" separated from revolutionary class consciousness can easily provide simply a wedge for new bureaucrats to rise to power on a wave of rank-and-file resentment against the incumbent bureaucracy and its abuses.

The successes of the MAC in the Oakland CWA local are but a small dent in the Beirne machine of class-collaboration, a small victory in a single union. Yet the MAC program, and the rank-and-file support for it, provide a beacon to militant oppositionists who wish to battle the causes as well as the bureaucratic symptoms of the union's capitulation before the political and economic system of wage slavery. ■

On Contradiction

Boston, Mass.
June 6, 1972

Editorial Board
Workers Vanguard

Greetings:

Riding in the bus to Washington on May 21 to demonstrate against Nixon's latest escalation of the war in Vietnam, I came across the May issue of Workers Vanguard. Your paper however did nothing to strengthen my resolve against the war. On the contrary, I was dismayed by your criticism of the North Vietnamese leadership, while professing all along to oppose the war.

I don't doubt that you oppose the war, but your manner of doing so seems to me strange and divisive. I find it hard to believe that a "Marxist" publication can criticize the leadership of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism, in the hour of their greatest need. Is this your notion of internationalist solidarity with those who are in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. aggression, and who are making unparalleled and unbelievable sacrifices in resisting that aggression?

Surely it must be apparent to you that it is one thing to call for all-out military victory against the U.S. aggressors from behind a typewriter 10,000 miles away, and quite another thing to be fighting the aggressor against incredible odds, in the face of a rain of bombs day after day, week after week, year after year. Surely it must occur to you that if the leaders of the Vietnamese people, whom you attack as "Stalinists," seek a negotiated end to the war, it is because they are forced to do so by the conditions of the struggle. You can afford to be ideologically "pure" and fight the U.S. invaders in accordance with your doctrine. The Vietnamese people and their leaders cannot afford that luxury. They have to be realists, for they have to deal with the horrible toll of death and destruction which their country has undergone these past three decades.

I have no doubt whatsoever that they know what they are doing, and I support them unconditionally. You, unfortunately, are defending a position on the war which objectively serves Nixon and his murderous aims in Indochina, since any attack on the Vietnamese leadership automatically strengthens his hand. It amounts to support for his policy. Apparently you are unaware of the contradiction.

In Solidarity with the Vietnamese,

Peter P.

Workers Vanguard, like you, believes that the DRV/NLF leaders "know what they are doing." But their own declared intention (see WV #9) is not to struggle for a workers state in South Vietnam. The heroism of the Vietnamese working masses is not in question. But the DRV/NLF leadership puts this heroism at the service of the goal of a bourgeois "independent" South Vietnam. This even in victory can only lead to an early resumption of civil war and almost certain imperialist intervention—the "horrible toll of death and destruction" for the workers and peasants of Vietnam will only begin over again, as it did after Ho Chi Minh voluntarily gave South Vietnam back in 1954.

By way of analogy, did support to the Hitler-Stalin Pact (or immediately thereafter the bloc with "progressive" imperialists like FDR) help defend the Soviet Union? Certainly not! But few would-be communists recognized that crucial distinction at the time, and today many radicals refuse to recognize that support to the Vietnamese revolution and the military victory over imperialism by the DRV/NLF forces, requires opposition to the bureaucratic-nationalist policies of the DRV, USSR and China which gravely endanger that victory.

We are not "unaware of the contradiction." That contradiction, however, exists in objective reality and not in our heads. The contradiction between the class base of the DRV and NLF on the one side and the narrow interests of its leadership on the other explains why the DRV, USSR, China, etc., are non-capitalist states whose policies at the same time buttress world capitalism, open the road to socialist development in Vietnam and socialist revolution abroad until the Vietnamese working class wrests political power from the usurping bureaucratic parasites.

It is the same Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" which compels the USSR and China to betray the Vietnamese by refusing to provide them with the military aid which would stop the "rain of bombs day after day, week after week, year after year."

The Stalinist policy dictates that the Vietnamese revolution will be derailed on the road to socialism and the enormous sacrifices of the working masses of Vietnam may be sacrificed to "peaceful coexistence." Only a Trotskyist perspective can achieve the realization of the socialist aspirations for which the Vietnamese masses have already given so much.

For the Vietnamese Revolution,

Workers Vanguard

Trotsky and the Spanish Revolution

by Pierre Broué

The spiral of history has turned so that the international situation, in terms of the recovery and combativity of the working class and the sharpening of the world capitalist crisis, creates a strategic context clearly highlighting the situation which faced the vanguard in the 1930's, of which Spain was the most fully developed, as well as the bloodiest, example. In particular, the relationship of forces in Chile today, and the response of Chilean and international leftists, in some ways strikingly parallels the evolution of the Spanish POUM. Against this background, this article acquires a pressing topicality as well as its evident historical and theoretical merit. As Santayana said, those who refuse to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

The article "Trotsky and the Spanish Revolution" was published in French in the theoretical journal of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization, also referred to as the Lambert group), La Vérité *#537, April-May 1967. An English translation appeared in the theoretical magazine of Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League of Britain,* Fourth International *Vol. 4 #1, April 1967. This new translation from the French is by Bill Grey.*

The author of the article, Pierre Broué, is a well-known supporter of the OCI as well as a prominent Marxist historian. His writings in French include a general history of the Russian Communist Party and a work on the Spanish Revolution, La Révolution et la Guerre Civile d'Espagne, *co-authored by Emile Termine. He is also the editor of several collections of documents including a volume of Trotsky's writings on France.*

Spain of 1936 was the last battlefield where, during Trotsky's lifetime, armed workers and peasants confronted the bourgeoisie in revolutionary struggle. In essence, the Spanish Civil War was the prologue to the Second World War whose first year was marked by the assassination of Trotsky. But Spain was also the first arena where the GPU was active on a large scale outside the Soviet Union. During the course of the great purge and the Moscow trials, the Old Bolsheviks were murdered in the cellars of the GPU, while Stalin's assassins in Spain liquidated all those revolutionaries who were indiscriminately labeled "Trotskyists." Nevertheless, no party, no group which played a real role in the Spanish revolution was Trotskyist. The POUM,[1] which the Stalinists exterminated in 1937, vigorously denied that it was Trotskyist to the end, and Trotsky, in his political works, did not mince words about his differences with the POUM.

Trotsky's biographers—especially Isaac Deutscher—pass very quickly over the Spanish Civil War, particularly the role that Trotsky strove to play there as well as the place that it occupied in his thought and his action. Truly, this is no accident. The struggle for the construction of the Fourth International, in the eyes of Isaac Deutscher, was a grave error on Trotsky's part because the objective was utopian. But Trotsky's position on the Spanish events cannot be understood apart from his broad militant perspective of the time, and, in particular, in isolation from his central objective of this period: the construction of a revolutionary leadership, a world party of revolution, the Fourth International. Through the blows which struck the anti-Stalinist revolutionaries—those non-Trotskyists whom Trotsky called "centrists"—like the POUM militants, it was in reality the Fourth International which Stalin and his henchmen strove to annihilate on the Spanish battlefield.

THE TASKS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Trotsky did not wait until 1936 to devote attention to the Spanish question. His writings on Spain figure honorably in comparison with his works on Germany, which, one should remember, he justly described as the key to the world situation at the time of the Nazi rise to power in Germany.

The revolution which began in Spain with the fall of the monarchy and the departure of Alfonso XIII in 1931 should have clearly resolved the tasks which Marxists call "bourgeois democratic." But it would be dangerous for revolutionaries to imagine that the tottering Spanish bourgeoisie, represented on the political plane by the republican parties, had the power to accomplish this democratic revolution. "The Spanish republicans," Trotsky wrote, "remain entirely on the basis of the existing property relations. One cannot look to them for the expropriation of the great landed estates, the liquidation of the privileged position of the Catholic Church, and the radical purging of the Augean stables of the civil and military bureaucracy." Conforming to the analysis known for thirty years as the theory of the "permanent revolution," which had been confirmed brilliantly, positively by the victory of the Russian revolution and negatively by the defeat of the 1927 Chinese revolution, Trotsky thought that only under a dictatorship of the proletariat would the democratic tasks of the revolution be fully realized, at the same time as the beginning of socialist transformations. The problem was then essentially that of the revolutionary policy of the proletariat, of its capacity to stand up at one and the same time against the oligarchy of the *ancien régime* and against the bourgeoisie.

In an article dated 24 January 1931, analyzing the political situation in Spain, Trotsky noted the depth of the strike movement, and at the same time, its totally spontaneous character. He characterized the period as "the period of the awakening of the masses, of their mobilization, of their entry into struggle." "By these strikes," he wrote, "the class begins to consider itself as a class." Nevertheless, this spontaneous character which at one moment gives the whole force to the workers' movement, risks at the next stage, being the source of weakness and defeats. A workers' movement left to its own resources, "without a clear program, without leadership" would inevitably wind up by finding itself confronted with "a hopeless

(1) POUM: Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification).

perspective." The Socialists (the PSOE [2]) had collaborated with the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera: they now found themselves dragged along in the wake of the republicans. "If the Socialist Party," wrote Trotsky, "captured the majority of the proletariat, it would only be able to do one thing: transfer the power conquered by the revolution to the hands of the republican wing, who would then automatically allow the power to slip into the hands of its real stockholders." The Spanish Communist Party [3] was very weak, deeply divided by the methods of leadership that had been imposed upon it by the Stalinized Communist International. It had experienced split after split; it was thus largely discredited in the eyes of a good proportion of class conscious workers who criticized the Party as much for its use of bureaucratic methods of leadership as for its servile submission to orders from Moscow, notably the adoption of "adventurist" slogans in the course of the "Third Period." [4] The authentic revolutionary cadres had been chased out or had turned away. The masses turned their back to it. In reality, the revolutionary vanguard, the most combative elements of the proletariat, were organized within the CNT [5] where, Trotsky said, "the selection was carried out over several years." He wrote, "To consolidate this confederation and transform it into a real mass organization is the duty for every advanced worker and above all for the communists." The revolutionary vanguard would inevitably run up against the FAI, [6] the small conspiratorial group of anarchists, who actually held the reins of power in the CNT. The mobilization of the proletariat on the basis of democratic transitional slogans in the struggle for power would require the working class to organize itself into soviets –*juntas*. But this in turn would require revolutionaries to wage a struggle on two fronts within the working-class movement

Leon Trotsky

itself: against the "parliamentary cretinism" of the Socialists as well as against the "anti-parliamentary cretinism" of the anarchists. "The anarchists," he wrote, "deny politics until the moment when it grabs them by the collar: then they yield to the policies of the class enemy."

To win the masses to organized and audacious revolutionary politics, to tear the workers away from the influence of the leading Socialists and anarchists, to recognize the *juntas* as the superior form of class organization, to prepare in the end for the victorious insurrection and the liquidation of the old state apparatus: such was the foremost political task of the Spanish revolutionaries. To resolve these tasks Trotsky judged that "there are three conditions: a party, again a party, and always a party." But in Spain, this party did not exist. In 1931 Trotsky wrote, "If the leadership of the Communist International proves incapable of offering the Spanish workers anything other than false politics, bureaucratic commandism and splits, then the real communist party of Spain will be formed and tempered outside the cadres of the Communist International. In any case this party must be created."

It was to this task that the Spanish militants who were members of the International Left Opposition [7] applied themselves in this period, organized in the *Communist Left*. [8] Their goal seemed perhaps more realizable in Spain than that of Left Oppositionists in all other countries. In the ranks of the Spanish Oppositionists were to be found some of the best elements of Spanish communism, some of its pioneers, like Andrés Nin, who came to communism when he was secretary of the CNT, and was former secretary of the Red International of Trade Unions; Juan Andrade, who had brought to the Communist International after the war the majority of Socialist youth; and many other cadre of great distinction. Their journal, *Comunismo*, was distinguished by the quality of its research and theoretical studies, by its effort to develop a concrete analysis of the Spanish reality. In the workers' movement, the parliamentarianism of the Socialists and the anti-parliamentarianism of the anarchists set their sights on each other and mutually served to cancel one another out, but the slogans of the *Communist Left* offered a way out for the militants misled by social democracy or anarchism. The road that opened to the building of a communist party of the Bolshevik type was uncontestably more attainable than in many other countries. It was probably for

Trotsky judged that "there are three conditions: a party, again a party, and always a party."

this reason that certain militants became impatient and proposed to abandon the attitude of "opposition" toward a non-existent party, in order to begin the construction of a new communist party. Trotsky energetically combatted this tendency in the discussion. The question for him was the rectification of all the Communist parties and especially the Communist International itself by vigorous political struggle. One and the same analysis must prevail for the tactics of all revolutionary communists on the international level. So long as there remained a chance to rectify the Communist International, no partisan of the Opposition should quit the International of his own accord and renounce the defense in the International of the ideas which were those of the founders. The Spanish "Trotskyists"—who called themselves "Bolshevik-Leninists"—remained in opposition and the majority of the *Communist Left* followed Trotsky in the years that the center of the struggle passed to Germany and the attempt to rectify the International through implacable criticism of Stalin's catastrophic policies, which were paving the way for Hitler.

THE TURN OF 1934-1935

Hitler's accession to power and the obliteration without a struggle of the German working class, a class bound hand and foot until the end by the policies of the Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies, marked the decisive turning point in the inter-war period. In the long run, it heralded the Second World War, and more immediately, the approach of decisive struggles between the working class and the fascists, the shock troops of counter-revolution. The Communist International accepted without flinching the policies dictated by Moscow, proclaimed the infallibility of its leaders, denied the importance of the Germán defeat, directed all its blows against internal criticism, and sabotaged the building of a workers united front which alone would have been able to constitute a valuable weapon against Hitler's storm troops. For Trotsky, the German defeat was the "4 August 1914" of the Communist International, the equivalent of what it had meant for Social Democracy and the Second International when its leaders rallied behind the imperialist war. The Second and Third Internationals were only corpses, and it would have been futile to imagine reviving them in struggle from within to "rectify" them. The Bolshevik-Leninists renounced their attitude of opposition: henceforth they had to work for the construction of the revolutionary leadership which was lacking, to settle

(2) PSOE: Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party), formed in the late 19th century by those who supported Marx after the break between Marx and the anarchist Bakunin. What was unusual was that most of the early Spanish socialists followed Bakunin, and anarchism continued to dominate the Spanish working-class movement in the 1930's.

(3) Spanish Communist Party: Partido Comunista Español, organized in 1921 by dissident Socialists and anarchists after the Socialist Party had voted not to affiliate with the Communist (Third) International.

(4) "Third Period": After the Stalin-Bukharin policy of class collaboration had been rebuffed in China and Britain, Stalin in 1928 initiated an ultra-left turn in the Communist International, posited on the characterization of a new "third" period (after the "first" period, 1917-24, of capitalist crisis and revolutionary upsurge, and the "second" period, 1925-28, of capitalist stabilization), in which the masses under the direct leadership of the Communists would immediately proceed to the final overthrow of capitalism. All other workers' organizations were therefore counter-revolutionary, especially the Social Democracy which was declared "social fascist." The sectarian refusal to form a united front with the Social Oemocrats in Germany enabled Hitler to take power without the workers having fired a shot. A new turn in favor of collaboration with the "democratic" imperialists was officially made at the 7th (and last) Congress of the International in 1935. The French Popular Front government of Leon Blum—composed of his Socialists, the Communists and the bourgeois Radicals—was formed in 1936. As in all Popular Fronts, the bourgeois party provided the program and the working-class parties delivered up their base.

(5) CNT: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor), mass anarcho-syndicalist trade union.

(6) FAI: Federación Anarquista Ibèrica (Iberian Anarchist Federation), organized in 1927 as a secret society within the CNT.

(7) International Left Opposition: The Bolshevik-Leninists led by Trotsky considered themselves the expelled Left Opposition of the Communist International fighting to rectify its policies. After the Stalinist line had led directly to the triumph of fascism in Germany, Trotsky and his cothinkers of the International Left Opposition in 1934 initiated the "Declaration of the Four" which called for the building of a new, Fourth, International.

(8) Communist Left: Izquierda Comunista.

down to the task of the creation of a new International, the Fourth. While striving to promote through action a policy of a workers united front, they would link themselves to the formation of independent revolutionary nuclei in order to completely isolate the old leadership from the militants of the young generation of workers.

The unfolding of the class struggle in Spain seemed favorable to this plan. In fact, the *Communist Left*, in the course of several years' work as the communist opposition, had made serious progress which was based upon a minimum program, conceived as a program of transitional demands designed to raise the level of consciousness of the masses in struggle and at the same time leading the masses into new struggles.

The *Communist Left* developed rapidly: in 1932, it numbered at least 2,000 cadre, recruited among the youth of all political tendencies and union backgrounds, not only in Catalonia, and notably in Barcelona, but also in Madrid and in the two Castilles, in Bilbao, and in Asturias, in Salamanca, in Andalusia, and Estremadura. Its influence continued to grow among advanced workers who were members of the Socialist or Communist parties, as well as in the CNT and UGT,[9] corresponding to the forceful exposure of the bankruptcy of the Socialist policy of compromise with bourgeois parties, and the anarchist policy of isolated uprisings, and the necessity of the workers united front which the Spanish Communist Party fought against with all its might, as in Germany, in the name of first combatting the Socialists, labeled "social fascists."

THE COMMUNIST LEFT AND THE WORKER-PEASANT BLOC: BIRTH OF THE POUM

In Catalonia, at least, the *Communist Left* came together over the need for the united front with another organization, born in opposition to the Communist Party and the Stalinist line of the Third Period. By splitting the Communist Federation of Catalonia–Baleares, the Worker and Peasant Bloc[10] was constituted under the leadership of Joaquin Maurin, another pioneer of Spanish communism. This formation had drained all the worthwhile militants in Catalonia from the Spanish Communist Party. Maurin's opposition, according to Trotsky's analysis, was a "right opposition," of the same type as had been developed by Brandler in Germany, Lovestone in the U.S., and Tasca in Italy. Ideologically linked to the "rightists" of the CPSU–the Bukharin tendency–it was essentially nourished by its opposition to the sectarian policy of the Communist Party and International during the "Third Period," the refusal to form "united fronts," and the accusation of "social-fascism" against the Socialists. Trotsky wrote that these right oppositional groups "are destitute of a clear program of action," and–even worse–that "they have been won over to the prejudices which have been largely spread . . . by the epigones of Bolshevism." After the manifesto of the Worker and Peasant Bloc, he wrote of this document in June 1931, "that it represents pure 'Kuomintangism' transported to Spanish soil." He was soon to upbraid the Maurinists for their opportunism in their relations with the petty bourgeois Catalan nationalist movements, their refusal to raise any criticism of the Stalinist policies inside the USSR, and their efforts to convince the Moscow leaders that the leadership of the Spanish Communist movement should be entrusted to them. In his correspondence he repeatedly warned against Maurin and the Bloc of his political cronies, calling for merciless political criticism of what he considered a variety of "centrism even worse than the official centrism" of Stalinism. In fact, the Maurinist opposition created a confusion prejudicial to the development of the Left: it was only in Madrid that the Bolshevik-Leninists succeeded in winning a majority of the militants from a Communist Party circle. Elsewhere, and notably in Catalonia, the confused and often contradictory politics of the Bloc, its opportunism in practice joined to its criticisms in principle, gave it the role of a veritable screen between the ideas of the Left and the discontented Communist militants at the base of the party.

It was in the Socialist Party and particularly in the ranks of the youth that the radicalization of the Spanish working class and the progress of Trotskyist deas in its vanguard was most clearly manifested. The bankruptcy of the Socialists' policy of class collaboration with the republican governments provoked a profound crisis in the ranks of the party, then the crystallization of a powerful left wing, paradoxically led by the old working-class leader Francisco Largo Caballero who, drawing the correct lessons from his reformist experience, rallied spectacularly to revolutionary politics and declared in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Carried by an extraordinary enthusiasm, Largo Caballero accelerated considerably the movement of radicalization which had led to his turn. His disciples, the leaders and members of the Socialist youth, the intellectuals who grouped around him and edited the newspaper of the UGT,

Instead of the struggle for a new revolutionary party formed by political differentiation as advocated by Trotsky, his former Spanish disciples substituted the struggle for the fusion of old apparatuses.

Claridad, clearly expressed this phenomenon and its immense consequences. Thus Luis Araquistain, his official spokesman, wrote in 1934 in the preface to *Speeches to Workers* of the secretary of the UGT:

> "I believe that the Second and Third Socialist Internationals are virtually dead; dead is the reformist, democratic, parliamentarian socialism represented by the Second International; dead also is the revolutionary socialism of the Third International, which received the *santo y seña* of Moscow for the whole world. I am convinced that what must come forward is a Fourth International founded upon the first two, taking up again from the one the revolutionary tactics and from the other the principle of national autonomy. In this sense, the attitude of Largo Caballero, that of the Spanish Socialist Party and UGT, seems to me an attitude of the Fourth International, that is to say, a *superacion* of historical socialism."

Even taking into consideration the demagogic exaggeration in these declarations by long-time opportunist leaders, so lately reconciled with revolutionary politics, the current in favor of "bolshevization" of the Socialist Party, of its adherence to the construction of the Fourth International, was exceptionally vigorous at the base, as was further shown by the resolutions of the regional congresses of youth and the content of the newspapers and demonstrations.

The CNT, at the same time, was going through a profound crisis. While the rightist current, the "*treintistas*," led by the former secretary Angel Pestaña, oriented openly towards a sort of reformist unionism, the vigorous reaction of the FAI did not prevent the majority of the anarcho-syndicalist militants from coming to the realization that "apoliticism" was in the long run only a form of passivity, benefitting only the class enemy. Despite the hesitations and equivocations of its leaders, including the left Socialists, the Asturian proletariat was fighting, with the energy it was already known for, in the October insurrection; meanwhile the leaders of the CNT who had held themselves–except for those of Asturias–aside from the mass movement by refusing to join the workers' Alliances constituted by the call of the Left and the Bloc, risked even more: isolation in relation to a powerful movement for revolutionary proletarian unity (Union of Proletarian Brothers) which swept the country after the October insurrection, and to which even the official Communists rallied at the last moment.

For Trotsky there could be no possible hesitation. On the eve of gigantic class struggle when the Stalinists and reformists were near the realization of a united front on the platform of "defense of democracy," under the immediate menace of counter-revolution, the small Bolshevik- Leninist organizations would not have sufficient time to intervene decisively in the class struggle, above all if they found themselves excluded from the Socialist-Communist united front being constituted. In spite of their progress, they were still numerically weak, lacking ties with the large mass of workers drawn by the large organizations, and were incapable of benefitting in a reasonable amount of time from this spontaneous current of radicalization which was in the process of shaking up the reformist dust within the Socialist Party. Already in August 1934, in the wake of the fascist uprising of 6 February in Paris, and the first riposte of the Socialist-Communist united front, the French Bolshevik-Leninists grouped around *La Vérité* had entered the SFIO,[11] where they were beginning to establish solidly their influence among the left milieu of the Federation of the Seine and in the ranks of the youth. The ground was even more favorable in Spain, where the radicalization was deeper and the influence and prestige of the Trotskyists was considerable. The organ of the JS[12] of Madrid, *Renovación*, repeated calls to the Trotskyists whom they termed "the best revolutionaries and the best theoreticians in Spain, who are invited to enter the Youth and the Socialist Party in order to bring about Bolshevization." Trotsky thought it necessary to seize this opportunity, to establish a solid faction in the Socialist Party, in order to make it a pole of attraction of revolutionary regroupment capable of exercising decisive influence over the militants of the Communist Party surprised by the brutality of the opportunist turn of their party, and upon the militants of the CNT disoriented by the impotence of their own principles of action in the new situation, capable also of giving a real Bolshevik form to this spontaneous radicalization, which, lacking revolutionary leadership, risked being soon led astray by Stalinists and left

(9) UGT: **Unión General del Trabajadores** (General Workers' Union), mass Socialist-led trade union.

(10) Worker and Peasant Bloc: **Bloque Obrero Campesino.**

(11) SFIO: **Section Francaise de l'Internationale Ouvrière** (French Section of the Workers' International), the Socialist Party of France. Trotsky's advocacy of short-term entry into the Social Democracy in order to recruit desperately needed Trotskyist cadres was first implemented in France (hence the name "French Turn" is commonly applied to the tactic) but was also undertaken in other countries, notably Spain, Belgium and the U.S.

(12) JS: **Juvantud Socialista**, youth group of the Socialists.

Socialists, willing to be revolutionary only in words.

But Trotsky did not succeed in convincing his Spanish comrades. While the majority of the French Bolshevik-Leninists had effected the "turn," the Spanish organization. by a majority, refused to do so. The minority favorable to Trotsky's proposals would not go so far as to break with the discipline of the organization, which, after a long and difficult discussion at the end of 1934, refused to enter the Socialist Party. Instead, in the following year, on 25 September 1935, the leaders of the two organizations, the *Communist Left* and the Worker and Peasant Bloc, held a joint fusion congress, giving birth to a new party: the POUM, Workers Party of Marxist Unification. Thus—paradoxically, at first glance—it was the birth of a new communist party born of the fusion of the right and left oppositions, a "trotsko-bukharinite bloc," as the Stalinist Koltsov wrote, that culminated the political regroupment in Spain and the radicalization born of the events of 1933-35. Instead of the struggle for a new revolutionary party formed by political differentiation as advocated by Trotsky, his former Spanish disciples substituted the struggle for the fusion of old apparatuses, declaring in the joint resolution of the unification congress:

> "The great revolutionary socialist communist party will be formed by the unitary regroupment of the existing revolutionary Marxist nuclei, and the new wave of revolutionaries entering into action, impelled forward by the Marxist unity, and the elements which, demoralized by the factionalism of the workers' movement, have remained momentarily inactive "

and going so far as to proclaim the intention of the POUM to dissolve into the great party at a congress which would be held "as soon as the principle of Marxist unity has triumphed in the Socialist and Communist parties."

Trotsky, justifiably from his point of view, considered the passage of the former leaders of the Communist Left to the positions which had been those of Maurin and the Bloc all the time as a betrayal: for them, it could no longer be a question of working for the construction of the Fourth International, but solely of fusing the two preceding Internationals—which, of course, were corpses to Trotsky: it is not surprising that on the international plane, the POUM rapidly joined the London Bureau,[13] a liaison organization between different groups which had broken with the Socialist or Communist parties in their respective countries, but had in common the refusal to struggle for a "new International."

...by the end of 1935, there was no longer a single group in the workers' movement which stood for the necessity of merciless ideological delineation and denunciation of class collaboration under the mask of unity.

Henceforth, there did not exist, in the configuration of Spanish political forces, any force, however small, which was capable of opposing itself to the pressure exerted, in the name of "unity," by the right Socialists and the Stalinist Communists for an electoral alliance with the bourgeois republicans. The forthcoming fusion of the Socialist and Communist youth into the JSU which constituted from 1936 on the mass base of Spanish Stalinism, the adherence of every workers organization to the bourgeois program of the popular front, were, in a very real way, implied in the decision of the leading Spanish Trotskyists, Nin and Andrade, to refuse to enter the Socialist Party and to opt for fusion with Maurin's right communists. G. Munis expressed Trotsky's thoughts on this situation when he wrote:

> "The masses followed the inverse process of that of the parties. The masses went to the left in their radicalization and perfecting of their socialist consciousness; the parties oriented to the right, forming a closed circle of collaborationist organizations. At the precise moment when the masses went to undertake the attack on bourgeois property and the state, all the parties, some more than others, bowed their heads reverently before this same state."

While in 1934 the partisans of the Fourth International organized against the reformists and the Stalinists had a real influence and possibilities to consolidate it, to extend it and directly combat the politics of class collaboration, by the end of 1935, there was no longer a single group in the workers' movement which stood for the necessity of merciless ideological delineation and denunciation of class collaborationism under the mask of unity. It was that which Trotsky called betrayal from his former comrades in arms, and for which he would bitterly reproach them until his death.

FROM THE POPULAR FRONT TO THE REVOLUTION

Chased out of France in 1935, and in spite of the infinite difficulties that he encountered in his new Norwegian refuge, Trotsky had analyzed the "popular front" current which was manifested in France under the impulse of new directives given by the Stalinized International to the French CP. The resounding rallying of the French Communists to Stalin's declaration "fully approving the policy of national defense" of the reactionary government of Pierre Laval, on the morrow of the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet pact, the expulsion of revolutionaries from the Socialist and Communist parties in the perspective of this new *"union sacrée,"* the efforts of the leaders of these parties to channel the radicalization of the French workers into the parliamentary road and into the alliance with the Radical Party, their condemnation of spontaneous wildcat strikes of the defense workers at the arsenals of Brest and Toulon in the name of solidarity with the bourgeois republican parties, all these revealed the true face of the French popular front: a rehabilitation of the Radical Party, the party of imperialism and the French bourgeoisie, and the stifling of the revolutionary aspirations of the French proletariat in the name of the principles of bourgeois democracy and a purely parliamentary perspective.

Francisco Largo Caballero (right)

The pact of the Spanish popular front, signed on 15 January 1936 in Madrid, was written in the same ink as its French equivalent. All the historians of this period were pleased to stress its extremely moderate character, which was in fact as little revolutionary as possible. The signatory parties had established a common program to serve, among other things, "the rule of government which the left republican parties will develop in case of victory with the support of the working-class forces." They invoked here the "public peace" to justify amnesty, while upholding "in all its vigor the principle of authority." The declaration specifically stated: "The republicans do not accept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free reversion to the peasants." Its economic program was framed under the slogan "for the general interest of the economy and national production."

The agreement specified: "The republican parties do not accept measures for nationalization of the banks . . . workers' control claimed by the delegation of the Socialist Party . . . The republic envisaged by the republican parties is not a republic guided by class-oriented social or economic motives, but a regime of democratic freedoms motivated by the cause of the general interest and social progress . . . its international policy is oriented toward adherence to the principles and methods of the League of Nations."

The pact was signed by representatives of the republican parties, the Socialist Party and the UGT, the Socialist Youth, the Communist Party, the Syndicalist Party of Pestaña and . . . for the POUM, Juan Andrade. Twelve days previously, the editorial of the POUM's paper *La Batalla* of 3 January 1936, under the title "The Crucial Year of Our Revolution," had written: "Two roads open up before us and two only: either the march toward socialism, toward the second revolution, or an overwhelming set-back and the triumph of counter-revolution . . . We are now entering the period of great struggles in the march toward the victory of socialism." The POUM adopted Maurin's declaration: the only alternative is "Fascism or socialism." How, then, can one explain their adherence to the popular front? How can one explain the call to the workers to vote for this election bloc which looked forward to the establishment of a republican bourgeoisie, which forbade all attacks on "property" and the bourgeois order? The leaders of the POUM invoked their desire to do everything to prevent the electoral victory of the right, their anxiety to obtain the immediate release, through amnesty, of the thousands of militant workers still held after the Asturian defeat; also, on a purely tactical level, not "to cut themselves off from the masses," not to be isolated from the powerful unitary current which then carried the masses toward enthusiasm for the

(13) London Bureau: The appalling Stalinist degeneration of Communism and the gross failure of Social Democracy drove a motley collection of centrists and opportunists out of the Second and Third Internationals. The so-called London Bureau was set up in 1932 by the Norwegian Labor Party (NAP) and the British Independent Labor Party in collaboration with the German Socialist Workers Party (SAP) and the left wing of the Dutch Social Democracy. At various times it encompassed other parties of the same stripe.

popular front. Were they perhaps sensitive to the criticisms of Trotsky which were made immediately, stigmatizing the complicity of the POUM "centrists" with the bourgeois-Stalinist coalition? Was there perhaps a sharp reaction among certain militants, surprised at what was, in any case, a turn which was just a little bit brutal? In any case, the POUM, although its single deputy Maurin voted for Azaña, specified immediately thereafter that it was taking up again its freedom of action and had signed the pact only with the exclusive intention of assuring the defeat of the right in the elections. These reservations did not prevent Trotsky from demonstrating that the POUM's policy—precisely because of the criticisms it formulated against the popular front after having signed the pact—made it a "left" cover for the coalition and bound the POUM to the bourgeoisie through the intermediary of the large working-class parties.

When, some months later, Franco's military pronunciamento exploded, prepared in full view and with the complete knowledge of the popular front government, whose only concern was to restrain the movement of the masses, to reassure the right and to protect the army and officer corps, Trotsky stressed once again the class nature of the popular front:

> "When the bourgeoisie is constrained to conclude through the intermediary of its left wing an alliance with the workers' organizations, then it needs all the more its officer corps as a counterweight."

The policy of the republican government of the popular front toward the army, which it allowed to openly prepare its own overthrow, arose neither from its "blindness" nor from some kind of error: it was simply the policy of the Spanish bourgeoisie. In Trotsky's eyes, obviously, those most responsible were those workers' leaders who permitted the popular front swindle to be realized. He wrote:

> "One sees now much more clearly what crime was committed at the beginning of this year by the leaders of the POUM, Maurin and Nin. Every worker who reflects can—and will—ask: Didn't you foresee anything? How then could you sign the program of the popular front and make us put our confidence in Azaña and Co., instead of permeating us with the greatest distrust of the radical bourgeoisie? Now we must pay for your mistakes with our blood."

However, some people still could believe for the moment that a revolutionary regroupment was going to be carried through. The POUM was far from being homogeneous. The experience of six months of popular front government had obviously condemned POUM's January signature in the eyes of many militants. Above all, the workers' riposte to the military *coup d'état* had, from one day to the next, transformed the political atmosphere of Spain: the armed workers were masters of the streets, were establishing everywhere the authority of their committees, destroying the army, police, and bourgeois courts, seizing the factories and the land. Trotsky and Nin found themselves in agreement that the spontaneous revolutionary action of the Spanish workers and peasants had carried them to a superior level than even that of the Russian Revolution in its early stages. The International Secretariat of the Fourth International delegated Jean Rous to Barcelona to meet with Andrés Nin and Andrade. They negotiated around the question of the "entry" of the Trotskyists into the POUM: the leaders of the POUM agreed to publish a weekly article by Trotsky on the first page of *La Batalla*, as well as promising to demand for him the right of asylum. Brutally, it was all broken off. Was it really the blunders of Rous which were responsible, as several witnesses have suggested? Was compromise impossible after Trotsky's new attacks against Nin and Andrade, as others assert? One suspects, however, that the tactical disagreements were deeper than they appeared in the enthusiasm of the early days: the political developments were soon going to show this with the POUM taking a step which Trotsky would judge even more severely from the revolutionary point of view than the "crime" they had committed in signing the popular front pact.

THE ENTRY OF THE POUM INTO THE CATALAN GOVERNMENT

On 6 September, commenting on the popular front government formed at Madrid, including republicans, Socialists and Communists, and presided over by Largo Caballero, Andrés Nin wrote:

> "The present government represents without doubt a step forward in relation to the previous government; but it is a popular front government, it is a government which corresponds to the situation before 19 July, when the workers' insurrection had not yet occurred, and in this regard . . . it represents a step backward. There is no way out other than a workers' government. The slogan for the whole working class in the coming days must be: 'Throw out the bourgeois ministers, and long live the working-class government!' "

Some days later, on 26 September, a new government on the model of the Madrid regime was constituted at Barcelona under the direction of the Catalan republican President of the Generality,[14] Companys: Andrés Nin himself was a member, with the title "counsellor of justice."

It was the government of the Generality which was to decree and carry out the effective dissolution of the revolutionary committees and liquidation of the "dual power" situation created by the riposte to the military insurrection. Companys' biographer summarized this political episode when he wrote:

> "Companys, who recognized the right of the workers to govern and even offered to abandon their post, managed things with such finesse that little by little he reconstituted the legitimate organs of power, curbed the action of the councils and left the working-class organizations reduced to the role of auxiliaries, assessors, and rubber stamps. In the space of four or five months, things had returned to normal."

Commenting on the refusal of the working-class organizations of the popular front, the CNT and the POUM as well as the Socialist and Communist parties, to seize power in the so-called republican zone immediately after 19 July, Trotsky wrote:

> "To renounce the conquest of power is to voluntarily allow it to remain with those who possess it, the exploiters. The foundation of all revolution consisted and still consists in carrying a new class to power and thus, to give this class the possibility of realizing its own program. . . . The refusal to conquer power inevitably hurls back any workers' organization into the swamp of reformism, and makes it the plaything of the bourgeoisie: it cannot be otherwise, given the structure of society."

A striking coincidence with the point of view of President Azaña, mouthpiece of the republican bourgeoisie, who wrote with some cynicism:

> "A revolution renders necessary the taking of power, the setting up of a government led according to its own goals. This has not been done . . . The old order could have been replaced by another, a revolutionary order. It has not been."

Andrés Nin, commenting on the entry of his party into the Generality government, shouted on the radio: "The struggle that is beginning is not the struggle between bourgeois democracy and fascism, as some think, but between fascism and socialism." The organ of the POUM youth, *Juventud Comunista*, indirectly revealed the hesitations and oppositions within the central leadership of the POUM on this question when it wrote:

> "There are in this Council too many representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, who have given us plenty of proof of their incapacity and absence of foresight. As for us, our party entered the

(14) Generality: the regional government which gave Catalonia some measure of autonomy beginning in 1932. Derived from the Barcelona Municipal Government which inherited the name (meaning a medieval town council).

Ernö Gero, Hungarian Comintern agent in Catalonia.

Dolores Ibarruri ("La Pasionaria"), instrument of Stalinist policy in Spain whose fanaticism and oratorical talents made her a powerful hack for the Moscow line.

Generality because *it did not wish to swim against the stream* in these hours of extreme gravity, and because it believed that the socialist revolution could have been given impetus through the Generality."

In fact, Andrés Nin who had affirmed twenty days previously in a meeting in Barcelona that the dictatorship of the proletariat already existed in Catalonia, specified:

"It is incomprehensible that in the existing circumstances, there should be in Catalonia a government formed by representatives of the republican Left (Esquerra), just as it is absolutely incomprehensible that at this moment there should be in Spain a government with bourgeois ministers."

But he had entrusted the task of eliminating the bourgeois ministers to the anarchist leaders, affirming: "If our anarchist comrades take charge of the situation and are willing to make some sacrifices, before long there will no longer be a single bourgeois minister in Spain."

A mountain bivouac of militiamen in the Sierra.

Trotsky retorted:

"In practice Nin has transformed the Leninist formula into its opposite; he entered a bourgeois government which has for its objective to despoil and smother all the acquisitions, all the strongest points of support for the nascent socialist revolution. The basis of his thought amounts to this: since this revolution is a socialist revolution 'in essence,' our entry into the government can only aid it . . . . Did not Nin recognize that the revolution is 'in essence' socialist? Yes, he proclaimed it, but only to justify a policy which saps the very bases of the revolution."

In another article, drawing the balance sheet, he wrote:

"The POUM has indeed attempted theoretically to lean on the formula of the permanent revolution, (That is why the Stalinists have treated the Poumists as Trotskyists) but the revolution is not content with simple theoretical recognition. Instead of mobilizing the masses against the reformist leaders, including the anarchists, the POUM endeavors to convince these gentlemen of the superiority of socialism over capitalism."

With the entry of the POUM into the council of the Generality, the bridges were definitely burnt between Trotsky and the POUM. The dialogue was nevertheless going to be pursued until the extinction of the POUM and the liquidation of the revolutionary conquests by the coalition of Stalinists and bourgeoisie in the Negrin government and the restored bourgeois state.

THE SPRING 1937 DISCUSSION: NIN AND TROTSKY

In this light, we have the good fortune to have access to two important documents: Andrés Nin's speeches of 21 March and 25 April 1937, delivered at Barcelona, and an article by Trotsky, responding to the first, dated 23 April, on the eve of the May Days.

Nin declared: "The POUM, and with it the whole vanguard of the proletariat, is taking account of the fact that the revolutionary workers' upsurge which began on 19 July has receded considerably, that the revolutionary process is undergoing a pause, and that the workers' situation is today much weaker than six months ago." Recalling the dislocation of the mechanism of the bourgeois state in July and August 1936, the fact that the proletariat "imposed its will and its determination" because it was armed, the fact that "power was in the streets," he stated: "Today, Companys, in the name of the bourgeoisie, dares to tell the workers to shut up and obey."

Nin then analyzes the "symptoms of retreat which the Revolution is experiencing": he sees them in the "process of the reconstruction of the bourgeois state," "the campaign for the

"Instead of mobilizing the masses against the reformist leaders, including the anarchists, the POUM endeavors to convince these gentlemen of the superiority of socialism over capitalism."

creation of an apolitical regular army," the desire of the Madrid government to put into question the autonomy of Catalonia, the project for reforming "the services and bodies charged with the maintenance of public order" which significantly was to forbid employees of the civil services belonging to political organizations or to trade unions. This whole process began, according to him, with the elimination of the POUM from the government of the Generality in December.

Seeking then to analyze the causes of this "counter-revolutionary process," Andrés Nin raised first "the political role which was and is still being played by reformism in our Revolution, supported by that international organization which still has the cynicism to call itself 'communist'." "Reformism," he asserted, "was bound and is bound to fill the role in Catalonia and in Spain that it has filled in the entire world: that of the watchdog of the bourgeoisie." He then affirmed the responsibility of the leaders of the CNT in the retreat which "was able to occur as a result of the absence in this organization of a clear vision of the problem of power in so far as it was the essential problem of the Revolution." He specified: "The erroneous attitude of this organization has had fundamental consequences in the counter-revolutionary process. Without it, the retreat we face would in no way have been possible."

The remedies were right at hand, since it was not too late and "all is not yet lost." Turning toward the anarchist leaders, Nin declared: "The CNT should go to confession, abandon its old prejudices, which are surpassed a hundred times over by circumstances." Was it a question of struggling for power through violence? "No. Today the working class with the positions it still holds, is able to attack the power without recourse to violence."

He affirmed once again that the civil war was inseparable from the revolution and that this war was a revolutionary war, as was demonstrated by the political importance of the victory of Guadalajara, secured through revolutionary propaganda among the Italian troops. He called for increased repression against fascist agents and reprisals against the bombings, and concluded that for victory what was necessary was: "One flag. The red flag of the proletarian revolution. One government. A workers and peasants government, the working-class government."

On 25 April during the course of a conference on "the problem of power in the revolution," Nin completed and clarified his view. For him, "the formulas of the Russian Revolution, mechanically applied, will lead to defeat. It is necessary to adopt the spirit, not the letter, of the Russian Revolution." Even if it were true that in Spain, as in Russia, the bourgeoisie was incapable of accomplishing the democratic revolution, the differences between the Russian situation of 1917 and the existing situation of Spain were nevertheless important: the Spanish reformists were incomparably more powerful, benefitting from Anglo-French support and their desire to transform the civil war into an imperialist war. It was in those parties labeled working-class that the bourgeoisie sought refuge. In addition, the Russian working class had no democratic tradition; in Spain, the existence of the trade unions, parties, working-class organizations explained why Soviets had not arisen. In Spain, finally, anarchism was a mass movement, which was not the case in Russia, and this imposed "new problems and different tactics": "The problem is for the revolutionary instinct of the CNT to be turned into revolutionary consciousness. And for the heroism of the masses to be transformed into coherent politics." And the leader of the POUM addressed himself to those of the FAI and the CNT in order to appeal for the formation of a revolutionary workers front which would:

"convoke and convene the congress of the delegates of the workers' and peasants' trade unions and soldiers units, which will establish the bases for a new society and give birth to the Workers' and Peasants' Government, the government of victory and of the revolution."

At the same time, posing the problems of the Spanish Revolution, Trotsky asked: "Is victory possible?" It was incontestable that the republican popular front regime of Largo Caballero was doing its utmost to make the army the "democratic guard for the defense of private property." The

"Without a proletarian revolution, the victory of democracy would only signify a detour on the way to the very same fascism."

duty of revolutionists was clear: to defend bourgeois democracy with arms in hand, but without taking responsibility for it, without entering its government, and conserving their complete freedom of criticism and action, preparing for the overthrow of bourgeois democracy at the next stage. "Any other policy," he affirmed, "is a criminal undertaking with no hope of consolidating bourgeois democracy which is ineluctably destined to collapse, whatever the immediate military outcome of the civil war." It is because it defends private property that the popular front prepares the triumph of fascism: "without a proletarian revolution, the victory of democracy would only signify a detour on the way to the very same fascism."

Trotsky emphasized the fact that Nin had admitted that the revolution had receded. He wrote:

> "Nin forgets to add: with the direct cooperation of the leadership of the POUM which, under the cover of 'criticism', adapted itself to the Socialists and the Stalinists, which is to say, to the bourgeoisie, instead of *counterposing at all stages its party to all other parties* and thus preparing the victory of the proletariat. We predicted to Nin, at the very beginning of the Spanish revolution six years ago, the consequences of this fatal policy of hesitation and adaptation."

Amnistie Générale pour tous les prisonniers antifascistes.

Libération immédiate de tous les Camarades du P. O. U. M.

Nous n'admettons pas le principe d'un procès contre les camarades du C. E. du P. O. U. M. sans la garantie de la présence d'une délégation ouvrière internationale.

Nous protestons contre les exécutions sommaires et les assassinats de Camarades du P. O. U M.

Où se trouvent André NIN et les autres disparus ?

Andrés Nin as portrayed on a postcard: part of the international campaign against the persecution of POUM leaders.

Contrary to what Nin thought, it was not the POUM's expulsion from the Catalan government which marked the beginning of reaction, but its entry into this government. In reality, as Trotsky emphasized:

> "it is necessary to say: 'Our participation in the Catalan government facilitated the possibility of the bourgeoisie reinforcing its rule, of chasing us out and entering openly upon the road of reaction.' At bottom, the POUM still finds itself half in the popular front. The heads of the POUM *exhort* the government plaintively to enter on the road of the socialist revolution. The heads of the POUM respectfully urge the heads of the CNT to finally understand the Marxist teachings on the state. The heads of the POUM consider themselves 'revolutionary counsellors' close to the heads of the popular front."

What is to be done?

> "It is necessary to openly and boldly mobilize the masses against the popular front government. It is necessary to unveil to the syndicalist and anarchist workers the betrayals of those gentlemen who call themselves anarchists, but who are in reality simple liberals. It is necessary to relentlessly castigate Stalinism as the worst agent of the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to feel yourselves to be leaders of the revolutionary masses and not counsellors close to the bourgeois government."

Even if the "republican" army were to prevail over Franco, the victory of the revolution would be far from assured: such a victory, indeed, "would necessarily mean an explosion of civil war within the republican camp." "In this new civil war, the proletariat would only be able to win if, at its head, there was an inflexible revolutionary party, which had succeeded in winning the confidence of the majority of workers and semi-proletarian peasants. But if such a party does not appear at the critical hour, the civil war in the republican camp threatens to end in the victory of a Bonapartism by its nature very little distinguished from the dictatorship of General Franco. That is why the policy of the popular front is merely a detour on the road to the very same fascism."

In fact, as in 1931, the central problem from Trotsky's viewpoint was the party, the revolutionary leadership. And this is why, once again, he took up Nin—about whom he said on 14 April before the Dewey Commission: "He is my friend. I know him well. Nevertheless, I criticize him extremely vigorously." Trotsky wrote:

> " 'The revolution retreats,' announces Nin sententiously, preparing in fact . . . for his own retreat . . . If Nin were capable of reflecting on his own words, he would comprehend that if the gentlemen leaders prevent the revolution from rising to the dictatorship of the proletariat, it inevitably will descend to fascism. It was thus in Germany, it was the same in Austria, and it will be thus in Spain, only after an incomparably shorter delay."

For Trotsky, Nin and his friends did not correctly analyze the situation, and especially, did not go to the end of the conclusions which it was necessary to draw.

> "When Nin says that the Spanish workers are still today able to take power through peaceful means, he utters a flagrant falsehood. Already today, power is found in the hands of the highest echelons of the military and bureaucracy in league with the Stalinists and anarcho-reformists. In this struggle against the working class, these gentlemen lean on the foreign bourgeoisie and the Soviet bureaucracy. To talk under these conditions of a peaceful conquest of power is to delude oneself and to deceive the working class. In the same speech, Nin says that they want to take away the arms from the workers and advises not giving them up. This advice is surely correct. But when one class wants to disarm another, and that class, notably the proletariat, refuses to give them up, this signifies precisely the approach of civil war "

and Trotsky took on Nin's perspectives which he termed "mealy-mouthed": "The mealy-mouthed false perspective of the peaceful conquest of power inverts all of Nin's radical reasoning on the dictatorship of the proletariat." The essence of Nin's policy lay here: "it permits him not to draw practical conclusions from his radical analysis and to continue the politics of centrist oscillations . . . . The politics of POUM, do not, either in content or tone, correspond to the acuteness of the situation. The POUM leadership consoles itself in thinking that it is 'in advance' of other parties. This doesn't amount to much. We must regulate ourselves by events, by the march of the class struggle, not by the conduct of other parties."

Thus Nin's revolutionary phrases did not succeed in convincing Trotsky that the POUM had corrected itself. "We must," he wrote, "cleanly, resolutely and boldly detach ourselves from the umbilical cord of bourgeois public opinion. We must break with the petty-bourgeois parties, including the syndicalist leaders. We must go to the masses in their deepest and most exploited layers. We must not indulge illusions about a future victory that will come of itself. We must tell them the truth, however bitter. We must teach them to distrust the petty-bourgeois agents of capital. They must learn to rely on themselves. They must bind themselves indissolubly to their own destiny. They must learn to create for themselves their own fighting organizations—soviets—in opposition to the bourgeois state."

Trotsky demanded:

> "Can one hope that the leadership of the POUM will accomplish this turn? Alas, the experience of six years of revolution leaves no room for such hopes. The revolutionaries outside as well as inside the POUM would certify themselves bankrupt if they reduced their own role to 'exhorting' Nin, Andrade and Gorkin in the same fashion that these latter exhort Caballero, Companys, and others. Revolutionaries must address themselves to the rank and file workers and oppose Nin's hesitations and vacillations."

The declaration on this last point was purely platonic: neither the militants organized in the *Leninist Voice* group, Spanish section of the Fourth International, nor their comrades organized in the rival group *The Soviet*, very young and almost all of foreign origin, would have the means or the time to address themselves "to the ranks" to denounce Nin outside or inside the POUM whose destruction approached.

THE MAY DAYS

The unfolding of the May Days themselves was going to definitively cut off discussion between the estranged comrades. Faced with the provocation organized by the PSUC men against

the Telefonica workers,[15] the working class of Barcelona countered with a spontaneous rising. For Trotsky, "this fact shows what an abyss has been dug between the anarchists and Poumists on the one side and the masses of workers on the other. The conception propagated by Nin that the 'proletariat can seize power by peaceful means' has been established as false to the core."

For Nin, the movement was produced because, not having posed the problem of reaction in political terms, "the accumulated irritation of the working class" had finally erupted in "a violent explosion, and, afterwards, a spontaneous and chaotic movement without immediate perspectives." The POUM placed itself at the side of the workers: "the course of the armed struggle, the spirit of the revolutionary workers and the importance of the strategic positions won were such that it would have been possible to seize power." He maintained, however: "our party, a minority force in the workers movement, could not take upon itself the responsibility for launching such a slogan, especially since the leaders of the CNT and FAI are urgently requesting in radio speeches from the broadcasting stations in Barcelona that the workers abandon the struggle, sowing confusion and disorder among them." The POUM too, while demanding the withdrawal of the police and the promise not to disarm the workers, called on the morning of 7 May for abandoning the struggle, urging the workers to return to work.

In a document drafted for the Central Committee of the POUM on 12 May, Andrés Nin wrote on these events: "We are proud to proclaim that the attitude of our party effectively contributed to putting an end to the bloody struggle . . . and preventing the workers movement from being crushed by a ferocious repression." On 28 May *La Batalla* was banned. On 16 June Andrés Nin was arrested, to be assassinated by Stalin's henchmen. The POUM's policy did not impede the ferocious repression which crashed down upon all Spanish revolutionaries. During the insurrection, Trotsky had written: "It is necessary to put the revolutionary vanguard on guard against all that is ambiguous, confused, equivocal in the upper layers of the proletariat, nationally and internationally. Those who do not have the courage to oppose the Fourth International to the Second and Third will never have the courage to lead the workers in decisive struggled." In one sentence Trotsky summarized what the political line of Nin had represented to him in the course of the years of the Spanish Revolution.

THE GENERAL LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Thus, in spite of the years dedicated to the formation of authentic communist cadre within the *Communist Left*, in spite of the real influence acquired in the years 1933-1935 in the Spanish working-class vanguard, Trotsky found himself reduced *vis à vis* the revolution to the role of commentator—what others call "prophet"—the opposite of the role he hoped to play. From this perspective, we are indebted to him for his brilliant analysis which perfectly clarifies certain aspects of the class struggle on this battleground.

On civil war—and its particular conditions—he wrote:

> "In civil war, incomparably more than in ordinary war, *politics dominates strategy.* Robert Lee, as a military leader, certainly had more talent than Grant, but the program of the abolition of slavery assured the victory of Grant. During the three years of our civil war, the superiority of the art and technique of war was often on the side of the enemy, but at the end, it was the Bolshevik program which prevailed. The worker knew full well for what he fought. The peasant hesitated for a long time, but having compared by experience the two regimes, he finally supported the Bolshevik camp. In Spain the Stalinists, who led the chorus from above, have advanced the formula to which Caballero has rallied: *first* the military victory and *then* the social reforms. Not seeing any radical differences between the two programs in actual practice, the laboring masses, the peasants especially, fall into indifference. Under these conditions, fascism will inevitably triumph, because the purely military advantage is on its side. Bold social reforms constitute the most effective arm in civil war and the fundamental condition for victory over fascism."

Soldiers of the newly formed People's Army on their way to the front in Aragon, 1936.

ROBERT CAPA

On world perspectives:

> "If fascism prevails in Spain, France will be held like a vise from which she will not be able to free herself. The dictatorship of Franco will signify the inevitable acceleration of the European war under the most difficult conditions for France. It is unnecessary to add that a new European war will bleed the French people until their last drop of blood and will lead them into degeneration, carrying with it at the same time a terrible blow to all humanity."

On Stalinism and its role in the Spanish revolution, he wrote:

> "Stalin, certainly, attempted to transport the external procedures of Bolshevism to Spanish soil: the Political Bureau, commissars, cells, GPU, etc. But he had emptied these forms of their socialist content. He had rejected the Bolshevik program and with that, soviets as the necessary form of the initiative of the masses. He put the Bolshevik techniques into the service of bourgeois property. In his bureaucratic narrow-mindedness, he thought that commissars in themselves were capable of assuring victory. But commissars of private property are found capable only of assuring defeat . . . Neither the heroism of the masses nor the courage of isolated revolutionaries was lacking. But the masses were left to themselves and the revolutionaries on the sidelines, without program or plan of action. The military chiefs were more concerned with crushing the social revolution than with military victory. The soldiers lost confidence in their commanders, the masses in the government; the peasants stepped aside, the workers grew weary, defeats mounted, demoralization mushroomed. It was not difficult to foresee all this at the beginning of the civil war. In posing the health of the capitalist regime as its task, the popular front was pledged to military defeat. Standing Bolshevism on its head, Stalin successfully fulfilled his role as the principal gravedigger of the revolution."
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> "The Spanish revolution showed once again that it is impossible to defend democracy against the revolutionary masses other than by the methods of fascist reaction. Inversely, it is impossible to lead a real struggle against fascism other than by the methods of the proletarian revolution."

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(15) PSUC: Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalonia (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia), born of the fusion of the Socialist and Communist Parties of Catalonia in 1936. The incident referred to occurred on 3 May 1937 when three truckloads of Government Assault Guards, under the personal command of the PSUC's Rodríguez Sala, the Commissioner of Public Order, attempted to take over the Telefónica, which was dominated by the CNT and managed by a CNT-UGT committee. This Government provocation against a concrete instance of dual power was met with brief armed resistance by the telephone workers. News quickly spread throughout the city and workers flocked to their local CNT and POUM headquarters, taking arms and building barricades.

Such is the most general conclusion, which has not in the least been contradicted by the revolutionary events of the world in the last quarter century—on the contrary.

THE NEED FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

In 1936-1937 the Spanish working class did not have the tool which permitted the victory of the Revolution in Russia, a revolutionary party: according to Trotsky, the fundamental cause of the defeat of the revolution lies in this failure of the revolutionaries. For him, "in spite of its intentions, the POUM was in the last analysis the principal obstacle in the path of the construction of a revolutionary party." Its fate merits contemplation. Trotsky wrote on this subject: "The problem of the revolution must be analyzed to the bottom, to its final concrete consequences. Politics must conform to the fundamental laws of revolution, that is to say, to the movement of classes in struggle, and not to the fears and superficial prejudices of the petty-bourgeois groups who call themselves the popular front and many other things. The line of least resistance is revealed in revolution as the line of greatest failures. Fear of isolating oneself from the bourgeoisie leads to isolation from the masses. Adaptation to the conservative prejudices of the labor aristocracy means betrayal of the working class and the revolution. Excess of prudence is the most fatal imprudence. Such is the principal lesson of the collapse of the most honest political organization in Spain, the POUM, a centrist party."

It nevertheless remains that once again since the victory of Stalin in the Soviet Union, Trotsky was correct about Spain only in a negative way: the Spanish "Bolshevik-Leninists" had not been any more capable than had the French or German Trotskyists of building the revolutionary instrument which Trotsky called upon them to create; the Fourth International at that time was in fact embodied by this man alone, a giant who dominated his partisans and adversaries alike by his thought and by his experience of a third of a century of revolutionary struggle. The impotence and the mortal divisions of the Spanish Trotskyists, their tragic inability to orient in the path of revolutionary Marxism the groups of young socialists and libertarian militants, like the *Friends of Durruti* [16] who were incontestably evolving in their direction, does not present a more attractive balance sheet than that of the POUM leadership. Is it necessary then to conclude, as some have, that Trotsky in working resolutely to construct the Fourth International was still pursuing an outdated old dream—world revolution—and that the era of revolutions, which had opened with October 1917 had also, under the pressure of events, been ended then? This would be to reveal unwarranted optimism regarding capitalism's capacity to organize the world and assure its domination by man—an optimism, a confidence which nothing has occurred in the history of humanity since the tragic hours of the fall of Barcelona to confirm; on the contrary, Franco's Spain is there to remind those who have a tendency to forget.

The great lesson which emerges from the life work of Trotsky, particularly the pages dedicated to the Spanish Revolution, is his affirmation that humanity—that is, the class upon whom the future rests, the working class—is the master of its fate and that it belongs to the working class to utilize the mechanisms of historical laws to put an end to the capitalist regime.

Those who believe neither in the capacities of the working class nor in the necessity for its emancipation from the yoke of exploitation, in a word, those who do not believe in the revolution and are by that fact against it, can surely for their own reasons declare the construction of the Fourth International proclaimed by Trotsky to be "Utopian." On the other hand, those who think that humanity is not for all time doomed to terrorist dictatorships, to Hitler or Mussolini, Trujillo, Chiang Kai-shek, Castelo Branco or Ky, to concentration camps, to napalm bombing and atomic incineration, to pogroms and racist lynchings, all those who think that defeats contain lessons which will enable victory to be achieved one day, those people know that the problem is posed of a world revolutionary organization, the International.

"In spite of its intentions, the POUM was in the last analysis the principle obstacle in the path of the construction of a revolutionary party."

Those people will think about the lines which Trotsky devoted to his final warning on history before World War II and will remember that revolutions—the locomotives of history, as Karl Marx said—are sometimes able to overtake the best intentioned revolutionaries. The failure of Nin, an honest revolutionary, was inherent in his political errors. A revolutionary Marxist cannot allow himself to proclaim that "the dictatorship of the proletariat exists"—when the bureaucratic apparatuses are in the process of transforming into empty shells the committees, which through the mobilization of the masses could become authentic soviets, and when there exists, even if it is only a "phantom" as Trotsky said, a bourgeois state which aspires to its revenge and does not lack pseudo-revolutionaries and pseudo-socialists to undertake its restoration: a revolutionary Marxist cannot, while proclaiming that a workers' state already exists, demobilize the masses whom he should be leading in the struggle to establish it. Nor can a revolutionary Marxist under the pretext of "not isolating himself" and "not swimming against the stream," adapt to the prejudices of the masses dictated by the reformist apparatuses, abstain from criticizing them in order to be a "counsellor" to the leaders carried to power by the first revolutionary wave, exhort to revolutionary activity those same "leaders" who fear the masses, in a word, renounce being at each moment the faithful interpreter of the historic needs of the masses of workers and poor peasants, their revolutionary leadership. When a revolutionary of such rare merit as Andrés Nin commits such errors, history is there to testify that the subsequent generations must pay for them, for decades, with their flesh and blood. Such is Trotsky's essential message on Spain, a message addressed to revolutionary militants who might be tempted to look for shortcuts and substitutes for organization of the laboring masses for class-conscious action on the road to power.

TRANSLATED BY BILL GREY.

(16) Friends of Durruti: left-wing anarchist formation within the CNT-FAI. Together with the anarchist youth it constituted the left wing of anarchism which in a pragmatic way embraced many of the programmatic points of Bolshevism.

Defeated Republican troops entering France 1939.

ROBERT CAPA

from THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEE

Democrat Barbara Jordan (left) called for "New Coalition" behind same old politics at 19th International Convention of AFSCME

Continued from page 1

AFSCME

keep getting bigger and better. Ames omitted a description of the conditions in public employment and glossed over the AFSCME policy of sweetheart mergers such as the one in Hawaii which exempted the union from any per capita dues for a year and mergers with the All City Employees Association in Los Angeles with a rumored dues loophole for two years.

Growth of Cop Membership

By far the most serious, dangerous and repulsive element in the union's expansion plans has been the increase of organization among prison guards and police, particularly in the New York State area. Discussion of this controversial issue was shoved toward the Convention's end. The Militant Caucus of AFSCME alone introduced a resolution calling for the expulsion of cops from AFSCME.

Wurf, dripping with liberal moralisms, took the floor to say what a shame Attica had been, how racism and a repressive mentality indeed existed among AFSCME guards there, how it was the result of bad local leadership, how he had to intervene personally to set things right, how "our" union was the only one in the country to stand for inmate rights, how inmates and guards must realize that they are not enemies but must unite against the state administration. He of course blasted Rockefeller. He argued further that through association with labor the police would be liberalized. Finally, he opposed the oppositional resolution on the grounds that it was no solution to the "very real" problems we face.

Keith Dodd, a Militant Caucus member who had taken the floor a number of times earlier in the Convention, spoke for the anti-cop resolution. The hall was very quiet as he began his remarks. He pointed out that the issue was not good cops versus bad cops, but a question of role and function: the function of police and prison guards is determined by their relationship to the state as its hired guns. The guards at Attica made only token demands for the prisoners; their main demands were better riot training, more guards, more weapons, a special maximum security facility for "incorrigible" criminals, etc. Dodd denounced these as a call for outright concentration camps for militants—especially black militants—and as demands directed against the inmates. He pointed out that the state and its armed bodies have always been the determined and brutal opponents of workers' struggles, and declared that only to the extent that cops refuse to be cops, refuse to carry out their orders, could they ever come over to the workers' side.

He underscored the truth that "A liberal cop can shoot you just as dead as a conservative cop!" He ended on the note that excluding the cops would strengthen the union as a labor organization because it is impossible to simultaneously defend the rights of those who struggle against exploitation and oppression and the "rights" of those whose job it is to suppress the struggle.

The resolution was clearly defeated, but the cops watched very closely, knowing that the small support for the resolution was a harbinger of future battles to be waged against them.

Wurf's cop members succeeded in embarassing him in his attempt on the last day of the Convention to brighten his liberal image with an "Out Now" resolution on the Vietnam War. A cop made an amendment linking U.S. withdrawal to release of POW's. The amendment passed amid confusion, and Wurf then ruled that the passage of the amendment signified an "aye" vote on the main motion. It was left to Victor Gotbaum of New York District Council 37 to point out to Wurf that the motion as amended contradicted the International's 1970 position and would greatly embarass them both at the St. Louis "Labor for Peace" Conference they both sponsored. After offering not to attend that conference, Wurf ordered that the amended resolution be tabled and moved with obvious relief to the next agenda point.

Turning to the Democrats

For the first time in its history AFSCME took a stand on a national election. The union has set aside "PEOPLE" (Public Employees Organized to Promote Legislative Equality), a slush fund to aid favored candidates, and is busily constructing a lobby to pressure Washington under Wurf's theory that "everything we've won on the local level can be taken away in Washington." That is true enough, and is in fact an important reason for the call for a Labor Party based on a program for a workers government. But to Wurf, the significance of politics over narrow economic struggle is simply an argument for keeping the union in the hip pocket of the liberal capitalists.

Barbara Jordan, a black woman Democrat who is currently a Texas State Senator and a Congressional candidate in Texas' 10th District, called for the creation of a "new coalition" based on the old Roosevelt coalition of blacks and organized labor with the Democrats—this time with black people as an "equal member." She attacked third parties for "giving up" and as divisive while blaming everything evil on Nixon.

During a speech following telephone messages to the Convention from Humphrey and McGovern, Wurf made clear his leaning toward Humphrey. Wurf had earlier committed the union to supporting Muskie, who made a major address to the Convention in person. Wurf lamely defended his earlier stand on the grounds that support for Muskie would somehow eliminate "fratricidal warfare" and that his endorsement "gave a marvelous opportunity to prove our strength." All Wurf had proved was a penchant for picking the losers in his game of "influencing" the capitalist enemy through the Democratic Party. Dropping Muskie, Wurf proceeded to support the probable next loser in the race.

The Militant Caucus centered its struggle around opposition to both capitalist parties. Its main resolution called for a Labor Party based on the trade unions. A number of speakers for the resolution took the floor and were fairly well received. Victor Gotbaum, New York City AFSCME chief, opposed the resolution and argued "I have never expected perfection from American democracy, only progress." He then posited that progress had been made and that "those communists and Trotskyites" who refused to unite with the Social-Democrats in Germany helped bring fascism to power. Gotbaum was forced to distort the history of the Trotskyist movement and obliquely red-bait to beat down the arguments for fighting for a Labor Party.

The Militant Caucus pointed out that McGovern was performing an invaluable service for the Democratic Party by luring back those disenchanted with "mainstream" Johnson-Humphrey-Muskie politics. The Labor Party resolution received about forty votes. The Caucus issued a leaflet to all delegates which stated in part:

> "Long considered 'friends of labor' the liberal Democrats have shown that they are controlled by the big corporations just as are the Republicans. Every leading Democrat supported the wage freeze; in fact, it was a Democratic Congress that authored the Economic Stabilization Act under which Nixon invoked the freeze. Every leading Democrat has supported the war in Southeast Asia (HHH & Muskie ran together in '66 defending Johnson's war record, while McGovern, the so-called 'peace candidate' voted not to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in '67 and has consistently voted for defense appropriations, including those specifically earmarked to continue the war effort.) And despite their purely verbal attacks on the Republicans, they join hands with them against the workers, quickly voting for anti-labor, anti-strike legislation (e.g. the recent dock strike).
>
> "In short, the 'lesser of two evils' blind alley is a dead end. And it is precisely now, when millions of workers (many turning to the racist Wallace as a 'protest') of all races and ages have no real enthusiasm for any of the leading Democrats, that the labor leaders are in an absolute frenzy to whip up support for them."

Clamps are Tightened

Wurf's favorite theme is the "integrity" and "decency" of "our union." He loves to sound the note that AFSCME is "the most democratic union in the country." Behind the phrases stands the reality of an increasingly privileged bureaucracy, distant from the rank and file and even from its own staff.

The bureaucrats sought to push through three major proposals which go a long way toward consolidating their position. The three amendments were: (1) that the International President would have the power to appoint members of the Judicial Panel and that the Panel's functions would be slightly changed; (2) that there be an extension of the terms of office from two years to four years for the International Secretary-Treasurer, the International President and Vice Presidents; and (3) that the International Executive Board gain the power to set salaries. These measures were introduced separately on different days but together

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LOS ANGELES

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AFSCME

they present the picture of a bureaucracy in consolidation.

A California AFSCME local presented an alternative amendment which carefully detailed the powers of the Judicial Panel and provided for election of its members by the biennial Convention, rather than the present system of appointment or election by the International Executive Board, as is now the case.

The question was finally called and a close vote was recorded. A demand for a roll call vote—which requires a 25% vote—failed with 260 votes.

The same afternoon the amendment on extension of terms for top officials was introduced. It met with even greater opposition. The voice vote went for the amendment but a call for a roll call vote won and the roll was called. Then one of the oldest bureaucratic tricks in the book was pulled with four hours of vote counting until it was finally determined that the "ayes" had it. This tended to wear out the angry delegates who no doubt wished they would never see another roll call vote.

The third important bureaucracy-strengthening amendment, on salaries, provoked the most heated floor fight of the Convention. Most of the opposition raised mild suspicions: "Why should we take the power to set salaries out of the hands of the accredited delegates?", "If you need more ask for it, but why take the power yourselves?" Dodd of the Militant Caucus argued that AFSCME was like other unions in that it had a privileged bureaucracy and differed from notoriously undemocratic unions only in relatively more circumspect treatment of dissidents—no bureaucratic lead pipes yet.

The vote was called and it seemed to many observers that the "Nos" had it. The chair ruled differently. Delegates began booing, shouting "No" and making all sorts of outraged noises. A delegate called for a roll call vote—not generally appreciated after the earlier roll call ordeal—and then called for a standing division of the house. The chair ruled that out of order but a speaker from the floor demanded to know where it was written that this was out of order. The chair was unable to answer and simply forced it through over the large and apparent discontent and went on to the next resolution.

Wurf, hit where it hurt, took the floor and delivered a long diatribe about the "integrity of our union" and about those who "would use our union" instead of attending to organizing their locals, etc. He stomped and raged, and generally made a hysterical fool of himself.

Wage Freeze, Women's Rights

The myriad of other issues before the Convention was mostly significant as an exposure of the policies of the Wurf leadership. On the issue of the wage-freeze, Wurf blamed the construction trades as being partly responsible for inflation, thereby dividing the workers and accepting the capitalist premise that it is decent wages and not the workings of the capitalist system that creates inflation. Wurf had remarked before the Convention that the situation of women was about fiftieth on the order of priorities. At the Convention, the call for protective legislation for men and women as a condition for support to the Equal Rights Amendment came from the floor and not from the International Executive Board.

On civil rights Wurf came out for "equality and good education" and on Vietnam he was for "immediate withdrawal" but managed to keep any moves for labor political strikes against the war, demanded by the Militant Caucus, off the floor; on the labor movement he called for organizing the unorganized.

Wurf Ticket Unopposed

As predicted, Wurf was nominated for President and Bill Lucy for Secretary-Treasurer without opposition. Opposition to the incumbents arose in only three district councils and no significant differences were apparent.

The Militant Caucus, basing its program on a transitional program seeking to link up the particular grievances in the ranks against the increasingly entrenched Wurf bureaucracy with the struggle to overwhelm and destroy the system of capitalist wage slavery, was the only organized opposition at the Convention. Other political tendencies represented by individuals gave an even more miserable account of themselves than one might assume on the basis of their reformist programs. A delegate sporting a "Vote Socialist Workers" button was unable to strike even a militant posture on an issue as clear-cut as the proposal to grant the top bureaucrats control over their own salaries; he declared that he "just didn't understand why the International Executive Board was proposing this—haven't we been generous enough?"—a grovelling performance wrapped in naiveté. The Workers League's sympathizers distinguished themselves, as expected, by their spirited defense of cop membership in the union. One Workers League supporter carried the WL line to its logical extreme, commiserating in conversation with police delegates about how unfortunate it was that a few delegates wanted the cops thrown out.

The contradiction between the substantial oppositionist sentiment expressed in floor debates over bureaucracy and privilege and the absence of widely-based organized opposition to Wurf and Co. was glaringly apparent. It was precisely to present a programmatically principled opposition that the Militant Caucus intervened at this Convention. ■

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Sub Drive Surpasses Goal

The drive for 600 new one-year Workers Vanguard subscriptions is a success. This issue goes to press too soon to give final tabulation by area or the announcement of those comrades with highest (and lowest) scores. These will be reported in the next issue. But we are over the top nationally and in most localities. In addition hundreds of RCY Newsletter and Women and Revolution subs were sold in the course of the drive.

Securing these subs has been in the main, for the individual comrades involved, hard, grinding, uncertain work. Typically some three to four hours has been expended for each sub sold at the factory gates, campuses, meetings, union halls and from individual contacts. But the steady expenditure of this effort has led local by local to the overall success of the drive. Workers Vanguard now goes forward with a broadened circulation base and an increased impact in the class struggle.

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Black New Left Turns to Labor

leadership which has usurped control, is evident also in the following Telrum statement:

> "Attend all local and union meetings. Usually a lot of things go on that are important for us to know. If you aren't there and some decisions are made that are not in your interests you lose and the union and company win." [Emphasis ours]

One of the contradictions the union bureaucracy encounters is that its policies weaken the unions which form its own social base. The bureaucrats are often forced to fight, within limits, after laying the groundwork for the union's defeat. The "union" didn't win when CWA President Beirne ended last summer's strike five days after promising that only a membership vote could end it, nor was it a "union" victory when most local leaderships quickly acceded to his betrayal. A victory for the Beirne bureaucracy it was, but only in the short run. Victory for the "union" it was not. Even the bureaucracy's dues coffers suffered through the refusal of New York City operators, disgusted by their treatment, to join CWA. To say that the union wins when a bureaucrat succeeds in ramming through a betrayal is tantamount to claiming that the Chinese deformed workers state "won" when Chairman Mao wheeled and dealed with Nixon, hoping to protect his own position at the expense of the workers in China and worldwide. The BWC claims precisely that; in the case of unions they merely turn their analysis upside-down and claim an identity of interests between bureaucrats and their unions—a victory for the bureaucrats is a victory for the union and a defeat for the workers.

The capitalist-union bureaucrat-union amalgam is a conception at once bourgeois and New Leftist. It is based in part on the useless truism that "a boss is a boss" and partly upon the confusion of class position in objective reality with the subjective issue of class loyalties. The New Left generally obscured this all-important Marxist distinction, often holding that a reactionary, relatively well-paid worker was, because of his delusions, part of the "ruling class."

Racism and the Unions

It is a savage fact of American life that all unions are today heavily bureaucratized and most keep black workers on the bottom. But it is also true that unions are working-class organizations thrown up by the workers for struggle against the bosses despite—but conditioned by—the backwardness of the working-class white majority and especially its usually conservative and racist "leadership." White workers are squeezed, though often less and later, by the same capitalists with the assistance of the same union bureaucrats that black workers face, and their needs can be served only by the destruction of these same enemies.

But the BWC has already written off the white working class in all its sections and does not propose a battle inside the unions. In his speech Watson noted:

> "Due to the years of class-collaborationist policies the established unions are hopelessly paralyzed when it comes to real class struggle.
>
> "The old left has long ago given up revolutionary practice for reformist and revisionist policies which are totally out of touch with present reality.
>
> "The new left is fragmented and demoralized and barely understands the role of the black and Third World working class anyway.
>
> "The Black Workers Congress armed with a correct analysis and program, coupled with its projected activity being national in scope, is the only currently existing organization that promises to provide the leadership necessary in the upcoming struggle.
>
> "We must rise to the historic task. We must put forth the revolutionary slogans.
>
> "We must organize the broad masses to understand the necessity of building socialism."

The critical reader is forced to ask: What leadership, on what program, brought the union movement to its present "paralysis"? What was wrong with the policies of the "old" left in the

continued on next page

days when it was not so old? What will prevent the BWC from following the same class-collaborationist path already trod by many thousands of militants in no way less dedicated subjectively to the class struggle than the BWC? These questions are not a scholastic quibble, and certainly not a "white," "old left" or "New Left" issue: the answers will determine on which side of the class line the BWC will stand.

Seeing the unions as "hopelessly paralyzed," the BWC writes off a perspective of fighting within the unions to defeat the bureaucracy, and instead accepts a policy of dual unionism along racial lines. Instead of promoting unity of the "broad masses," racial dual unionism allows the racist bureaucrats to portray the black workers as union-wreckers.

Racial dual unionism in fact has a much longer history in the American labor movement, particularly the AFL, than the BWC would care to admit—and it was racist union policy designed to isolate the potentially most militant section of the class, black workers, in separate unions or separate locals. The BWC policy is a reaction against racism, but its effect is to give a left cover to a revival of a hoary, reactionary and lily-white tradition in conservative unionism.

Abstentionism

Instead of seeking to lead the class as a whole, the BWC encourages the breakaway of that section of the class which is in many ways most suited to lead it. The BWC abandons white workers to the union bureaucrats and the primitive prejudices they foster. In "Three Tactics," Forman insists that "our jobs as revolutionaries is to take nationalistic feelings and turn them into revolutionary positives." He concludes that "fundamentally, the task of combating racism in the white community and among white workers is the task of those whites who want to join in the revolutionary struggle." Thus the task of leading the white workers is left to whites: the backward can lead the backward.

In reality such a policy concedes defeat in advance. That is of course anyone's right, but it is not Leninism. It is an abstentionism which is a gift to the worst demagogues, who fan the fears and bolster the ignorance of the white workers. No Leninist, for example, would leave the task of radicalizing the Protestant working masses in Ireland to the Protestants. That would be an open invitation to the Paisleys—the program of the Orange societies and the Green Tories. Especially since the BWC explicitly states that all the "white" groups—old left and New Left alike—have incorrect politics, the statement that whites should organize whites means at best that consciousness will come to the whites spontaneously, a fundamentally New Left position, and at worst that the only politics whites will ever have is racist conservatism.

Racial separatism in general—whether taking the form of dual unionism, separate "community control," segregation of black students in schools, etc.—is not merely a bourgeois and reactionary policy, but one which helps free the hands of rightist and fascist elements which in a period of social crisis could urge the physical elimination of oppressed groups, primarily the black population. A fascist upsurge in the U.S., while not imminent, is a real long-term danger. A fascist movement could carry out intensified oppression, and possibly the physical annihilation of the black population, more easily if the leadership of its intended black victims has succeeded in cordoning off the bulk of black workers outside the decisive workers' organizations and major points of production. The struggle to integrate blacks fully into the working class and its organizations where they can wield immense organized power, and the struggle in the unions to offer real equal protection to black members, are inseparable from the basic duty of defense against U.S. racism and the potential base it offers for an indigenous fascist "final solution" of the race issue.

A transitional program for workers' struggles, which links up the necessity to overthrow bourgeois society with the felt grievances and need for defense of the working class and all the oppressed, demands an integrated program of class struggle. To assume otherwise is to grant the the pluralist notion that the real interests of white and black workers are counterposed and reduce the class struggle—as the bourgeoisie in "normal" times succeeds in doing—to a struggle within the class for a relatively greater share of the capitalist-controlled "pie."

It is precisely when masses of black workers have participated in struggles of the entire working class that the black population has made the most lasting gains. This is massively demonstrated in the rise of the CIO. A more recent example was covered in Spartacist:

> "...the 1968 experience of the Concerned Transit Workers among Chicago bus drivers is a good counter-example. Around issues such as repair of unsafe buses, increased bus runs and elimination of a broken-up work day, the Black leadership of the CTW led two highly successful wildcats, carrying the majority of white bus drivers along with them. By providing genuine class leadership, the CTW was able to get white workers to support its demands for more Black representation in union posts and prohibiting the (largely white) retirees from voting on issues concerning only active drivers."
>
> —Spartacist #18, Nov.-Dec. 1970

A perspective of united class struggle does not imply wooden inflexibility in tactics nor a postponement of struggle until the more backward are ready. Cases will arise in which all-black union caucuses may be unavoidable. Such groupings may still fight for the interests of the class as a whole if the imposed organizational tactic is not raised to the level of strategy or principle, i.e. if the program is not based on racial exclusion but struggles to overcome the racial division. It is a fundamentally different matter, however, to begin with the perspective of separatism, conceding the field to working-class backwardness and racism before the battle is joined.

The BWC poses racially separate union organizations as a principle in part because it has little else to raise to the workers by way of orientation or program. Its propaganda (Siege, Point of Production, various pamphlets) divides up about equally between denunciations of imperialism in Vietnam, Africa and elsewhere and exposés of discrimination and rotten conditions faced by black and other minority-group workers in various industries, as well as in prisons and the army. One article predicts a spontaneous strike wave in response to the wage-price freeze, another proposes a march through Detroit to protest the Attica massacre, but virtually nowhere is there any discussion of a program for the workplace, demands which can unite the class in struggle by linking black workers' rights to the upgrading of the class as a whole. Thus a proposed organizational form becomes the substitute for a program to revolutionize the labor movement.

Nationalism

The American left has repeatedly tripped up on the key question of the nature of black oppression and the means to end it. The ubiquitous refusal to recognize that U.S. blacks do not constitute a nation—a potentially separate economic and cultural unit—is only the beginning. Even were the blacks a nation, the Leninist recognition of the right of nations to self-determination (i.e. the option of forming a separate state) has never meant support to the nationalist ideology the bourgeoisie peddles to the masses. Leninists reject and abhor nationalism, the ideology of the bourgeoisie; there is no "progressive nationalism."

The reactionary meaning of black nationalism was displayed recently by the convening of the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana last March. In the name of the "black community" the convention funnelled black votes into the Democratic Party. The convention was run by bourgeois politicians like members of the Congressional Black Caucus, Gary's Mayor Hatcher and nationalist demagogues like Leroi Jones, an open, well-known scab-herder in the Newark teachers' strike.

While we must recognize black nationalism as a trap, it is essential to stress that it is not blacks who bear the primary responsibility for undermining class unity. Racial division, fostered by the ruling class, is transmitted to the class as a whole through the largely white labor bureaucracy and is reflected among most white workers as racism or more usually as narrowly self-interested indifference to racial injustice.

Stalinism

The distorted nationalist views of the BWC are related to its obeisance to the Stalinist bureaucrats, the arch-class-collaborators. In true Stalinist form, the BWC race-baits left critics of Mao Tse-tung's regime:

> "These racists brand the government of China as everything from revisionist to a petty bourgeois dictatorship. Some of these same voices were heard to say that the great Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese people were revisionists because they entered into diplomatic struggle in Paris. The Vietnamese have not relented on their armed struggle against United States imperialism and there is every reason to support China and to attack these arrogant white racist leftists who think they are the only true genuine revolutionaries in the world."
>
> —"Nixon's Visit to China," Siege, Vol. 1, no. 1

To support the Vietnamese struggle, one must warn the workers and peasants of the danger of another Geneva Accords, endorsed by the bureaucrats of China, the USSR and North Vietnam in 1954. The Geneva agreement was no "diplomatic struggle"—it was a deliberate gift of South Vietnam to U.S. imperialism. It was a sellout not because it was a retreat—a necessity at times in class war as in all warfare—but because it was determined by the policy of "peaceful coexistence" which is nothing but class collaboration on a global scale. Profoundly nationalistic, the Stalinist bureaucrats sell out the workers in other countries in the hope of "easing tensions" between their own regime and world imperialism. Mao's recent cordial welcome to Nixon has laid the basis for another Geneva sellout. Supporting the Chinese revolution against imperialism is not the same as supporting its bureaucrats, just as supporting a union against the bosses is not the same as supporting George Meany. It is impossible for an organization which identifies its program with Stalinist "socialism in one country" and working-class betrayal through armed force and at the "peace" table, to do anything but vie with the Stalinists in betrayal.

Class Struggle Ahead

Black nationalism among workers stems from a deep demoralization resulting from the failure of the liberal-led civil rights movement, the split and disintegration of the Panthers, the bankruptcy of most of the ostensible left and the racist reformism of the union movement under bureaucratic leadership. It stems from the hope that perhaps a "black thing" can at least halt the string of defeats. It is, at bottom, a reflection in a section of the working class of the economic and political crisis permeating society. Yet for all that it is another false perspective, one which will benefit only the ruling class and perhaps a small stratum of blacks. The real shattering of the nationalists' illusions will come with the inevitable outburst of massive labor struggles in the not too distant future.

The white working class in the U.S. is now far more fluid and less monolithic, more eager to be shaken to its senses than the BWC and black nationalist tendencies of all stripes recognize. Twenty-five years of conservatized unionism, lesser-evil bourgeois politics and cultural squalor in the richest capitalist country in the world have yielded even the upper layers of white workers at best fat mortgages and in recent years an actually declining standard of living. A section of the class—at present, primarily the younger workers—is subjectively prepared to throw off the defeatism and the retreat into backwardness produced by the betrayals of the left and its consequent purging from the unions after World War II.

But people accommodate in the long run, in one way or another, to the requirements of the existing social order if no way out is apparent; if a leadership is not built based on uncompromising hostility to the bourgeois order and possessing the resolve and the capacity to eliminate it for good, these workers too will fall victim to new outbreaks of virulent anti-communism and outright racism to "protect" their minimal advantages and offset their sense of powerlessness. If militant black workers, the present natural leaders of this section of the class, do not recognize this opportunity, it will not be primarily their fault; they will merely be remembering the indifference and the blows received from their white class brothers. But such a failure would be a tragedy for the American workers movement and the world proletarian revolution. ■

BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS:
Black New Left Turns to Labor

The cataclysmic shattering of the Black Panther Party, which previously had enjoyed virtually uncontested hegemony in the black radical movement (and vicariously among the white New Left) was graphic proof of the impossiblity of fusing into a viable and self-consistent whole the contradictory impulses which from the first had animated black nationalism. In the main rejecting the simple hustlerism of the "porkchop" nationalists (whose rhetoric was aimed at the creation of black enclaves over which they could preside as administrative bureaucrats subsidized by the government or capitalist foundations) the Panthers embodied both an impulse toward radical terrorism ("urban guerilla war") and reformist populism ("community control," "serve the people"). The Panthers combined these impulses, with the proportions shifting from time to time, until the split, when the latter thrust became generally identified with the Newton wing and the former with the grouping around Cleaver.

The conflict flowed from a contradiction inherent in black nationalism, which views American blacks as a national group whereas they in fact constitute a specially oppressed color-caste almost entirely confined within, and at the bottom of, the U. S. working class. Two thirds of the American black population has shifted from the rural South to the urban ghettos all across the U. S. Thus blacks do not possess one of the crucial pre-conditions for the establishment of a separate political economy: a separate territory. As avowed nationalists unable to very convincingly pose the strategy deemed applicable by their Maoist mentors for oppressed nations—terrorism against the occupying imperialism aimed at the creation of a separate state—the Panthers were forced to seek an orientation toward American problems and class antagonisms, and in some way confront the problems of black American workers.

In the aftermath of the Panther split, several currents have crystallized stressing different aspects of the black nationalism which the Panthers encompassed. The most visible are probably the increasingly prominent reactionary "cultural nationalists" of the Leroi Jones type. Perhaps the most interesting is the Black Workers Congress, which has dropped the Panthers' concentration on street recruiting and glorification of lumpenization and seeks to organize in industry (something the Panthers tried only sporadically).

The Black Workers Congress held its first national conference on Labor Day 1971 in Gary, Indiana with a reported attendance of 300. The BWC grew out of earlier scattered black union movements, including the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit, and remnants of the Panthers. Among its leaders is James Forman, a SNCC leader from 1961 to 1967 and very briefly Panther Minister of Foreign Affairs until his resignation in July 1968. Forman embodies much of the history of the black movement over the past 15 years: an ambivalent black nationalism and a deep pessimism toward the capacity of the white majority of the U. S. working class to play a revolutionary role.

"Theory"

The BWC avoids coming to terms with working-class theory and history, protecting itself from "unhealthy" ideas by white-baiting other tendencies. The "Manifesto of the Black Workers Congress" warns:

> "...Some people in the traditional white left in this country have historically tried to jump on the bandwagon of black movements.... We must build our own revolutionary movement. We too can read all the revolutionary thinkers and apply their thoughts to our concrete realities."

The nationalist tunnel vision of the BWC forces it to deny the integrated composition of the so-called "traditional white left." Even the Communist Party has consistently had a higher percentage of black members than the percentage of blacks in the U. S. population as a whole (though not as high as the black percentage of the working class). Anything short of black exclusionism is painted as domination by the white man and his ideas.

The BWC espouses the most extreme eclecticism within its framework of nationalism and Stalinism. Forman's pamphlet "Three Tactics" discusses the importance of revolutionary thinkers:

> "The works of Mao Tse Tung, Lin Piao, Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan, General Giap, Karl Marx, V. I. Lenin, Kwame Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, the Tupamaros, the Palestinian guerillas—the wisdom of all these thinkers must be studied and applied to the concrete realities of the United States. All revolutionary theory can be applied in one form or another to some of the problems that we face in the United States."

"In one form or another" of course any theory can be applied to the "concrete realities" of the U. S. or anywhere else. And with such an approach anyone's thought—even Castro's or the bourgeois nationalist Nkrumah's—can be superficially squared with fragments of Marxism-Leninism. Such eclecticism, however, ignores the context and thrust of the particular features of political theories and theory becomes a sort of hardware store from which one can purchase whatever items are momentarily needed or seem attractive, and ignore the rest. One can take the revolutionary prestige of Marx and Lenin, add bourgeois nationalism to seem less "sectarian," add guerilla warfare to seem up-to-date, etc. The inevitable result is a theoretical hodgepodge which can as easily justify bourgeois impulses as revolutionary ones depending upon which of the contradictory bits of the "theory" one wishes to apply.

The declared goal of the BWC is socialism:

> "Workers control of the means of work and production, transportation services and communication facilities so that the exploitation of labor will cease and no person or corporation will get rich off the labor of another person but all people will work for the collective benefit of humanity."
>
> —Manifesto of the BWC

But the BWC's eclectic obeisance to Stalinist class-collaboration and "peaceful coexistence," and especially its inclusion of bourgeois militant-sounding nationalists like the late Nkrumah in its pantheon of "revolutionary thinkers" means that despite formal commitment to socialism, the BWC actually straddles class lines. Ultimately, a workers' organization must accept the ideology of the bourgeoisie or the revolutionary proletariat. A great gift to the bourgeoisie from Stalinism, social-democracy and pseudo-socialist nationalism is ideology enabling opportunists in the workers movement to tie their supporters to continued bourgeois class rule under a rubric of professed socialist goals.

Conspicuously absent from Forman's list is Leon Trotsky or anyone else associated with the Left Opposition to the bureaucratic degeneration of the world communist movement. Instead we are treated to a series of national reformisms based on the theory of "socialism in one country." It is the profound hostility to internationalism that forms the unifying conception which brings Mao, Nkrumah and others under one umbrella, with Lenin as mere window dressing.

The BWC's hostility to white tail-ending (or, we might add, years of manipulation and betrayal by the CP and others) is understandable and in itself correct, but the BWC fixes on the color of (most of) the malefactors rather than their opportunist politics. The BWC's own conception of the role revolutionary whites can play in fact necessitates tailism by definition. If a white worker wishes to support the BWC—and it does seek white support—he is given no choice but to submerge his own political views, since the BWC is not interested in hearing "white" opinions.

The BWC's conclusion is "blacks lead blacks, whites lead whites"—a perspective fraught with the deadly danger of offering racist whites a vista of a segregated "socialism." The "left" nationalists have never been able to solve the problem of the link-up or eventual union of the workers of different national or racial groups somewhere along the road to revolution. The reason is simple: if it is clearly posed that the two groups of workers have long-term common interests and will need one another's support, then attempts at common struggle should begin immediately, since as the Biblical parable goes "you reap what you sow." Unwilling to sow even the first scattered seeds of a perspective of united class struggle today, nationalists must necessarily be vague on the type of crop they expect or whether in fact it will ever sprout.

Dual Unionism

The strategic thrust of BWC propaganda is in the direction of a breakaway of black and other "Third World" workers into separate unions. Point 8 of the Manifesto calls for

> "The creation in the labor movement of revolutionary Black caucuses, Chicano and Puerto Rican revolutionary caucuses, Third World labor alliances, independent revolutionary union movements and other forms of revolutionary labor association that will seek to break the strangle-hold of the reactionary labor bureaucrats and the capitalistic class collaborators that help to prevent working-class people from understanding their historic role in controlling the means of production."

The dual union perspective becomes clearer in the position paper "Conditions Facing Black and Third World Workers," a speech by John Watson to the founding conference of the BWC, reprinted in the first issue of Siege, an organ of the BWC. Watson repeatedly refers to the companies and the unions in the same breath without distinction:

> "... in reality we are still the victims of the virulent racism of both the companies and the unions.
>
> "...Black and other Third World workers often are forced to struggle for survival against both the unions and the companies.
>
> "...These [black] groups are challenging both companies and unions on the issues of their racism, exploitation, and their generally class-collaborationist policies on health, safety, etc."

A recent issue of Telrum, published by the Telephone Revolutionary Union Movement, the telephone workers' section of the BWC, also strongly implies a dual unionist perspective, as well as the confusion in social role of union and employer.

> "There is little difference between the International and Local Unions. The objective of both is to get money. Suppression through race, sex and class in that order, is their means of getting it. We the working people are being exploited by huge money making animals, the union has become one of those animals." [Emphasis ours]

The union bureaucracy is of course highly concerned about maintaining the flow of the membership's money in the form of dues—upon that money depends its existence as a parasitic stratum of the working class, identifying its fortunes with those of the capitalist system. But the union bureaucracy does not exploit labor as do the capitalists. Its higher social and economic standing relative to the working class depends upon its ability to persuade the working class, through maintaining bourgeois consciousness but also by waging a limited fight for its class, that it is the legitimate representative of the class. Understanding the role of the bureaucratic union leadership requires understanding of the distinction between class enemy—the capitalists—and the betrayers of the class who now control the workers organizations.

The dual unionist perspective flows in part from confusion:

> "I think as workers of the Phone Company we should give a lot of thought to our five Unions. We know that the Unions are full of B.S. They serve no purpose in our Struggle because we are never represented properly. We must unite, fight and form our own Union. One, that will speak for the workers and not for the company."
>
> —Telrum

It is not clear in the above passage whether the author really means by "our own union" a revitalized CWA under new leadership or a separate union structure. In either case, what is notably missing is a program concrete enough to promise qualitatively different union leadership from that now endured by telephone workers.

The confusion of the union with the bureaucratic

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 11 September 1972

France Four Years Later

The French general strike of May-June 1968 was the largest in history: ten million workers struck and paralyzed the entire country. Since then, DeGaulle has been ejected by the 1969 referendum which took place in the wake of the strike, but the bonapartist government which he left behind remains intact, although in an increasingly precarious position. The working class is increasingly restless, the French economy faces rising economic difficulties, and the government has been shaken by several financial scandals in the last year. In response the Communist Party and the Socialist Party have been obliged to conclude an electoral agreement which could lead to a repeat of the 1936 Popular Front government. The five-year term of the parliament elected in 1968 is almost over, and the forthcoming elections (which must take place sometime between now and March 1973) have been at the center of the tactical preoccupations of the French left. *Le Monde*, France's leading bourgeois paper, was no doubt correct when it termed the CP-SP agreement the most important event on the French parliamentary left since 1936.

These developments take place in the context of the class struggle in France and internationally and the evolution of inter-imperialist rivalries.

Militancy on the Rise

Since 1968, there has been an upsurge in the subjective militancy of the French working class, which has again begun to use tactics with a long history in the working-class movement and which were brought back to the fore by the 1968 events. Thus factory occupations, taking factory managers hostage, unlimited strikes (as opposed to 24-hour strikes or revolving work stoppages, "grèves tournantes," which had been the norm in France in the immediately preceding period) have increased in number and frequency. In addition, physical confrontation between strikers and the forces of the state has significantly escalated. In one case, strikers created an oil fire with flames fifty feet high to keep police and scabs out of the factory.

But the subjective heritage of 1968 is not unmixed. The 1968 strike far surpassed the general strike of 1936 in size but the gains won in 1968, although real, were qualitatively *less* than those of 1936 and have been largely wiped out since then by inflation and the bourgeoisie's counter-offensive. The working class feels that it was cheated—and rightly, even if this sentiment has not focused clearly on its proper target, the French CP. Since 1968, working-class militancy has been strongest in marginal industries in which the union movement had been weak or, in some cases, non-existent. In that sense, organization of the class has expanded. At the same time, the traditional strongholds of militancy have been somewhat reluctant to move toward large-scale action. Nevertheless, the upsurge of marginal sectors is indicative of the subjective readiness of the class.

Rouge, 11 March 1972

200,000 workers and students protest the murder of Pierre Overney, at funeral march boycotted by the CP.

French Economy Squeezed

In addition to the uneven working-class upsurge, and feeding decisively into working-class militancy, the economic situation in France has been applying substantial pressure on the bourgeoisie. The fall of DeGaulle also meant the attempt by the French bourgeoisie to renovate the particularly antiquated structure of French capital. However, it has been largely unable to accomplish this goal. The successive "crises" of

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Not a Lesser Evil, but a Workers Party!

Labor and the Elections

The process of the 1972 elections ties together all the strands of failure of the last seven years of American radical politics. Nixon's wage controls have essentially achieved their goal of taming the demands of the militant labor upsurge without a real fight having been mounted against them, and the imperialist ruling class has succeeded in controlling both the dangerous revolutionary offensive in Vietnam and the domestic anti-war movement. The American working class, despite massive discontent with the coalition politics of the two capitalist parties and immense militancy on economic questions over the past five years, is *still* lacking even the beginnings of an organized movement for its own class political party.

The Democrats have harvested the rotten remains of the previous wasted era of petty-bourgeois protest politics. The political heirs of those who "put their bodies on the line" against the war, together with the "heroes" of the Chicago conspiracy trial, have trooped back into the party of war they demonstrated against in 1968. The reformist nationalists of the black movement have reaped what the virulently independent "black power" radicalization sowed, and, with a few "separatist" provisos, are leading their followers as well back into the Democratic "white power structure" in the finest tradition of M. L. King. Standing at the door to welcome the "radicals" back home is the newly-re-emergent and growing Communist Party, against whose "old left" politics so much "New Left" venom was directed.

The McGovern Illusion

Like the phony "peace candidates" who ran in Democratic primaries in the late sixties, "lesser evil" McGovern has rapidly vacated all his earlier so-called "radical" positions, "clarified" his pro-capitalist essence and generally accommodated to every section of the ruling class and bourgeois power structure including Wall Street, Wallace, the cops, Mayor Daley, New York's Wagner (resurrected for the occasion), and all the old Democratic Party machines. His direct subservience to the Democratic machine, and through it, to the ruling class, was demonstrated quite clearly by the hilarious "Eagleton affair," in which neither the will of the mass convention of the "reformed" Democratic Party, nor the "public opinion" expressed in the heavily pro-Eagleton mail flow during the "affair" counted one whit against the wishes of the big capitalist political mouthpieces as to who could or could not be on the ticket.

"Peace" candidate McGovern reveals his fundamentally pro-imperialist politics with his defense of the use of troops if necessary to defend Israel, i.e., U.S. interests in the Near East. The single-issue movement against the Vietnam War revealed the same fundamentally pro-imperialist politics at the time of the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War, when, in an orgy of Zionist and pro-Zionist chauvinism, Vietnam doves became shrieking hawks. The critical political difference between then and now, enabling this "antiwar movement" to move into a majority position in the Democratic National Convention is the rise in *bourgeois defeatism*—i.e., a tactical shift in ruling class strategy—over the seemingly endless quagmire in Vietnam.

Thus the 1972 election experience, incorporating such "miracles" as the ousting of the Daley machine from the Democratic convention (against the wishes of McGovern) while the representatives of the very same victims of Daley's cops comfortably take their seats, together with drastically increased youth, female, Black, etc., representation thoroughly demonstrates the futility of attempts to reform the Democratic Party or any capitalist party. Despite the change in personnel, the same capitalist machines and big

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■ SWP/WONAAC SINK IN BOURGEOIS SWAMP

■ TOWARD A COMMUNIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT! Lessons from the Bolshevik Struggle Against Women's Oppression

Pages 8-9

Comic Opera-tunists and the General Strike

—A NOTE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS—

In an attempt to cover up their gross opportunism, the IS is quick to denounce as "sectarian," by means of lies and slander, the principled actions of revolutionary Marxists. An article on the Labor for Peace Conference entitled "Comic Opera Sectarians Denounce Rank and File Caucus" in the August 1972 issue of *Workers' Power* states, "The 'Spartacist League,' along with the 'Vanguard Newsletter' group, denounced the one-day work stoppage proposal as reformist, and demanded instead a 'general strike until the war is over.' This demand has a militant sound, similar to a demand for the seizure of state power. Such a slogan, however, is simply revolutionary posturing..."

The answer to this charge is simple—it's a lie.

Not only does the IS completely ignore the clear distinction between the demands of the VNL and SL, but also, in order to cover up its own opportunism, it purposefully obscures the principled SL objection to the way in which the IS' work-stoppage proposal was raised. Such behavior is completely unacceptable for principled socialists, but it is not much of a surprise coming from the IS.

The *Vanguard Newsletter* proposal (or more correctly, the proposal of the "Committee for Rank and File Caucuses," an unprincipled amalgam of Harry Turner's VNL and the Socialist Forum group) does indeed call for building for a "*general strike* of labor by organizing strike committees in the shops to stop all production and services *until the war* against the Indochinese workers and peasants *is ended*..." (from "A Rank and File Program to End the War," emphasis ours). The Spartacist League demand for "Strikes Against the War and the Wage Freeze" is a proper transitional approach. As explained in the text of the *Workers Vanguard* supplement distributed at the conference, such strikes should be seen as "leading up to a nationwide general strike."

Trotsky on the General Strike

A polemic of Trotsky's—"The ILP and the Fourth International" (September 1935)—dealt with the question of the general strike. The centrist ILP (Independent Labor Party) of Great Britain, which broke from bourgeois pacifism only half way towards a proletarian program and affiliation with the Fourth International, was in many ways an ideological ancestor of the IS. Trotsky, basing himself on Engels, criticized the ILP's *"radical phraseology"* on the question of "the general strike *to stop war*":

> "The general strike is not only separated here from the social revolution but also counterposed to it as a specific method to 'stop war.' This is an ancient conception of the anarchists which life itself smashed long ago. A general strike without a victorious insurrection cannot 'stop war.' If, under the conditions of mobilization, the insurrection is impossible, then so is a general strike impossible...the aim of revolutionary policy should not be an isolated general strike, as a special means to 'stop war,' but the proletarian revolution into which a general strike will enter as an inevitable or very probable integral part."
>
> —*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1935-36*

A general strike which is not immediately successful by the threat alone must either be a fiasco or lead directly to a revolutionary situation and the building of organs of dual power by the proletariat. Therefore to call for a general strike "until the war is over" is either meaningless utopian bombast or a willful attempt to deflect the revolutionary drive for power of the proletariat.

It is no accident that the proposal of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, "Stop the War With a General Strike," had an impatient, pacifist tone, since to view the general strike as a special means just to deal with war is closely akin to viewing war, not capitalism, as the central problem facing mankind. The radical phraseology of the VNL (CRFC) proposal is just one step away from the VVAW's pacifist-utopianism.

The Spartacist League has always proposed agitation for political strikes against the war and combatted all opportunist excuses based on assertions of the "premature" nature of this slogan or of the subjective unreadiness of the workers. During the heyday of petty-bourgeois radicalism in the late 60's, we raised the demand for "An Anti-war Friday" in order to split the class-collaborationist anti-war movement in a working-class political direction. Needless to say, this proposal was "sectarian" to the IS, which was just as opportunist then as it is now. In 1967, the IS (then Independent Socialist Clubs) supporters in the Bay Area chapter of Trade Union SANE supported the U Thant proposals for a general *cease-fire* and *negotiations* in Vietnam, in order to remain on favorable terms with the liberal bureaucrats in the leadership!

In order to clarify this matter more thoroughly, we have sent the following letter to the IS:

△ △ △

Spartacist League
Box 1377 G.P.O.
New York, N.Y. 10001

21 August 1972

International Socialists
c/o *Workers' Power*
14131 Woodward Ave.
Highland Park, Mich. 48203

Comrades:

The Spartacist League categorically denies the assertion printed in the August 1972 issue of *Workers' Power* under the heading "Comic Opera Sectarians Denounce Rank and File Caucus" that our supporters at the Labor for Peace Conference in St. Louis, "along with the 'Vanguard Newsletter' group, denounced the one-day work stoppage proposal as reformist, and demanded instead a 'general strike until the war is over.'"

This is a groundless lie manufactured out of the whole cloth!

1) The SL did not object to the IS proposal for a one-day work stoppage itself, but objected vehemently and abstained on the opportunist attempt to incorporate this proposal into *an amendment* to the social-patriotic statement of policy of the bureaucratic sponsors of the conference (about which policy declaration the same issue of *Workers' Power* had not a word of criticism).

2) Nowhere in the written or verbal propaganda of the Spartacist League will you or anyone find the formulation, "for a general strike until the war is over."

This accusation has the same character as if we "immoral" bolsheviks equated your position on Vietnam with, say, the openly anti-communist and social-patriotic views of the Socialist Party-SDF, and then attributed the SP's position to you both.

We demand public retraction of your attribution of the *Vanguard Newsletter* position to us, noting instead what our position is: "For Strikes Against the War and the Wage Freeze" (from the list of demands in the 22 June 1972 *Workers Vanguard* Special Supplement, "Strike Against the War—Build a Labor Party!" distributed at the conference).

—Spartacist League

Continued from page 1

...Elections

money donors make the real decisions, the Democrats in Congress vote with the same disregard for the party "program," and the candidate is just as hypocritical as before and no more responsible to his supporters. But even such examples of futility as this attempt to reform the two-party system from within will go on being repeated until a workers' party is counterposed to liberalism.

AFL-CIO Neutrality

The official "neutrality" of the AFL-CIO leadership in the presidential elections, far from being an actual break from capitalist party politics, simply reflects the defeat of Humphrey and the old line labor-liberal machines in the national Democratic Party. Although it is a big step in the rupture of the labor-liberal alliance, which has been the backbone of the Democratic Party since Roosevelt, a new realignment within the framework of capitalist politics is still possible. While sections of the labor bureaucracy may at some time be *forced* into deepening this rupture by forming a labor party, at this time the aims of all wings are clearly the rebuilding of a right-wing liberal, pro-labor-bureaucracy faction in the Democratic Party and pressuring McGovern by supporting local Democratic campaigns only. Meanwhile, the more liberal wing of the bureaucracy is jumping on the McGovern bandwagon.

As usual, the "left" groups divide neatly along the lines of the various sections of the labor bureaucracy and capitalist class which they are tailing after. The ideologues of the old social-democracy (Socialist Party-SDF/League for Industrial Democracy) have been idolizing AFL-CIO head Meany, and lost in pushing Boeing Aircraft's Senator Jackson for President, but now debate giving support for McGovern. The Communist Party, which unconditionally supports McGovern, does so through orienting to the "progressive" wing of the bureaucracy, headed by Woodcock of the UAW and Wurf of AFSCME. Although nominally running its own campaign in the elections, the CP, like the "progressive" bureaucrats, sees McGovern as a clear "lesser evil" and beating Nixon as the main task. This remains unchanged despite the brief and belated admission by the *Daily World* that McGovern is "vacillating—even on the war" ("Send Nixon Packing—the People's Goal For November," 18 August). Much fancy footwork is required in week after week of *Daily World* articles to explain to the "progressive" allies why the Communist "campaign" does not actually threaten the anti-Nixon front, and to the radicals in the CP's youth group, YWLL, and elsewhere why working inside the two parties of capitalism is really part of the same strategy as running independent Communist candidates. Although the CP, which seems a bit surprised at its own new-found viability, is recruiting youth who in some sense want to be "revolutionary," its basic political strategy of aiding the "liberals" against the "reactionaries" within the spectrum of capitalist politics has not changed since it was instrumental in preventing the development of a labor party and tying labor to the Democrats under Roosevelt in the thirties and forties.

"Workers" League Cretinism

On the other side, orienting toward the more conservative central core of the trade union bureaucracy, stands the vastly smaller, more impotent and therefore more frenzied Workers League of Tim Wohlforth, an ostensibly "Trotskyist" sect. While the CP excuses its role by accusing Meany and Abel of siding with Nixon "reaction," the Workers League angrily accuses the CP of "adapting" to the progressive wing of the trade union bureaucracy and instead seeks to "push" Meany and I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers into forming a labor party, all the while denying the right-wing political character of the central AFL-CIO leadership. Thus the WL's opportunism, which has been carefully nurtured over long years of adapting to every conceivable element, including cops, black nationalists and "progressive"

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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trade union bureaucrats, has now culminated in *uncritical* pressure on George Meany himself, the arch-reactionary and anti-communist who has typified and led the U.S. labor aristocracy through one of its most conservative and wretched pro-imperialist phases, since the purges of the McCarthy period.

The character of all trade union bureaucrats, including Meany, is contradictory: they are simultaneously workers' leaders *and* agents of the capitalist class within the labor movement. While it is thus perfectly possible that some of them *may* form a labor party out of desperation if caught between implacable rank-and-file militancy and attack from all sectors of the capitalist class, it is inconceivable for them not to exhaust *all* avenues of conciliation within capitalism first, and then to think twice. The *Meany* bureaucracy will *not* form a labor party, just as William Green's AFL refused to organize industrial unions in the thirties. A split would have to occur, with some elements becoming convinced that they must form a labor party in order to prevent leadership of the workers from passing to the communists. Such a conviction moved John L. Lewis to form the CIO.

Guardian, 7 September 1968

1968: Anti-war protesters jeer National Guardsmen at demonstrations outside Democratic Party Convention in Chicago.

Program Is the Key

While it is true that a labor party is now a tremendous defensive need of the trade unions under conditions of the crisis and hostility of the two bourgeois parties, enhancing the propagandistic importance of the slogan, it cannot be considered outside the context of its *program* and *objective thrust*. Meany and Abel have made clear the racist, pro-war and anti-communist program they would push on the labor party the WL's *Bulletin* says they are thinking about (17 July, 24 July). Yet the *Bulletin* completely refrains from challenging them on it. Trotsky had a different orientation toward this problem:

> "I will never assume the responsibility to affirm abstractly and dogmatically that the creation of a 'labor party' would be a 'progressive step' even in the United States because I do not know under what circumstances, under what guidance, and for what purposes that party would be created."
>
> —*On the Labor Party Question in America*, 1932

Although this was written six years before Trotsky urged his U.S. supporters to take up the slogan for a labor party, he insisted then that it had to be fought for on the basis of the Transitional Program. Would the Workers League support a "labor party" whose purpose was to route the workers back into capitalist politics by capturing the Wallace vote with racist demagogy, running Henry Jackson for president, preventing all wheat shipments to the Soviet Union and bombing North Vietnam back into the Stone Age? Apparently, they would.

But *Trotskyists* fight for a working-class program and for a labor party, not for a reformist labor party. The labor party demand is a tactic for overcoming the huge gap between the objective need for organized working-class political leadership and the relative weakness of the subjectively revolutionary forces. It is not an objective historic necessity which the bureaucracy will inevitably be forced to implement *for* the workers. It does not stand above the real struggle to implement both it and a working class program.

SWP Reformism

Unlike the CP and WL, the reformist Socialist Workers Party has been left out in the cold by the departure of its erstwhile reformist allies to the Democratic Party. Indeed these feminist, black nationalist and anti-war reformists from the SWP's various single-issue fronts *are* the "new face" of the Democratic Party. Completely caught in its own trap, the SWP has based its whole program on building petty-bourgeois, single-issue protest movements which are "acceptable to capitalist politicians" and which (sometimes forcibly) "exclude revolutionaries," yet now hypocritically accuses the CP electoral coalition of these sins! (*Militant*, 21 April 1972). The SWP thinks of its "independent" pressure movements as having demands which "cannot be achieved within the capitalist system," yet they are at a loss to explain why virtually all the leaders of the single-issue abortion repeal, peace and nationalist-reformist movements are now quite comfortably pushing their "demands" from within the two-party system.

The SWP presidential campaign is unsupportable because, while it also mentions a labor party and is not now directly acting as a pressure group *within* the formal bourgeois political framework, it is nevertheless completely subordinated to reformist, single-issue protest politics—"a self-determination for everyone" line empty of class content, i.e., profoundly petty-bourgeois. *Nowhere* does the SWP intervene to struggle for a working-class orientation or program for these movements. It is thus quite natural that, lacking a unifying working-class perspective, these movements "unify" as isolated pressure groups within Democratic Party capitalist politics. Although this tendency has had a tremendous erosion effect on the SWP's mass arenas and slowed its growth rate, both of which were built up during the heyday of petty-bourgeois protest politics in the late sixties, the party shows no signs of searching through the Trotsky in its closet for the answers.

Build a Movement for a Labor Party

The only course open to socialist and labor militants in the 1972 election is to work for the creation of an organized movement for a labor party in the trade unions, based on militant caucuses and the transitional program. The struggle for an independent party of labor, while it may recruit some trade union leaders, *must* be based on a rank-and-file movement to replace the reformist bureaucracy with a revolutionary leadership, since it is this bureaucracy which maintains capitalist politics in the unions. An important part of this groundwork will be local campaigns run by the trade unions with their own candidates and calling for a break with all capitalist politicians and for a nationwide movement for a labor party. This call must be based on a working-class political program, including breaking state wage controls, defending the Vietnamese Revolution in the context of general opposition to American imperialism, workers' control of industry and a workers' government. ■

Associated Press

1972: Safely co-opted anti-war forces cheer McGovern inside Democratic Party Convention in Miami.

Postal Workers Sold Out by CWA Merger Move

NEW ORLEANS—The leadership of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) rammed a resolution through its national convention here authorizing itself to enter merger negotiations with the Communication Workers of America (CWA). By their haste to align themselves with the CWA bureaucracy, the APWU leadership indicates its growing anxiety about the possibility of rank-and-file revolts against union complicity with the attacks on postal workers' conditions being made as part of Nixon's plan to reorganize the Post Office.

While delegates suspicious of the merger proposal were gathering at all the microphones, and before amendments to the resolution were even voted on, President Francis S. Filbey accepted a motion to move the previous question and declared all debate out of order. In the resulting parliamentary confusion, Filbey ruled that the merger resolution had passed and quickly adjourned the session. The way is now clear for the amalgamation of the 300,000-member APWU with the CWA (550,000 members), since the latter passed a surprise motion for the merger at its convention last June (see *WV* No. 10).

Bureaucratic Unity

The APWU and CWA bureaucracies are not interested in increasing the workers' strength through trade union unity, but in providing themselves with a larger and more invulnerable bureaucratic structure from which to defy the increasingly rebellious membership of both unions. Although historically the role of *splitting* the unions has often fallen to reformist bureaucracies which desire to break up large, powerful combinations of militant workers, *unity* is not an end in itself which can be approached unconditionally, without consideration of its purpose. As in the recent abortive proposal for unity of the ILA with the ILWU, followed by ILWU-Teamster unity moves (*WV* No. 6) the need of the workers for unity in the struggle against their oppressors is not served by the "unity" of bureaucrats who are *looking for another gimmick to betray that struggle.*

Postal workers face a crisis as the Postal Service ruthlessly proceeds with its plan of a 25% reduction in the work force. Early retirement and a hiring freeze policy have been used in an attempt to get around no-lay-off provisions in the national contract. To further weaken the union, the Postal Service has begun hiring temporary, non-union casuals to fill job openings formerly held by union members. Never considering strike action, the APWU leadership's only response has been to meekly submit the grievances to arbitration.

Considerable dissatisfaction was manifested on the convention floor. A proposed per capita tax boost was overwhelmingly defeated amidst general criticism of the union leadership. Resolutions for a labor party and boycotting of war industries were offered by a radical representative of a small local in California. In general, the California delegation seemed most consistently in opposition to the APWU leadership.

On several occasions rulings of the chair were overruled by massive standing votes of the delegates. Several times proceedings were briefly held up by jeering and booing directed against President Filbey. The positions of the leaders were secure, however, since they had been safely elected ahead of time through a mail ballot referendum!

This is a typical example of the use of the referendum in union politics, and it should be a lesson to the United National Caucus, a small group of radicals in the UAW who want to see the officers of that union elected by referendum in order to improve democracy. No matter how tightly controlled the conventions are now, they are bound to be more so if the bureaucracy is secure from the threat of being tossed out of office by the delegates. The real decisions, and especially changes, are necessarily made at delegated conventions where debate is possible, not in the inevitably leadership-controlled referendums. It is a complete denial of democracy if a leadership which does not reflect the will of a convention can continue in office, as happened in the UAW in 1944 on the key issue of the World War II no-strike pledge.

There was virtually no discussion of political issues such as the war in Vietnam, racial discrimination or the oppression of women. However, hundreds of delegates did respond enthusiastically to an appeal for solidarity from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which is striking Farah Company. Delegates formed a massive picket line in front of New Orleans' largest department stores, urging a boycott of Farah pants.

Spartacist League was the only organized political tendency visibly in attendance at the conference. *Workers Vanguard* sold very well.

Delegates to Postal Workers Convention in New Orleans hold mass picket in solidarity with striking clothing workers.

All political discussion was geared to harnessing the postal workers to the capitalist two-party system, with the convention ultimately endorsing McGovern. Filbey and his lieutenants spoke constantly about depending on "our friends" among the capitalist politicians. No opposition voice was raised to point out that while Filbey and his gang may indeed be friends with the bosses' representatives, the masses of workers can expect no favors from their class enemies.

Discontented forces at the APWU convention were fragmented and uncoordinated. The formation of a militant caucus is needed to give principled leadership to these forces, to expose the class-collaborationist role of the union bureaucracy, and to provide an analysis of the capitalist state. To make a break from the economist trade unionism which inevitably recreates bureaucracy, these political points must be the *core* of the caucus program, incorporated as demands for unconditional opposition to Nixon's privatization schemes and workers control of the Post Office, defense of the Vietnamese Revolution in the context of general opposition to American imperialism, against all capitalist politicians and for a labor party based on the trade unions and a workers' government. Such a caucus would also fight for a sharp reduction in the work week with no loss in pay and new hiring to replace management's slashing of the work force; the closed shop and union control of hiring throughout the Post Office; an end to the referendum elections in the union and opposition to the phony merger. Thus armed with the transitional program, such a caucus could lead the workers to an understanding that their problems ultimately can be solved only by overthrowing the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. ■

FINAL REPORT IN –

SUB DRIVE SUCCESS

The final results of the *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive are in. Not only was the drive a success with 601 one-year subs being sold, but 200 subs to the Revolutionary Communist Youth's *Newsletter* were taken out at the same time. And the subs sold are of clear-cut political value. The great bulk are going to people who are in the process of being drawn closer to our aims and involvement in our activity, especially young workers, radical students and other militants.

The Boston comrades did well in the drive and plan to resume a local sub campaign this Fall as well. Chicago made the poorest showing, being overtaken by industrial responsibilities part way through the drive. Of the smaller areas Washington D.C. and New Orleans also made a good showing, the latter on a well organized basis.

Among individual comrades, Keith of Los Angeles sold the most with 31 1/2 points—*WV* subs counting a full point and *RCY Newsletter* subs a half point each. The runner-up was Bruce of New York with 23 1/2 points. At the forthcoming Spartacist League National Conference the winner will be presented with his choice from among several recently published, hardcover Marxist classics.

In the midst of much other demanding work, SL and RCY members as well as other *Workers Vanguard* supporters did a vitally necessary job in this sub drive. With the steady expansion of the SL and our widening involvement in political and social struggle, we increasingly feel the need for and look toward publishing *Workers Vanguard* every two weeks. The continued broadening of the paper's regular circulation base is a necessary step to this increased frequency.

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West Coast NPAC

SWP Opens Door for McGovern

LOS ANGELES—The "Emergency Anti-war Convention" (21-23 July) of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) made clear that the popular front eagerly built by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is now being funneled directly into the Democratic Party. The fruit of the SWP's "independent" anti-war movement is an army of non-class-conscious youth for McGovern.

Bourgeois Defeatism

It was only a year ago that the SWP sealed in blood its alliance with the ruling class by violently expelling members of the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth and Progressive Labor/SDS for protesting the presence of Democratic Senator Hartke and vigorously jeering red-baiter UAW bureaucrat Victor Reuther at the July 1971 NPAC Convention. Since that time the SWP/NPAC pop front has blossomed considerably in "respectability" as a result of a wave of bourgeois defeatism which swept the U.S. after the North Vietnamese offensive of March-April 1972. It was this wave of bourgeois defeatism and pacifism which suddenly boosted McGovern into the national spotlight and Democratic nomination. While he is no more a pacifist than Richard Nixon, McGovern represents the more far-sighted American imperialists who see the possibility of making peace *and* maintaining imperialist influence in Asia through a deal with the Stalinists such as the 1954 Geneva accords. It is precisely because of the threat of this kind of "peace" that revolutionaries must fight for military victory to the NLF/DRV and a communist Indochina!

In spite of Nixon's diplomatic successes in Peking and Moscow, which allowed him to blockade North Vietnam with impunity, he has not succeeded in ending the war, and this continues to feed the split in the ruling class and hence the McGovern forces. McGovern is further buttressed by the class-collaborationist Stalinists in Hanoi, who have subordinated their military campaigns to the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies and the bourgeois U.S. peace movement, thereby throwing away the opportunity which existed in April-May to thoroughly destroy the panicked Thieu forces and come to power. The DRV/NLF still seeks a coalition government, minus only Thieu, instead of a communist revolution.

SWP's Anti-war "Success"

The NPAC pop front has picked up much support from "big names" in the Democratic Party and trade union bureaucracy as a result of bourgeois defeatism, thus fulfilling the SWP's concept of "success" for the anti-war movement: a coalition of working-class and bourgeois forces under a bourgeois program. The *Militant* (14 July) boasted, for instance, that the NPAC Convention was endorsed by California State Senate majority leader George Moscone, among others. The NPAC national steering committee includes Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams, Teamster vice-president Harold Gibbons, Senator Vance Hartke, Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester, Betty Friedan of NOW, Sanford Gottlieb of SANE, and leading representatives of Business Executives Move for Peace, College Young Democratic Clubs and Youth for McGovern.

During the opening night rally on 21 July, chairman John T. Williams of the Teamsters interspersed the speakers with telegrams of support from "distinguished" Democrats, including McGovern, Moscone and Alan Cranston. The McGovern telegram read in part, "Through the strength which comes from united work and concern we will end the senseless loss of human lives and stop this tragic war." No doubt McGovern appreciates the "united work" of the ex-Trotskyist SWP during the election period!

The rally featured Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party (BPP), which recently endorsed NPAC. This fits well in the BPP's jump into reformism, including turns toward the black church, black capitalism, and Democrats such as Shirley Chisholm.

The split in the ruling class over tactics in Indochina has its reflection in the trade union bureaucracy as well. Thus NPAC has collected endorsements from some of the liberal bureaucrats, and another featured speaker was Harold Gibbons, a Teamster vice-president who opposes Teamster President Fitzsimmons' endorsement of Nixon only because he is pro-Democratic.

SL/RCY: The Only Communist Opposition

The decisive political battles took place on Saturday, 22 July. There were ten resolutions representing virtually every tendency on the left (except for the Communist Party, which maintains its own pop front, the PCPJ, which refused to back this convention for the stated reason that NPAC is "racist" for not endorsing the PRG 7-point peace plan). It is a devastating fact that except for the SL/RCY, virtually the entire American left has been swept into the NPAC and PCPJ pop fronts. The SL/RCY *alone* called for smashing NPAC through the expulsion of the bourgeoisie from the anti-war movement, and was thus the only principled communist opposition at the conference, in addition to being the only significant opposition force besides the pro-McGovern wing.

The SL/RCY leaflet "Smash the Pop Front!" detailed the collusion of the Workers League, International Socialists, National Caucus of Labor Committees and others in the construction of the SWP's class-collaborationist coalition. The leaflet ended with a six-point proposal:

1. For the unconditional exclusion of the bourgeoisie and their political representatives from the anti-war movement!
2. For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina! For unconditional military support and victory for the DRV/NLF! All Indochina must go communist!
3. Labor strikes against the war and against the freeze!
4. Control prices not wages. Union misleaders stay off the Pay Board!
5. Fight economic protectionism! For international working-class solidarity!
6. For a labor party based on the trade unions!

The "Left" Tail of NPAC

All the other resolutions were attempts to modify the course of NPAC without raising the question of the presence of the bourgeoisie, thereby reflecting the deepening entrenchment of the "left" groups in NPAC. The Workers League (WL), which openly endorsed the NPAC expulsion of communists a year ago, introduced a resolution calling on NPAC to "demand" that "the American labor movement...immediately call a Congress of Labor for the purpose of launching an independent labor party for the 1972 election..."

The WL intervention lacked the fulsome denunciations of Stalinism which have filled their previous resolutions to the pop front, and was generally more subdued than ever so as not to upset their new-found coziness with the SWP, which they call on workers to vote for in November "as a critical part of breaking the trade unions and the entire working class from the two capitalist parties" (*Bulletin*, 17 January 1972). Only about six WL supporters intervened, and they gave only one half-hearted speech for their resolution in the plenary.

Progressive Labor/SDS, which late last year dropped its previous correct criticism of class collaboration in order to enter and endorse NPAC, presented a pitifully low-level resolution, "Stop Genocide," which urged that, "this convention resolve that any demonstrations organized by NPAC will stress the racist and genocidal nature of the war in Vietnam." The resolution also asked endorsement for the "anti-racism bill," a piece of reformism which SDS tried to get the Democratic Party in Miami to accept as part of its program! It includes such items as imprisonment of any policeman "who assaults a minority person, except in provable self-defense"! Needless to say, the capitalist police always carry out their crimes in "self-defense." That is precisely why Lenin talked about the necessity of *dismantling* the capitalist state, not reforming it.

PL Sells Out to McGovern

PL is attempting to build a mini-pop front modelled after NPAC, and is trying to recruit some of the liberals which NPAC and McGovern have swept in. The latest issue of *New Left Notes* (26 June), circulated at the convention, contains "Two Views On McGovern." The first view states that McGovern "is worth voting for, whether as a lesser of two evils or as a positive force for change in America." The other view ends by stating, "we should either vote for McGovern or not vote at all." Outside of the unreadable *Challenge*, PL has nothing to offer in SDS and NPAC but...McGovern!

The International Socialists (IS), who have attempted to operate as a "left" caucus in NPAC without demanding the expulsion of the bourgeoisie, joined with the rabidly anti-communist "News and Letters" group to form an "Anti-War Coalition." This coalition submitted a resolution called "Freeze the War, Free the People," which left the door open for third bourgeois parties such as the unmourned Peace and Freedom Party, and backed away from demanding military victory to the DRV/NLF. A separate IS leaflet was distributed which did state, "we support the *military* victory of the NLF/PRG *against* U.S. imperialism" (emphasis in original), but as usual, what the IS formally called for in its own name and what it actually pushed for on the floor were two different things. Being extreme left-wing social-democrats and fundamentally anti-communist, the IS began dropping the "military victory" slogan in March-April when it looked as if the North Vietnamese offensive was succeeding (see *WV* No. 8). Now that the North Vietnamese have been beaten back, the IS again occasionally raises the idea. But by refusing to call on the Soviet Union to break the blockade, the IS back-handedly accepts the U.S. blockade of North Vietnam and renders meaningless the slogan for military victory.

The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) submitted their "Working Class Alternatives in the Election Year," which they presented to the SMC last February (see *WV* No. 7), but now with a new supplemental leaflet attached. The supplement made clear again that NCLC approves of the SWP's pop-front strategy and merely opposes the embarrassing fact in particular cases of open Democratic candidates like McGovern coming into it. As a solution to the embarrassment which the SWP faces, NCLC proposed that NPAC negotiate with the SWP to "modify" the Jenness/Pulley (SWP) campaign program so that NCLC could endorse it "for the sake of the principle of 'independent working-class political action'." In effect, the NCLC asked the SWP to negotiate with itself. This is intended to create the facade of a "principled" NPAC united front approach to the elections, but, as is well known to the SWP, the NCLC is already committed to the unmodifiable NPAC pop front. Michael Tinckler of Philadelphia NCLC sits on the NPAC Steering Committee.

McGovernites Come to Collect on NPAC's "Independence"

Despite the million-and-one ties between NPAC and the Democratic Party, the SWP maintains the fiction that NPAC is "independent" so that the SWP can hang onto a figment of radicalism. The McGovern forces came to the convention to collect on the real meaning of NPAC "independence" by making more formal the connection between NPAC and the Democrats. A resolution was circulated early in the convention calling for the explicit endorsement of McGovern and urging NPAC to work for McGovern's election.

As we have consistently pointed out since the SWP launched its single-issue anti-war movement in 1965, there can be no "independence" from the bourgeoisie without a revolutionary socialist program based on the working class; but such a program was consistently suppressed by the SWP because it is "divisive," that is, it drives away the bourgeoisie!

Thus throughout Saturday, the SWP had to fight on two flanks: feverishly attempting to beat off the McGovern forces on formal endorsement, and at the same time having to answer SL/RCY attacks with gloating statements about the "success" of NPAC. It became clear in workshop straw votes and in the evening plenary that the McGovern forces did not have the votes to push through their resolution, so they began a retreat by stages. SWP leaders prevented their own followers from cutting off discussion, so that the

continued on page 10

"TROTSKYIST" LONELY HEARTS CLUB

What Is VANGUARD NEWSLETTER?

In the July-August issue of *Vanguard Newsletter (VNL)* there appears a letter from the "Committee for Rank and File Caucuses" (CRFC) challenging the Spartacist League to publicly defend our statement that VNL/CRFC leader David Fender called the cops to open up the "public" Workers League forum at the St. Louis Labor for Peace Conference. The CRFC letter charged the SL with a deliberate "misrepresentation of fact" and challenged us to a "public forum" to debate the incident in question. This is the first time in the SL's eight-year history as a tendency that the accuracy and integrity of our press—despite its highly polemical, frank and revealing character—has been so challenged. We accept the CRFC's challenge and are prepared to confront the CRFC before any body in the socialist and working-class movement. We want to make known throughout the socialist and labor movement that this erstwhile proletarian revolutionist, David Fender, called upon the class enemy to decide a struggle within the workers' movement.

CRFC and WL Vie for United Front with the Cops

The material to which the CRFC letter objects is two sentences in a leaflet titled "CP/TUAD Prepares Betrayal with Mass Exclusion!" The leaflet stated, "...at the Labor for Peace Conference last week the Stalinophobic WL cowardly excluded all other tendencies from their allegedly 'public' meeting. Demonstrating further non-proletarian means of struggle, and a complete misunderstanding of the Leninist theory of the state, the WL and CRFC called the cops on each other, the WL to guard their meeting, the CRFC to open it up." The next paragraph, also quoted in the CRFC letter, went on to explain why the working-class movement must not seek to "use the capitalist cops or courts to enforce 'democracy' within the labor movement."

At the Labor for Peace Conference in St. Louis, the Workers League had called a forum at St. Louis University sponsored in the name of a UAW "rank and file" caucus. The meeting was publicly advertised but the WL followed its by now standard practice of physically excluding opponent tendencies from the "public" meeting. Those excluded were standing outside the barred meeting room, including supporters of the International Socialists, Socialist Workers Party, CRFC and five supporters of the Spartacist League. Fender announced, "I'm going to get us into this meeting," and left the meeting room area. Then according to the CRFC's version, Fender went to dispute a WLer over the question of exclusion before a campus administrator and in the presence of security guards. On returning to the meeting room area, Fender stated that he had "countered" the WL's arguments. He had indeed! Shortly after that, the campus administrator accompanied by an armed guard approached the WL leadership and informed them that exclusionist meetings were against the rules. Fender stood right behind the administrator and guard, eager to enter the now opened meeting. All the other groups present were likewise prepared to attend the WL forum under campus cop auspices, except for the Spartacist comrades who argued heatedly against use of campus cops as arbitrators; one ISer called our comrades "purists" for our position that we would not touch such a meeting with a ten-foot pole. The WL then transferred the meeting to a private apartment.

The CRFC's letter is a smokescreen by crucial omission. It piously protests, "The position of the CRFC and its component organizations on the question of the police and bourgeois legal interference in the workers' movement is the same as that of the SL." The letter claims that Fender protested to the campus administration only to prevent the guards throwing the CRFC out of the building. This claim is given the lie by the facts, which the letter conceals. The supposedly unintended *result* of Fender's protest was the intervention by the administrator and campus cop to force the WL to open the forum. If this had not been precisely the result which Fender was seeking, wouldn't he of course have joined the Spartacist supporters in refusing to enter the meeting? But Fender and Jim Hays of CRFC/VNL followed along behind the administration's armed guard to enter the meeting!

Origins of the Turner "Tendency"

The lengthy and hysterical (and frequently totally fabricated) attacks on the SL in recent issues of *VNL*, and the demand for a confrontation over the St. Louis incident, require us to introduce working-class militants to the VNL grouping and its history. VNL was launched by one Harry Turner following his departure, along with one supporter (his long-time friend Hugh Fredricks), from the Spartacist League after involvement in a faction fight in the SL in 1968.

In 1968 a liquidationist opposition arose in the SL, based on a retreat from Trotskyism in favor of a workerist impulse. Despite Turner's self-inflating claims to be the leader of that opposition, its real leader was Kay Ellens, who built a thinly-veiled semi-syndicalist faction, sucked in Turner, and then split with nine people without even informing Turner and his lone supporter.

The immediate issue in the faction fight was the fate of the SL's early efforts to build a transitional organization, the Militant Labor Civil Rights Committee, designed to fight the special oppression of black workers. Turner and other members of the incipient minority, including Ellens, had been involved in directing the MLCRC efforts, and decided to concentrate on a mass leafletting campaign directed at the NYC hospital workers' union, where the SL had two comrades. The MLCRC was not a special project for some people to "do their own thing," but was treated as an SL activity; virtually without exception every member of the New York local distributed MLCRC leaflets one or two mornings a week in front of selected hospitals. When the two hospital workers defected from the SL in the direction of anarcho-Maoist street confrontationism (along with one Bob Ross, now a component of the CRFC!), the MLCRC's activities became a sterile exercise in empty propagandism unsupported by an SL fraction in the union. The Ellens-Turner opposition insisted the work was still viable, counterposing fake agitation to the SL's perspective of direct political confrontation with other working-class currents designed to cohere the most conscious vanguard elements around Trotskyism. In particular, the kind of agitation advocated by Ellens-Turner deliberately avoided attacks on black nationalist ideology then dominant among black radicals and reflected in a definite mood among the black masses. The minority repeatedly insisted that the indefinite continuation of MLCRC, despite the loss of any party fraction in the union, had great possibilities, and that to discontinue it meant the abandonment of any perspective for recruiting black workers.

Ellens seized on the MLCRC as a good issue for building her semi-syndicalist faction, pulling in Turner on the basis of his impatience and his subjective stake in MLCRC, which he believed was the manifestation in the flesh of a "Memorandum on the Negro Struggle" he had written a year before. Spokesmen for the SL majority repeatedly charged Turner with being in a rotten bloc with Ellens in a faction whose real politics were workerism, clandestinity, accommodation to black nationalism and emulation of the Voix Ouvrière group in France, and which had an immediate split perspective. Turner insisted that he was the leader of the faction, that it adhered to the basic orientation and program of the SL, and that it did not have a split perspective. Immediately thereafter, the nine members of the Ellens faction precipitously split from the SL, without even informing Turner, to carry out its workerist program. The grouping promptly moved to a Midwest industrial center and went underground to attempt to conquer the proletarian masses, adopting political positions appropriate to its former minorityite stance: advocacy of strike-breaking in the NYC teachers' union strike in the name of "community control" and characterization of the deformed workers' states as state capitalist. Turner and his supporter found themselves unceremoniously dumped by the faction which Turner was supposedly leading! Turner declared himself the "real" minority and the other nine "frictional losses." Completely discredited by the confirmation of the majority's characterization of his rotten bloc with a semi-syndicalist faction, Turner got himself suspended, then resigned from the SL.

The subsequent political "evolution" of Turner can be directly traced to this experience. Pushed into factional opposition in the SL by impatience, grotesquely used and discarded by Ellens as a figurehead for a syndicalist split-oriented faction, feeling trapped in the SL and then all alone outside it, Turner's whole subsequent course has been a series of sordid attempts to find some "political" basis—*any* basis—to justify his factional maneuverings in and ignominious departure from the SL.

Turner Looks for a Home

After leaving the SL, Turner cast about looking for something to join. His first impulse was to re-unite with the Ellens group. But knowing that Turner would never give up his comfortable life situation to enter a factory, Ellens rejected his overtures. Furious, he responded with an "open letter" to the Ellens group (29 November 1968):

> "We have been aware for some time of Kay's lack of scruple, of candor—speaking plainly of downright dishonesty. We can quote you chapter and verse...such as the crude falsehoods retailed at local meetings...."

Having unintentionally admitted previously covering up for his co-factionalist's lies, Turner went on to denounce Ellens' "fetishistic attitude toward recruiting through accretion at the factory level" and her undergroundist orientation—as the SL Majority had insisted all along! Of his own perspectives he wrote, "You patronizingly inform us that our initial and tentative consideration of preliminary involvement in a loose gathering of radicals to try to win some additional cadre 'merely postpones the real tasks'...."

After being rejected by Ellens, Turner and his supporter joined the Labor Committee of L. Marcus. Recall that the two main elements of Turner's opposition were overwhelming organizational concentration on the labor movement and single-minded agitation around the oppression of black workers. The Labor Committee, however, explicitly maintains the elitist position that academically trained intellectuals can conquer the working class without implantation in industry and trade union work; moreover, the LC regards the black movement as simply divisive of working-class unity and opposes in principle the raising of programmatic demands against the special oppression of blacks. While Turner was in the LC, one of its leaders attacked the anarcho-Maoist wing of SDS in an article in the press of the pro-war Socialist Party at a time when the instruments of bourgeois public opinion were waging a hysterical campaign against SDS. When SLers attended an LC meeting to raise a motion condemning the LC for this action, Turner abstained. Turner's conduct in the LC was determined by a desire to get close to the Workers League, which Turner had already begun chasing, and which had a fraction in the LC.

Grovelling Letter to Healy

Despite his comic-opera overtures to Ellens and Marcus, Turner saw his main chance in Gerry Healy's International Committee and its American group, the Workers League of Tim Wohlforth. While in the SL, Turner had written savage denunciations of Healy's "international" and the WL. Following the expulsion of the Spartacist delegation from the 1966 IC conference, Turner had written (letter to Healy, 30 April 1966): "You wanted an international after the manner of Stalin's Comintern, permeated with servility at one pole and authoritarianism on the other."

Referring to the economist program of the Workers League's short-lived front group, Trade Unionists for a Labor Party, which deliberately omitted any mention of the fight against racial oppression (as well as opposition to the Vietnam

continued on next page

war), Turner had denounced the WL for making "a 'left' adaptation to the prevailing white chauvinism in the working class" ("Whither the Spartacist League," 7 July 1968).

But only a few months after leaving the SL, Turner was chasing Healy and the WL! On 10 January 1969 Turner sent a classic letter of recantation to Healy in which he capitulated on virtually every point. He wrote:

> "Why wasn't I able to see it [that the Spartacist tendency was "a petty-bourgeois personality cult"] at the time? Why was I originally drawn to Robertson's group, and away from Wohlforth and Mueller in 1963? Subjective factors play a large part in behavior, of course....I tended to react in simple Pavlovian fashion to your intervention in the RT....I also reacted quite superficially, empirically and parochially."

in his desire to become a Healyite, Turner denounced the SL position against the Chinese "Cultural Revolution," reverting to his original support for the Maoist Red Guards, and stated only the mildest of criticisms of the WL's genuine adaptation to white chauvinism:

> "As to the Negro question, the WL's program... is one which we can support. However we feel that the program does not sufficiently orientate toward the increasingly militant black workers...."

On his new-found commitment to the WL, he wrote: "when we examine the WL, we find a performance in keeping with its professed desire to build a Leninist party in the U.S."!

Despite Turner's fulsome grovelling, Healy insisted on thoroughly demeaning his former opponent by demanding that Turner give up his position on the black question and fully embrace the WL's position. Turner turned away from the WL, although without giving up hopes for an eventual reconciliation with international Healyism.

The black question continued to be a stumbling block for Turner. While in the SL Turner claimed agreement with the SL position that U.S. blacks are a doubly oppressed color caste, but not long after leaving (*VNL*, November 1969) he caved in to black nationalist sentiment:

> "Should the mass of the Black people, the vast majority of which is working class, decide on nationhood, reach the conclusion that they can no longer reside in the same national state with whites, and demand a section of the U.S. for a separate state, we would support their demand...."

This position has nothing whatsoever in common with Leninism. For a Leninist, the question of whether a group is a nation is not determined by how much its members want to secede but by the existence of a separate political economy in embryo within the oppressor nation. In a frenzy of white guilt, Turner entirely does away with the Leninist criteria in order to assure black nationalists that if they really want to be a nation, he will certainly give them permission. If Turner believes that U.S. black people possess the objective requirements for becoming an independent national state, then his position is simply patronizing; for a nation, self-determination is a *right* which Leninists must unconditionally support, not a proof of Turner's generosity in giving them permission.

Turner's First Recruit

Rebuffed in his attempts to find a home in another organization, Turner formed Vanguard Newsletter in June 1969 on the following basis:

> "We begin, in effect...as a discussion group. It is our hope that agreement on principle and program will be forged, so that a democratic-centralist organization will emerge from the circle. We invite all those interested in discussion to contact us."

VNL remains a catch-all literary discussion group "hoping" to achieve "agreement on principle and program" in the great by and by, while posturing as a hard Leninist formation. We will see what kind of political animals accepted Turner's invitation.

Robert Sherwood was expelled from the SL for signing a "Negotiations Now" leaflet, thus breaking SL discipline to cross the class line. At about the same time, he legally emigrated to Canada to avoid the draft, thus violating our policy that when drafted, proletarian revolutionaries enter the army to carry the anti-war struggle to conscripted working-class youth. Sherwood then joined the Workers League and became leader of its Canadian "section," making a mockery of the WL's public position against draft resistance. When *Spartacist* denounced the WL's hypocritical opportunism over Sherwood, the WL reacted with hysteria, terming us "the fingerman of the world capitalists," falsely claiming that the references to Sherwood's draft-dodging would jeopardize him legally. Significantly, this archtypically Stalinist slander occurred in the same issue of the *Bulletin* as a gloating report on the Turner split based on documents he gave them.

While as usual using Aesopian formulations, Turner solidarized with the WL-Sherwood accusations (*VNL*, February 1970):

> "Should one judge the SL's actions in regard to Sherwood as isolated incidents...or even as a vindictive, perhaps only semi-conscious wish for harrassment of such opponents by the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state? We have ruled out the first alternative....We have informed others...of our belief that the latter possibilities are most probable."

Turner had been a member of the SL Political Bureau when the *Spartacist* denouncing Sherwood and the WL appeared (March-April 1968). He made no objections at the time and presumably supported the article. A year and a half later, Turner is accusing the SL leadership—of which he was then a part!—of turning political opponents over to the cops. The apparent mystery is solved by the fact that in late 1969 Sherwood had a falling out with the WL and transformed the Canadian WL into the Toronto VNL Committee. To recruit one slimy opportunist and draft-dodger to boot, Turner was prepared to retroactively make himself a "capitalist fingerman."

NYC Police Strike

Under normal circumstances and with an eye on the record, most organizations claiming to be revolutionary can present their politics as principled and plausible. The real test of an organization's revolutionary capacity is its reaction to unexpected or complex social struggles (e.g., the Chinese "Cultural Revolution," the 1968 NYC teachers' strike, the present conflict in Ulster). Such a test was the 1970 New York City police strike.

The WL predictably embraced the cops as a militant wing of the working class. While VNL dissociated itself from the WL's extreme rantings (without naming the WL), it put forth the *fundamental programmatic element* of the WL position—labor movement support for a police strike victory (*VNL*, January 1971):

> "The rank and file of the entire labor movement must demand that their leaderships enter into a united front and a binding commitment for a *general strike* in the event that either strike-breaking weapon is resorted to by the City."

The strike reflected the growing sense of independent esprit by the cops and hostility to what they considered the "permissiveness" of politicians and juries toward black, Puerto Rican and student militants. A victory for the police strike, particularly defying the National Guard, would have removed the tenuous fetters of bourgeois legality from the armed fist of the state, allowing that armed fist to rise above the traditional bourgeois state in bonapartist fashion, while remaining the guardian of the capitalist class. A victorious police strike would inevitably mean the unleashing of unrestrained racist terror against the black ghettos. It should be noted that VNL's critical support to the police strike took place a few months before VNL solidarized with the Newton wing of the Panthers, who would certainly have been one of the first victims of a cop victory.

Turner Chases OCI

As part of the developing split in the "international Committee" between the British Socialist Labour League and the French Organisation Communiste internationaliste in 1971, the latter aggressively lined up international supporters on a power-bloc basis. Lacking contacts in North America, the OCI was prepared to investigate using VNL. Turner, in turn, tried to use the attraction of the OCI franchise to strengthen his domestic discussion-regroupment operation. Thus, Turner projected a fusion of VNL, the Sherwood group in Canada, the "revolutionary DeLeonist" Socialist Forum and the Communist Tendency, a group led by David Fender which had recently split from the SWP.

Turner's appetites for the OCI franchise were clearly reflected in the September and October 1971 issues of *VNL*. Turner became a self-appointed attorney for the Partido Obrero Revolucionario of Bolivia, the OCI's ally against the SLL/WL:

> "We do not consider it permissible to lump the POR with the Stalinists and Pabloists as does Tim Wohlforth....We believe that the Bolivian comrades made serious errors....It is only by learning from their mistakes that the comrades of the POR can overcome them in time, can yet lead the Bolivian working class...to power."

The same issue contains an effusive, uncritical greeting to the congress of the OCI youth group: "We wish you every success in your congress and in politically arming the youth of France for the socialist revolution." (For our critique of the OCI's opportunism over Bolivia and the youth question, see *Workers Vanguard* No. 3, December 1971.)

However, the international fusion meeting, held in Canada in late September 1971, was a disaster for Turner's grandiose ambitions. The internal contradictions of Turner's motley combination exploded. Half of the VNL, i.e., Harold Robins and Bob Davis, went into "opposition" and split. Refusing to unite with the draft-dodger Sherwood, the ranks of the CT split from their political leader and spokesman, David Fender. (The CT, Robins and Davis have since transferred their allegiance to the IS.)

Naturally, the conference with the OCI representative was not reported in *VNL*. But by November, VNL's attitude toward the OCI had changed 180 degrees. In the November 1971 *VNL* we read, "By embracing Lora [head of the POR], the OCI assumes *full* responsibility for policies which led to the Bolivian defeat." The article concludes, "The Bolivian test was miserably failed by all organizations identifying with both the IC and U.Sec." Turner termed the IC left-centrist and accused the OCI as well as the SLL of gangsterism against other left-wing tendencies. Had the OCI suddenly changed its spots before the November *VNL* issue? No, what changed was Turner's scheme for using the OCI to construct his groupiet.

Turner/Fender Rotten Bloc

The OCI regroupment drive did produce another recruit for Turner: David Fender, who left the CT ranks behind in order to join VNL. Under Fender's tutelage, the CT had developed two controversial positions which they regarded as extremely important: the CT critically supported the Liu faction in the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" and called for the "proletarian military policy," trade union control of the standing army with conscription.

Fender had supported the Liu faction on the grounds that this conservative resistance on the part of the bureaucracy to the adventuristic and austerity policies of Mao reflected pressure to defend the material interests of the working masses. Turner, however, had supported the Maoist Red Guards, taken in by their "anti-bureaucratic" and egalitarian rhetoric. Thus Fender and Turner have diametrically opposed positions on contemporary Chinese politics. And more significantly, since Fender joined up with Turner, *VNL* has carried no material on political revolution in a country called China, which merely contains a third of the human race. One of the hallmarks of any centrist group is profound anti-internationalism. As long as an accommodation can be reached on domestic issues, the most fundamental differences over revolutionary policy in "other" countries become merely

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SPARTACIST LOCAL DIRECTORY

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND ..... (415) 848-3029
Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON ..... (617) 876-1787
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Box 40674, San Francisco, CA 94140

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SWP/WONAAC Sink in Bourgeois Swamp

The decline of the petty-bourgeois women's liberation movement as it has existed for the past several years is a fact apparent to most radical activists and ostensible revolutionaries. The only organization which seems not to have assimilated this fact of life is the self-proclaimed leader of the "mass feminist movement," the Socialist Workers Party, and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance. This blindness may be attributed to the SWP/YSA's heavy organizational commitment to its front group, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. The SWP/YSA has built WONAAC as a liberal-reformist organization whose three demands aim at attracting middle-class women and their Democratic Party representatives. The SWP/YSA's desperate attempt to funnel the women's movement into the single-issue abortion repeal campaign in order to "attract the broadest possible number of women" has itself been a significant factor in the demise of the movement.

The third National Women's Conference on Abortion, held July 15-16 at Hunter College in New York under the auspices of WONAAC, surpassed the previous two in endless boring hours of petty, non-political ramblings and mindless enthusing over non-existent "victories." The fact that of the 800 women who were actually interested enough to register for this conference (less than two-thirds of the attendance at the previous conference) fewer than half remained by the second day itself bears witness to the tragic dead end to which the women's movement has come in the past few years.

The conference was frought with evident deep rifts within the WONAAC leadership itself, finally coming to a head with the resignation of eight national coordinators and staff on the second day. Much of the criticism raised by the main oppositional grouping within WONAAC, centered around Rose Weber (one of those who eventually resigned), took the form of vicious red-baiting accusations of SWP "domination and manipulation" of WONAAC. The SWP is unable to fight red-baiting effectively because its reformist aspirations do not allow it to stand openly as communists and fight for leadership on the basis of *program*. All that the SWP has to offer is an effective organization of cadres trained to tail-end the "mass movements" it claims to lead. While the Weber grouping picked up on some key defects in WONAAC's politics and the SWP method of "leadership," the group represented a split to the right, probably headed straight back into the Democratic Party. For the most part these oppositionists are simply extending feminist and class-collaborationist principles taught them by the SWP but which the SWP itself cannot explicitly endorse because of formal residues of its past socialist traditions.

SWP/WONAAC Push Class-Collaboration

This point is demonstrated by WONAAC's empty claims of "independence" from bourgeois political parties. In the June 26 issue of the *WONAAC Newsletter* well-known SWP spokesman Kipp Dawson argued against the tactic of legislative lobbying asking: "How can women be most effective in forcing the legislators to grant the right to abortion?" Later in the article—after bragging of the support to WONAAC of such "women's liberationists" as Shirley Chisholm, Mary Lindsay and Bella Abzug—Dawson answers her question: "When thousands of women are marching in the streets for this right [abortion], legislators will sit up and take notice." A militant-sounding strategy—for the purpose of *pressuring liberal legislators*.

One reason why WONAAC has repeatedly thrown off splits to the right is the contradiction between this stated "principle of independence" from the bourgeoisie and *support* of bourgeois politicians in all but the direct electoral sense. Those trained in the feminist-reformist WONAAC school are only being consistent when they yearn to support capitalist politicians like Abzug, whose so-called Abortion Rights Act of 1972 is being backed by WONAAC with a petition campaign. The SWP is unable to provide any political justification for the "principle of independence" besides the claim that endorsing any candidate would "narrow the coalition."

For communists the reason for a complete break with capitalist politicians lies in the understanding that the oppression of women is one of the pillars upon which the capitalist system rests. Struggles against women's oppression will be bitterly opposed by the capitalist state and its political agents. On occasion reform issues may be supported by particular politicians, but this "support" inevitably comes down to cynical manipulation to garner votes, as was amply demonstrated by the maneuverings around the abortion issue at the Democratic Convention.

Such an analysis of the nature of capitalism is well known to the ex-Marxist SWP. The SWP's rationale for this elementary betrayal is that breaking with the class enemy and its agents would prevent WONAAC from "bringing in the greatest number of women."

Abortion and the Family

Similarly with the issue of "free abortion on demand." The SWP itself has admitted that "the part of this demand that calls for *free* abortion on demand goes beyond democratic demands, raises the concept of socialization of medical care, and answers a need of the most oppressed and exploited" *(International Socialist Review*, November 1971). Yet the SWP/YSA has consistently fought against this as a demand for WONAAC, thus criminally abandoning the "need of the most oppressed and exploited" for the sake of its liberal supporters! The refusal to fight for free legal abortion in itself cuts WONAAC off from working-class women, especially the most oppressed layers of the class, who know they will have about as much chance to obtain an expensive legal abortion as they have to take a (legal) airplane trip.

In itself the issue of abortions is a *reform* demand. For revolutionaries, particular reforms which strike blows at the oppressive institutions of capitalism and increase the capacity of the working class to struggle must be supported. But the revolutionary always seeks to pose demands which transcend the capitalist framework, increase the consciousness of the exploited and oppressed of the objective need for socialist revolution as the only way to fully achieve and safeguard their needs, and lead to greater *class* organization and higher forms of struggle on the part of the working masses.

The SWP/YSA, however, has deliberately built WONAAC as a reformist organization. It has opposed adopting the "free abortion" demand which implicitly calls into question capitalist private property relations; it has fought the broadening of WONAAC's three official demands into a *program* linking up the abortion fight with the class struggle in all its aspects; it has spread illusions which directly impede the development of revolutionary consciousness. WONAAC teaches the militant women to place their trust in the class enemy and their female agents in the capitalist parties. WONAAC pushes the illusion that abortion repeal means "control of our own bodies." A woman who works a grueling eight-hour day at a meaningless job and returns to an evening of petty housework drudgery hardly has "control of her own body"!

The emancipation of women requires the destruction of capitalism. Women under capitalism are exploited as workers and doubly oppressed by the *family*, the main social bulwark of women's oppression. Achieving the right to abortion would strike a blow against the material and ideological props of the family system, but the family will not wither away until a replacement for it can be created. Socialization of household duties, only possible after the abolition of private property and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will open the road to the gradual replacement of the family.

Clara Zetkin, January 1918

Spartacist and the Women's Movement

Members of the Spartacist League and the *Women and Revolution* group intervened in the WONAAC Conference to counterpose a revolutionary proletarian strategy and program. W&R groups, based on the transitional program of the SL, have intervened in the women's movement, consistently presenting an outspoken *socialist* alternative, explicitly anti-reformist and anti-feminist. SL/W&R has insisted that the women's movement cannot go forward until it adopts a proletarian perspective and recognizes that the uniquely leading class in the socialist revolution

LESSONS FROM THE B

Toward a

Most of the ostensibly socialist organizations in the U.S. have pursued an opportunist, tail-endist policy toward the women's liberation movement. But for others, the question is seen as inherently petty-bourgeois, and the existing movement as the only possible expression of struggle against the oppression of women. Thus the Workers League has expressed contempt for the current movement and has ostentatiously abstained from participation in it. Opposition to the middle-class and feminist-reformist orientation of the existing movement does not produce abstention by revolutionaries, but rather demands energetic intervention with the correct proletarian program and strategy. For the Workers League, however, blanket condemnation of the movement is merely a cheap way to establish "proletarian" credentials. The WL denies the special oppression of women and maintains that the organization of women around resistance to their oppression simply divides the working class. Unfortunately this cynical position keys into one of the stereotypes of communists perpetrated by anti-communist feminists, who maintain that communists are not concerned with women's oppression and have no legitimate place in the movement.

In forswearing the fight against the oppression of women the Workers League once again abandons a key component of the Marxist program, developed initially by Marx and Engels themselves and later extended by the Bolshevik party and the Third International. The current women's movement, with its disdain for "male-dominated" history and Marxist theory, is as ignorant of the history of socialist work among women as is the Workers League. The historical development of communist organization and program for work among women can provide guidelines for the rebirth of a revolutionary women's movement as part of the struggle of the proletariat for state power.

Birth of the Socialist Women's Movement

The drawing of women into large-scale industry was a profoundly progressive step and laid the basis for their industrial and political organization. In many cases women were admitted into trade unions but frequently, as in the case of the Lancashire weavers in 1824, as

is the proletariat under the leadership of the vanguard party.

SL/W&R presented a motion to the Conference, "For a class line—not a sex line," which demanded the exclusion of all bourgeois politicians, male and female, from the women's liberation movement. As part of our insistence that the struggle for the emancipation of women must be seen as part of the fight of the working class for socialist revolution, the motion demanded that the Conference break with male exclusionism by allowing men who support the struggle full and equal participation. The fight for *class unity* requires intransigent opposition to male exclusionism just as it requires a relentless struggle against male chauvinist backwardness, on the basis of a transitional program which fights against the special oppression of women as part of a struggle for the needs of the class as a whole. Elements of the W&R program include: equal pay for equal work, free quality medical care for all, union organization of the unorganized, strikes against the Vietnam war, the building of a labor party to fight for a workers' government.

Feminism vs. Communism

The kind of "leadership" offered by the SWP was exactly what the women's movement did not need to break out of its headlong plunge into impotent reformism. The movement emerged in the 1960's out of the petty-bourgeois student movement--the New Left. Much of the original New Left baggage was carried into the women's movement: the early women's movement in particular was imbued with typical New Left anti-"elitism," anti-theoretical biases and contempt for the lessons of history. Frustration with the male chauvinism of the New Left was a catalyst for the emergence of the women's movement. The New Left dead-end succeeded in discouraging its share of radical youth from a lifetime commitment to revolutionary politics, and some women used the women's movement as a way of seeking personal "liberation" and thus a way out of politics altogether. For others the women's movement was simply an extension of New Left poly-vanguardist constituency politics, a logical extension of the proposition that "whites should organize whites, blacks should organize blacks." For some this idea meant that the only legitimate political work for women was the women's liberation movement. This led to disguised red-baiting of women in so-called "male-dominated" (i.e., sexually non-exclusionist) political organizations, and the charge that socialist women were fighting "other people's" struggles.

A heterogeneous feminist tendency insisted that women were the "revolutionary class" in modern society destined to carry out the revolution against the male-dominated society. Some even envisioned a civil war between men and women for political control. What kind of economic system they would gain control of was never discussed, although many made the blatantly male chauvinist assumption that it would be more "humane" because it would be run by women (the gentle sex?). The various tendencies of feminism hold in common the view that the fundamental division in this society is sex and thus *all* women regardless of class can be united in fighting for their liberation from "male-dominated" society.

Clearly the politics of the SWP cannot provide any alternative strategy for the women's movement. In every field of its activity the SWP/YSA pushes class collaboration and petty-bourgeois poly-vanguardism. It is in this sense that the SWP is correct when it claims to be the main builder of the women's movement: the SWP has indeed been instrumental in building into the women's movement all the reformist illusions and bourgeois traps which have led the current women's liberation movement to an impasse.

For a Socialist Women's Movement!

Petty-bourgeois feminism has shown itself unable to construct a viable women's movement. But the Menshevik policies of the SWP/WONAAC and the utopian petty-bourgeois radicalism of the feminists have not been able to entirely dissipate the powerful impulse to struggle for the emancipation of women, for this impulse is rooted in resistance to the brutal economic and social oppression of capitalism. The bourgeoisie and its agents have been able to successfully channel the women's struggle for a time into electoral manipulation, token hiring of women in certain industries, and sensational or sympathetic coverage in the media. But the resistance of the oppressed to their exploitation and degradation under capitalism can never be eliminated until oppression itself is eliminated following the destruction of capitalism. Militant struggle for women's emancipation will manifest itself again, and must base itself upon the tradition of the socialist women's movement—a long and proud tradition which the reformists and feminists must obscure and deny, a tradition which offers the only road forward for the women's liberation movement. ■

BOLSHEVIK STRUGGLE AGAINST WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

Communist Women's Movement!

second-class union members. In some cases working women formed their own class organizations in response to their exclusion from the established trade union movement and their relegation to largely unorganized sections of industry. In the U.S. separate women's trade unions such as the Tailoresses' Union and the Shoe Binders' Union were formed as early as 1830. Militant strikes were led by the Ladies Walst Makers Union in 1909. However, such separate organizations were inevitably superceded by unions of men and women, as working-class men gradually recognized that the economic interests of both sexes were inseparable. The unions took up only the purely economic aspect of women's lives. Other issues became the property of the growing bourgeois feminist movements.

The Social Democratic (later Communist) women's movement was separate and distinct from both the purely economic trade union movement and the bourgeois feminists. This is clear in an account by Lenin (*Collected Works*, Vol. 13) of the International Socialist Congress held at Stuttgart, September 1907:

> "The resolution on women's suffrage was also adopted unanimously. Only one Englishwoman from the semi-bourgeois Fabian Society defended the admissibility of a struggle not for full women's suffrage but for one limited to those possessing property. The Congress rejected this unconditionally and declared in favor of women workers campaigning for the franchise, not in conjunction with the bourgeois supporters of women's rights, but in conjunction with the class parties of the proletariat. The Congress recognized that in the campaign for women's suffrage it was necessary to uphold fully the principles of socialism and equal rights for men and women without distorting those principles for the sake of expediency."

The necessity for a clear, unqualified class line separating the socialist women's movement from the bourgeois feminists was understood from the first informal gathering of women socialists held in London in 1896. The Gotha Congress of the German Social Democratic Party held earlier that same year had, at Clara Zetkin's insistence, laid the groundwork for agitational work among proletarian women for the purpose of drawing them into the general working-class movement.

Debate in the German party centered around the question of the need for special organizational forms devoted to work in this section of the proletariat. At issue was whether this work should take place within or outside the party organization. The final decision was to establish a *women's section within the party*. It was based on two considerations: (1) the struggle of women workers for emancipation is linked inseparably to the struggle of the entire working class against capitalism; (2) as long as women workers are prevented from full involvement in the working-class movement, a special organizational mechanism devoted to work among women is necessary. The factors impeding women's full participation in the proletarian movement were seen to flow from women's role in the family which resulted in their relegation to the least organized, most oppressed sections of the class; lack of education and intellectual development; and victimization by backward social attitudes and laws.

The women's section had a great deal of organizational autonomy (partially, but not entirely, because women were legally barred from entrance into political organizations in Germany until 1908). At the same time the section was politically responsible to the leading bodies of the party. This organizational form upheld the principle of revolutionary working-class unity under a single party banner while allowing for the application of a variety of methods of propaganda and agitation among women. Although other forms of organization were used elsewhere, the German form was the most widespread and successful and seemed to allow for the greatest clarity of theory and unity in action of the common movement.

Bolshevik Work Among Women

The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolshevik) carried out extensive propaganda among women workers prior to the October Revolution. The pages of its journal, *Rabotnitsa* (Woman Worker), which first appeared under the direction of the Bolshevik Central Committee on International Women's Day 1914, contained polemics directed against the bourgeois feminist movements of Russia and Europe and against the Mensheviks' policy of male exclusionism in the women's movement. Articles on the family and the causes of women's oppression, the means of their emancipation, current domestic and international affairs and the participation of women in the workers' movement appeared in the seven issues of *Rabotnitsa* which were published between February 1914 and the outbreak of World War I in July.

In the spring of 1914 women from the major industrial centers of Russia elected delegates, largely Bolshevik supporters, for the Third International Socialist Women's Conference scheduled to take place in Vienna later that year. Due to the intervention of the war the conference did not take place, but at the instigation of the Bolshevik Central Committee a congress of left-wing socialist women was held in Berne, Switzerland on 26-28 March 1915. Of the thirty delegates attending, four of the six Russian delegates were Bolsheviks who brought with them a draft resolution written by Lenin. The resolution demanded: Break with the Social Democratic betrayers—Turn the imperialist war into a civil war! It called for agitation among the masses for socialist revolution. The resolution was defeated by the centrists and pacifists, as a similar resolution was later defeated at the Zimmer-

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...VANGUARD NEWSLETTER

interesting discussion topics.

While a leader in the CT, Fender favored conscription and called for trade union control of Nixon's army. The "proletarian military policy" either reflects utopian illusions or social chauvinist impulses. In the case of the CT, it also reflected a machismo world-view—a worship of the army because it is tough and manly. The CT ranks felt so strongly about this position that they refused to unite with Turner's draft-dodger protegee, Sherwood. But for politicians of the calibre of Fender and Turner fundamental differences in policy toward the army—the essence of the bourgeois state—are no bar to unity.

Mythical Rank and File Caucuses

Despite its flexible membership standards, VNL wasn't doing so well. Therefore, early this year, Turner came up with an even looser group in the guise of a pan-union oppositional formation, the Committee for Rank and File Caucuses, based on only two programmatic demands: opposition to state wage control and support for a labor party. The purpose of the CRFC is to enable some impotent literary grouplets—VNL, Socialist Forum, the "New York Revolutionary Committee"—to pretend to have a labor movement orientation.

The CRFC is a completely phony gimmick. VNL has no union caucuses, has no influence in any union caucuses, and conducts no mass work except for an occasional leaflet. Turner might just as well have called a "national network of soviets" since VNL is currently just as active in organizing soviets as it is in organizing union caucuses.

For Leninists, a union caucus is a means for winning the most advanced workers to the vanguard party through the process of struggle. The party intervenes through party fractions, the arm of the party in mass organizations of the class. A union caucus is necessarily an alternative embryonic union leadership and must have a transitional program comprehensive enough to provide consistent communist leadership of that union. The CRFC is that classic centrist concept—the *programmatic united front* substituting for a party. A united front is a tactical alliance to fight for specific aims. It is not a permanent organization capable of leading the class. The CRFC is simply a means by which opportunists can "unite" without taking any responsibility for one another, leaving each component free to pursue its own particular hobbyhorse ("Trotskyism," DeLeonism, Maoist adventurism) while hanging together for mutual back-scratching (as over the St. Louis incident) and a semblance of wider influence.

Turner's opportunism is particularly visible in the CRFC's two-point program. In the 1968 faction fight, Turner essentially reduced the communist trade union program to the upgrading of poorly paid black workers. But if the fight against the oppression of black workers was everything for Turner then, it is nothing for him now. The CRFC program does not even *mention* the race question!

The March issue of *VNL* began yet another series of articles on the Spartacist League, again attacking the SL as a "not very serious student-oriented personality cult around James Robertson" in an article typically entitled "The Spartacist League: A 'Workers Vanguard' for Students." What unleashed this latest spate of VNL vicious attacks on the SL for its supposed "student orientation" was the SL's intervention into the CRFC's "founding conference" on January 25. What Turner, assiduously cultivating the image of an "honest worker," does not bother to mention was that while he himself is a senior professional in a white-collar job complete with private secretary, the SL supporters who attended the CRFC meeting as observers consisted of our trade union director, a long-time delegate for a city employees' union and the editor of an oppositional caucus newspaper in a transport union. And behind that delegation lay a history of struggle to construct real union caucuses based on a transitional program, a proven capacity to carry *communist* politics into the union movement, and a rapidly growing involvement in oppositional struggles in the working class.

The SL never mechanically equates an individuals's political line directly with his personal social status. But Turner's deliberately constructed proletarian image is a fraud. More than most left-wing organizations, VNL is defined by its social composition. VNL consists of older, materially well-off radicals who have come through harder, more dynamic organizations. They are burnt out, reacting against the pressures of an aggressive organization and resentful of the demands which such an organization makes upon its experienced and leading members.

If Turner had been remotely principled, he would have become a hospital worker carrying out the policy he claims was the basis for his opposition in and split from the SL. Turner claimed he had an iron-clad formula for winning black workers, which was not vitiated by small size (e.g., the MLCRC after the loss of its only two hospital workers). In the years since he left the SL, the Turner grouping has done *no* trade union work and virutally no mass work of any kind. Turner has become a parasitic intriguer in the ostensibly Trotskyist movement seeking blocs with anyone he can find. Despite his posturing in his resignation from the SL that he did not "intend to build or join an anti-Spartacist League," the subjective impulse in the formation of VNL was nothing more than Harry Turner's wounded ego pouring out hostility and slander against the SL.

The Politics of Dilettantism

When Turner left the SL, the instability that he had shown while an SL member became an all-consuming desire to show us up no matter how. But in the years since then, the underlying political impulse which led to his break has been spelled out. At bottom, the VNL is a second-string IS, and it is indeed the IS that VNL resembles in its practice, but superficially without the burden of the discreditable history of the IS. VNL and IS often compete for the same recruits and have shown a capacity to transfer membership smoothly. Where Fender joined VNL, his former comrades in the CT joined IS. When Turner's long-time supporters, Fredricks, Davis and Robins, left VNL they joined IS. Since the formal politics of VNL and IS are not particularly similar, it is clear that their similar attraction for such people stems from another factor. VNL and IS are the most finished expressions of dilettantism among ostensibly revolutionary groups.

As James Cannon observed, participation in the revolutionary movement often burns out people and destroys their combativeness. The cadres of a serious communist organization function under considerable inner tension. They must take responsibility for the political lives and well-being of their comrades, are held strictly accountable for their actions and opinions, must suppress subjective impulses for the sake of the collective and often have their pride hurt in internal political struggle. These pressures on a communist militant are particularly difficult to withstand in the U.S., where a pervasive anti-communist social climate degrades and ridicules the concept of a professional revolutionary.

Thus the revolutionary movement inevitably throws off burnt-out shells. These rejects often retain a certain interest in and sympathy for revolutionary ideas. They find or create organizations like IS or VNL that allow them to dabble in revolutionary politics, but do not demand a disciplined participation or a necessarily high level of activity. The VNL group is essentially a rest home for burnt-out would-be communists. Most of its supporters belong there and we have no interest in them. However, we must set the record straight in the interests of communist sanitation, and we have an obligation to try to deflect younger comrades from entering, out of naivete or lack of knowledge, this final resting place for the rejects of our movement.

We have not very often been the object of repeated public polemical attack, the involuted 1984 logic of Tim Wohlforth aside. And considering that Turner appears bent on devoting the rest of his natural life to us, it becomes objectively necessary, despite the source, to wipe the smears off our political reputation. As Marxists, we are not committed solely to day-to-day tasks, but rather to the continuing historical responsibility to shape the future of the revolutionary movement as well. We assert and are prepared to prove against any challenge that the Spartacist League is the organizational embodiment of revolutionary Marxism and stands qualitatively above and counterposed to all the imposters. To leave a Turner unscathed might permit the impression to prevail that we are but the best of that dreary lot of contemporary radical fauna in America—e.g., CP, PL, SWP, IS, NCLC—that each in its own way are break-down products of the theoretical incisiveness and whole-hearted committment in class struggle that are the true heritage of Lenin's Third and Trotsky's Fourth internationals. ■

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West Coast NPAC

SWP could reach a compromise with the pro-McGovern leaders caucusing in the next room. This provided an unusually long discussion period, during which the SWP was forced into a defensive posture on its left flank, against numerous SL/RCY speakers. Finally, a McGovern spokesman announced that after caucusing, the McGovern forces were withdrawing their request for official NPAC endorsement, since that would run against NPAC's official "independence." He neglected to mention that it would also run the risk of breaking up a convenient recruiting ground for liberal Democrats!

The "Power" of the Anti-war Movement

During the discussion, an SL spokesman pointed out that the NLF offensive created an "anti-war" bourgeoisie, which finds the slogan "out now" totally acceptable to its current imperialist needs, resulting in a swelling of McGovern and NPAC forces. NPAC spokesman Stephanie Coontz argued that the "power" of the anti-war movement forced the bourgeoisie to consider withdrawal. As the official NPAC resolution said, "The movement drove Lyndon Johnson out of politics; forced Richard Nixon to get the troops out of Cambodia and withdraw half a million GI's from Vietnam; and turned public sentiment decisively against the war." Yet this "powerful" anti-war movement has been going for seven years and Nixon continues bombing with impunity! It was in fact the power of the DRV/NLF armies which accomplished the above feats, in the 1968 Tet offensive and the 1970 Cambodia battle particularly.

An NPAC spokesman boasted, "*we* built McGovern; McGovern didn't build the anti-war movement," to which an SL member responded, "Yes, that's true, NPAC did build McGovern!" SWP big-wig Harry Ring soon got up to restore the facade of SWP radicalism by stating he would vote for Jenness/Pulley in November; but at the same time, he asserted that we all have a duty to "rally the American people" against "this monstrous war." Ring concluded by saying everyone should "go their own way" on election day as long as unity is achieved. The Jenness/Pulley campaign, based on a liberal program hardly distinguishable from that of Shirley Chisholm, except for the "socialist" label, serves qualitatively the same function as the Communist Party's campaign: a left cover for the party's connection with the Democrats. The only difference is that the CP is more brazen about its intentions inside the Democrat Party. While Ring votes SWP, the bourgeoisie will go its own way with the youth collected by the SWP's pop front!

In the summing-up remarks, SL spokesman Al Nelson ripped into the SWP, recalling that "a line was drawn in blood last year," and charging, "this place reeks of bourgeois pacifism." Nelson noted the obvious deal that had been made between the SWP and the pro-McGovern forces and demanded of the SWP, "quit calling yourselves Trotskyists" and join McGovern openly. He emphasized the most important aspect of the SL/RCY motion—expulsion of the bougeoisie.

As expected, the official NPAC resolution was passed overwhelmingly, but the SL/RCY proposal received a solid bloc of about 40 votes, emerging clearly as the only communist opposition present. The other "opposition" resolutions received a tiny handful of votes each. Once again, as the SWP delivers its pop-front supporters to McGovern, NPAC has served as a litmus test for principled politics, and only the SL/RCY passed. ■

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...Women's Movement

wald Conference. But the congress was an important step in the re-crystallization of a revolutionary tendency in opposition to the social-patriotic renegades of the Second International, and was thus part of the process of polarization culminating in the founding of a new International —the Third International.

In Petrograd in early fall of 1917, the Bolshevik Bureau for Work among Women held its first Conference of Working Women. As part of the work of the conference the Party and non-Party delegates were acquainted with the goals of the Bolsheviks and prepared for the expected uprising. The conference was interrupted by the outbreak of the Bolshevik seizure of power, in which the delegates actively participated, reassembling afterwards to resume their deliberations.

"An International Communist Women's Movement"

Within the Second International itself no special body responsible for work among women had ever been established. It was left to the first four congresses of the Third International to extend and codify the work begun earlier by the German and Russian parties. Debate continued to rage within the Communist movement over the form of organization to be used in capitalist and soviet states. In her 1920 *Recollections of Lenin* Clara Zetkin quotes Lenin on the question:

> "The first proletarian dictatorship is truly paving the way for the complete social equality of women. It eradicates more prejudice than volumes of feminist literature. However, in spite of all this, we do not yet have an international Communist women's movement and we must have one without fail. We must immediately set about starting it. Without such a movement, the work of our International and of its parties is incomplete and never will be complete. Yet our revolutionary work has to be fulfilled in its entirety....
>
> "The Party must have organs—working groups, commissions, committees, sections or whatever else they may be called—with the specific purpose of rousing the broad masses of women, bringing them into contact with the Party and keeping them under its influence. This naturally requires that we carry on systematic work among the women. We must teach the awakened women, win them over for the proletarian class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, and equip them for it.... The lack of interest in politics and the otherwise anti-social and backward psychology of these masses of women, the narrow scope of their activities and the whole pattern of their lives are undeniable facts. It would be silly to ignore them, absolutely silly."

Discussion on the question led to the First Conference of Communist Women held in 1920 on the initiative of the First Congress of the Communist International, which established an International Secretariat for work among women with permanent representation on the Executive Committee of the International. While ruling out special communist organizations of women outside the party, the Congress made the establishment of special administrative and organizational bodies within *all* party committees, "from the biggest to the smallest," legal and illegal, obligatory. The "Thesis on Methods of Work Among the Women of the Communist Party" (Third Congress of the Third International, July 1921) stated:

> "Woman's struggle against her double oppression (capitalism and her home and family subservience), at its highest stage of development assumes an international character, becoming identified with the struggle of the proletariat of both sexes under the banner of the Third International for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet System.
>
> "...the Third Congress, nevertheless, believes that in view of: a) the present conditions of subjection prevailing not only in the bourgeois capitalist countries, but also in countries under the Soviet system, undergoing transition from capitalism to communism; b) the great inertness and political ignorance of the masses of women, due to the fact that they have been for centuries barred from social life and to age-long slavery in the family; and c) the special functions imposed upon women by nature—childbirth, and the peculiarities attached to this, calling for the protection of her strength and health in the interests of the entire community, the Third Congress therefore considers it necessary to find special methods of work among the women of the Communist Parties and establishes a standard of special apparatus within the Communist Parties for the realization of this work."

The purposes of such bodies for systematic work among women were to bring communist women into deeper party involvement, to draw new layers of women into the party, to fight backward prejudices among both sexes in order to foster consciousness of their common interest in proletarian revolution, and to wage a relentless battle against traditional bourgeois customs, laws and ideology. Work among women was seen as the task of the whole party:

> "The women's committee must see to it that agitation among the large masses of the women proletariat be included in the general work of the party; that it does not remain a special task of a small handful of communist women. They must make all efforts that the agitation among the women becomes a branch of the whole movement, that it be carried on by all organizational and political means at the disposal of the Party, and be supported by the full authority of the Party and its various organs."

Special propaganda organs directed toward women were initiated. Particular emphasis was laid on the importance of linking the work of the women's section with communist fractions in the trade unions. This stemmed from the understanding that the full integration of women into the work force, particularly the key layers of the industrial proletariat, was a crucial step in their political development and a necessary part of forging unity in the working class.

The communist women were to carry the full program and banner of the party among women as part of the task of preparing the proletariat to take power:

> "The women's committees must put forward the most important tasks of the proletariat, fight for the unabridged slogans of the Communist Party, of the Communists against the bourgeoisie and social compromisers.
>
> "While participating in the legislative, municipal and other organizations of bourgeois States, Communist women should strictly adhere to the tactics of the party, not concerning themselves so much with the realization of reforms within the limits of the bourgeois world order, as taking advantage of every live question and demand of the working women, as watch-words by which to lead the women into the active mass struggle for these demands, through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

After the seizure of power in 1917, the Bolshevik party began with great determination to overturn all the oppressive laws and institutions which prevented women from participating as full and equal members of society. The Bolsheviks undertook systematic agitational campaigns to uproot and destroy the backward prejudices and social practices which were the heritage of capitalism. Special departments under the auspices of the party engaged peasant and working-class women from throughout the Soviet Union in carrying out the practical tasks of fulfilling the needs of working women, as well as general administrative and political tasks. During this period the Bolshevik Central Committee published two journals directed at peasant and proletarian women, and over sixty provincial periodicals and newspapers were published.

Tremendous advances were made in the status of Soviet women. The fundamental propositions first stated by Engels in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* guided this undertaking:

> "...to emancipate woman and make her the equal of the man is and remains an impossibility so long as the woman is shut out from the social productive labor and restricted to private domestic labor. The emancipation of women will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time."

Social dining halls, laundry and child-care, enlightened legislation concerning marriage, divorce, abortion and illegitimacy struck real blows at the family as the main social institution of women's oppression. The women's department dealt with particular problems in the education of women, drawing women into participation in the work force more fully than ever before.

The Stalinist thermidor brutally reversed many of these gains, and resurrected all the backward mythology about the family and the role for women. But the achievements of the Bolsheviks remain a historic record of the enormous possibilities for human freedom and development when state power is wielded by the working class. ■

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France ...

the dollar and the pound, in which the U.S. bourgeoisie has tried to foist its own economic problems off onto the backs of the working class and petty-bourgeoisie internationally (as well as within the U.S.), have had their effects on France. Beginning in 1970-71 and increasing at a rapid rate up to the present, inflation and unemployment have increased significantly in France. According to the official government agency, the rate of inflation was 3% in 1970-71, but since mid-1971 has been about 6% a year. The price index administered by the CP-controlled Confédération Générale du Travail, France's largest union, shows a rate of about 9% over the last year.

Although European countries have long had low unemployment rates by U.S. standards, unemployment is growing significantly. In France, it has doubled between January 1971 and July 1972, and is currently about 2.3% (400,000). The government compounds unemployment by its manipulation of imported foreign labor—from North Africa, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Italy. Foreign labor is used to depress wages, to attack the unions (foreign workers can be deported immediately with no reason given, and are therefore extremely difficult to organize) and as a reserve labor army. (This is a policy France shares with other advanced European countries, notably Germany and Switzerland.) The problem of unemployment is particularly severe among younger workers, including the ex-student population.

This is the background against which we must view the important strikes of the past year or so: the Renault strike of May 1971, the railroad strike of June 1971, the Paris subway strike of October 1971. In addition, there have been numerous strikes in minor industries or small plants which have taken on national importance due to the role played by various political groups: Pennaroya, Girosteel, Joint Français, Creusot-Loire (Dunkirk), Paris-Nantes, Nouvelles Galeries (Thionvielle and Richemont), Berliet, to name only the most important between March and June of 1972.

In any discussion of the French left, it is important to distinguish among the "left", i.e., the CP and the traditional socialist groups, and the "extreme left" and "ultra-left." The CP lumps everyone to its left together as "gauchistes"—the ultra-left. "Gauchisme" is almost universally a pejorative term, due to both its association with the anarchist-spontaneist wings of the student movement in 1968 (Cohn-Bendit, etc.) and also the fact that "gauchisme" is the French term for "left-wing communism" which Lenin criticized so harshly. With the partial exception of the Ligue Communiste (section of the United Secretariat and fraternal party to the SWP), French ostensibly Trotskyist groups, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste and Lutte Ouvrière, reject the term "gauchisme." They view "gauchisme" as symptomatic of a degenerate

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France...

petty-bourgeois milieu and refer to themselves as the "extreme left."

Renault

Especially in view of the fact that gauchiste milieus have tended to glorify these recent strikes and hold them up as examples for working-class action, it is important to appraise them carefully. The most important strike is doubtless that at Renault in May 1971. Any strike at Renault takes on immediate significance, not only because of the economic importance of Renault in France (Renault is the eighth largest auto manufacturer in the world and employs over 90,000 workers), but also because the Renault factory at Billancourt (which employs 38,000 workers) is on the edge of Paris, within the Paris subway system, and because ever since the 1920's Renault has been the bastion of Communist Party influence in the working class. Renalt-Billancourt has played a leading role in every major class upsurge in France. Thus it is extremely important that the 1971 strike began as a wildcat—which became total, including workers' occupation of the factory—only a few months after a new contract (claimed as a "victory" by the CGT)—was signed.

Since that time, there has been continued small-scale activity at Renault, and the action of the Renault workers has put an intense squeeze on profits. Renault is a "nationalized" industry which receives a government subsidy of some $30 million a year (150 million francs). In 1971, Renault had only the second deficit of its history—$36 million (197 million francs). (The first, in 1961, was $2 million.) This is not entirely due to the strike, since although profits in 1969 were about $28 million, in 1970 they were only $1 million.

This sheds light on the significance of other strikes. The overwhelming majority of these strikes have been in marginal industries or factories, or in state-owned factories which are attempting to be competitive on the capitalist market. These marginal enterprises are relatively highly vulnerable, while strikes in the nationalized industries constitute a direct attack on the state. To the extent that French capitalism is caught in a squeeze between the U.S., Germany and Japan, these strikes are also a prefiguration of what may be in store in other, apparently more "healthy," industries (Renault, etc.). The fact that political elements in these strikes are never far from the surface and that significant demands revolve around issues of working conditions and layoffs adds to the worried premonitions of the bourgeoisie.

The Union Apparatuses

The political underpinnings of these strikes are emphasized by the structure and organization of unions in France, which is vastly different from that of the U.S. There are three main unions: the CP-controlled CGT, the Church-initiated (and still Church-dominated) Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail, and the Force Ouvrière. In addition, there are many smaller and independent unions as well as a number of company unions. Since the union shop does not exist in France, all unions can compete for representation in the same factory. In addition, since the largest union, the CGT, is controlled by the CP, competition among unions is also immediately political in nature, and tends to revolve around an anti-communist axis. Thus, for example, members of one union frequently will not follow or respect a strike call of another union within the same industry. This spring, in the Post Office, the CFDT and FO refused to honor a 24-hour strike called by the CGT, and the CGT in turn worked during 24-hour strike actions called by the CFDT and then by FO. None of the unions maintain strike funds, and the CGT has fought attempts to start them up. Strikes are traditionally called for only 24 or 48 hours (although this has changed somewhat since 1968). The splintering of unions can also be seen in its most absurd form in, for example, the Paris subway system, where each subway line within the system has a different local. It can and does happen therefore that one subway line will call a 24-hour strike which is respected by none of the other lines. Given this sort of exercise in futility, it is small wonder that the urge toward militant united action is rising. French strikes have traditionally been less militant than those in the U.S., but recent strikes have increasingly been marked by violence and police intervention. In most of the strikes listed above, the police, National Guard ("Gardes Mobiles") or the special riot/tactical police, the CRS, have intervened.

Faced with the threat of a class upsurge, the unions and the party bureaucrats have evolved a number of ways of trying to deal with the situation.

Informations Ouvrieres, 8-15 March 1972

Militants of the AJS participate in the mass demonstration against Pierre Overney's murderers.

The CFDT, the Pabloist Ligue Communiste and the gauchiste groups have tended to play up many strike situations—Pennaroya, Girosteel, Joint Français, Nouvelles Galeries—by organizing strike support committees which, given the lack of union strike funds, have in some cases provided significant material support through national fund-raising campaigns.

The Ligue in particular has viewed these strikes as "exemplary," that is, as strikes which are held up as a model to the working class. The formation of support committees, the involvement of (external) political elements, the attempt to rally the support of the population (since many of these strikes have taken place in relatively isolated areas), are offered by the Ligue, not as a sign of its weakness, but as evidence for its theory of implanting itself in the working class by moving from the "periphery"—some Ligue presence in marginal industries, virtually no implantation in key industries—to the "center" of the class.

In typical Pabloist fashion, the Ligue has virtually abandoned any attempts at direct implantation in the class on the grounds that the class and its principal union, the CGT, are too closely bound to the Stalinists. The Ligue makes the actual weakness of its implantation in the class into a theoretical virtue. It thus again demonstrates its Pabloist nature by searching for a revolutionary agent everywhere but within the class itself, in this case through work from the outside or in marginal industries.

The CFDT, which after 1968 attempted to capitalize on the militancy of the younger workers especially, has adopted a "left" vocabulary and has also supported, though ultimatistically, these strikes. On the one hand the CFDT has urged long strikes (with no funds to support them, thus breeding discouragement and disillusionment) and on the other hand has supported these strikes only in isolated cases, refusing any appeal to *mass* working-class solidarity, which might threaten the position of the CFDT bureaucrats. Not surprisingly, the working class is beginning to react against this combination of adventurism and sellout by rejecting the CFDT. At Creusot-Loire, in a strike led by the CFDT and widely hailed in gauchiste milieus as a success, recent union elections resulted in a *loss* by the CFDT of nearly 40% of its votes from previous elections. At Paris-Nantes, the CFDT lost 30% of its votes. A two-month strike at Girosteel and a nine-week strike at Nouvelles Galeries, a department store, resulted in mass desertion from the CFDT and in each case the formation of a company union.

In recognition of this trend, the CFDT has most recently moved to expel left elements, in particular Trotskyists, from its ranks in order to move closer to the CGT. Two members of Lutte Ouvrière were expelled by the CFDT in the south of France, and the leadership has begun a campaign against the fractions of the Ligue Communiste in various areas.

The combination of the deterioration of the economic position of the French working class and the frequently adventuristic policies of the Pabloists and the gauchistes starkly highlights the question of revolutionary leadership and of the construction of a vanguard party. In France, the central task in building a Bolshevist party is to shatter the hegemony of the Stalinist Communist Party.

CP/CGT

Within the limits of its strategic aim of turning the class away from class struggle and toward collaboration with capital, the French CP is sometimes obliged to respond to the massive pressure of its base. In such cases, it combines limited actions with a slander campaign against the left.

The CP systematically amalgamates everyone to its left—spontaneists, anarchists, Maoists, Trotskyists, etc.—into part of a "gauchiste plot" on the part of the government to mislead the working class. Due to the adventurism of the Pabloists and gauchistes, this tactic has had a certain success. At times, however, it has backfired. Thus in February, when a member of the "parallel police" (plain-clothes armed company security guards) in the Renault factory shot and killed in cold blood a young Maoist worker, Pierre Overney, who was leafletting the factory, virtually all groups on the left—some seventeen in all—formed a united front to demonstrate at Overney's funeral against parallel police and call for their dissolution. The CP denounced the "violence" of the "gauchistes" but did not protest Overney's murder and refused to support the demonstration, which was nevertheless attended by 200,000 people including many workers and CP militants. When, however, a few days later, a Maoist commando group kidnapped Renault's personnel director in charge of firing, the CP's

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accusation could again take hold on the working class.

More recently, as the pressure exerted on the CP, in particular by the ostensible Trotskyist groups, has increased, the CGT union which controls the distribution of papers to newsstands has refused to distribute *Lutte Ouvrière*. As the election draws closer, and as the influence of the ostensible Trotskyist groups grows (as it has been doing rather steadily), the CP can be expected to increase its offensive against these groups.

Combined with its campaign of slander and denunciation, however, the CP has also been obliged to give the impression that it is "doing something." Thus the CGT called a "24-hour general strike" for June 7—which it itself helped sabotage by urging workers at, for example, Renault, not to go to the demonstration in Paris. It was not, in fact, a general strike at all. Further, the CP restricted the June 7 demonstrations to the most limited slogans possible—1,000 francs minimum monthly income and retirement at sixty—instead of in any way enlarging on these demands, which had been put forth in June 1968. Nevertheless, the June 7 action was a success. After boycotting the June 7 strike, the CFDT, with the background of the failure of its own "radical" strike actions, attempted to link up with the CGT. Together the CGT and CFDT called a bigger and better "general strike"—this time for *two hours!*—on June 23.

Pop Front Pact

The central element of CP policy, however, has been the signing of an electoral agreement between the CP and the SP. The agreement would form the platform for a future Popular Front government should the CP and SP win the parliamentary election which will take place before March 1973. The agreement was signed in the wake of what amounted to a defeat for the government in its April referendum on the Common Market. Although the government won a majority of votes cast, two-thirds of the French electorate either abstained or voted no. On the basis of those results, reflecting the deteriorating economic situation in France and a long series of financial scandals in the government, there exists a real possibility of the election of a CP-SP government in 1973, or at any rate a near-majority.

The pact signed between the CP and SP is much broader than the agreement which gave rise to the election of the Popular Front government in 1936. The pact is, all the same, a thinly disguised *betrayal* of the French workers' aspirations. Thus, the governmental program promises not to change the bourgeois Constitution which DeGaulle had enacted during his reign; although the program calls for nationalizing twenty-five of the largest industries in France, it virtually promises indemnification; it abounds in promises and assurances of its respect for (bourgeois) legality, law and order, etc. And to top it all off, it even contains an anti-communist (or, in this instance, anti-Trotskyist) clause which promises to prosecute anyone calling for the violent overthrow of the government!

At the same time, however, the agreement sets the stage for a possible upsurge which could seriously threaten the apparatus itself if the coalition should win the election, just as the general strike of 1936 began as a result of the feeling that a "socialist" (i.e., Pop Front) government had been elected. The fact that the CGT has begun experimentally supporting "hard," i.e., unlimited, strikes bears witness both to its need to respond to the movement of the class and the dangers inherent for it in this movement. In the wake of Pompidou's relative defeat in last April's referendum, he has carried out a major reshuffling of his government, including the resignation of the Prime Minister, Chaban-Delmas, and his replacement by Pierre Mesmer. While the government must maneuver in an attempt to maintain its "credibility" through the elections, the CP must on the one hand attempt to respond to the demands of its base sufficiently to retain its chances for a good showing in the elections, but at the same time not allow the development of large-scale militant strikes which might escape its control, spread to the class as a whole and become explicitly political. To a large extent, the results of the upcoming parliamentary elections will depend on the actions of the class and the CGT bureaucracy when the French return from their annual August vacations. ■

French Left

OCI Seeks Class Unity, Weakens Program

The French ostensibly Trotskyist movement is a critical arena in the battle of tendencies vying for the ideological and organizational mantle of Trotskyism on a world scale. The highly unstable objective situation in France thrusts the French movement to the forefront of the world-wide crisis of proletarian leadership. Moreover, there are in France three sizeable nominally Trotskyist organizations, each of which is associated with (and in some sense representative of) one of the international blocs which have been quantitatively preeminent in the ostensibly Trotskyist world movement over the past period.

The semi-state capitalist Lutte Ouvrière group, loosely associated with the British and U.S. International Socialism groups, adhered before May-June 1968 to a theory of linear recruitment in the class almost irrespective of the ebbs and flows of the class struggle, and oblivious to the need to seek to recruit individuals and groupings from other left organizations (possible particularly in times of dramatic working-class motion). LO was severely disoriented by the 1968 events, which shattered the traditional routinist preoccupations of the various organizations and strongly posed the objective need for united fronts among the tendencies to the left of the CP. Sharply overreacting in unprincipled fashion, LO responded by proposing lowest-common-denominator unification with the Ligue Communiste to form "not a Bolshevik but a revolutionary party." (This overture, persistently pursued by LO for months, allowed the Ligue to affirm a principled stance by pointing out that a party must be based on programmatic agreement.)

LO/Ligue Electoral Scheme

Since 1968 LO has continued its opportunism economism. It has publicly offered to cease opposition to the Communist Party (i.e., to give up being Trotskyist) if the CP would present and run on a program in the interests of the working class. LO's factory campaigns tend to center on particular grievances in a way strongly reminiscent of the SDS "rubber mats" campaigns. For the forthcoming elections, LO is entering into an election coalition with the Ligue. The two organizations plan to run some 200-300 candidates under a common banner at the national level, in part to gain access to state-paid television time. This is an enormous publicity undertaking, since a guarantee of slightly over $200 must be posted for each candidate, to which must be added the costs of the campaign.

The Ligue Communiste is simply following its 1968 performance, when it ran Alain Krivine for president and gained the publicity on which much of its growth has been based. The most left-wing extension of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," of which it is the largest section, the Ligue is imbued with latter-day Pabloist revisionism, whose central methodological constant is the downgrading of the revolutionary capacity of the industrial proletariat and the impressionistic attempt to find substitute "revolutionary" forces to tail-end.

The Ligue's analysis of the French situation is that since the working class is controlled by the Stalinists, it is therefore impossible to work at the heart of the class. The Ligue claims to work "from the periphery to the center," that is, to begin in marginal and service industries (bank clerks) and somehow organically "grow across" ("transcroître") into the major industrial centers. Like the original revisionist Bernstein who foresaw a peaceful transition to socialism, the Ligue projects an organic transition from a student-oriented and student-based group to a proletarian organization. In fact, there is no painless short-cut to the development of a proletarian base and cadre, and the Ligue's "theory" simply means forswearing efforts at implantation in the working class and eternally undertaking the same type of publicity operations.

OCI Calls for CP/SP Government

By far the most serious ostensibly Trotsyist organization in France is the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, which was until this year part of an international bloc around the British Socialist Labour League and which is now the leading element in the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International." The OCI is a serious political current with a persistently centrist thrust—i.e., an opportunist practice. In its international interventions, the OCI insists it is based directly on the application of the Transitional Program. In its press and public meetings, however, the OCI stresses almost exclusively the slogan of working-class unity and the demand for a workers government based on the exclusion of the bourgeoisie. Concretely, the OCI calls for a Communist Party-Socialist Party government.

The OCI clearly and consciously reduces the transitional program to this single demand, which supposedly incorporates the rest. For the OCI, the slogan of a CP-SP government is the "central political question today," which "means that *all* the determining factors of our policies are concentrated in this slogan...we have to support demands, but it is not the enumeration of demands which by itself allows us to advance if we do not have *at the center* of our politics *the* demand for the workers' government." (Stéphane Just, *The Workers and Peasants Government*, emphasis in original). A National Conference of the OCI in April 1972 passed a resolution calling for cooperation by all levels of the working class in the fight for a workers' government. The resolution insists that the OCI "demands no other political commitment than that of breaking with the bourgeoisie" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 12-17 April). And at a public speech to a meeting of over 3,000 on 5 May, Charles Berg, one of the leaders of the OCI and national secretary of the OCI's de facto youth group, said categorically that "the OCI does not intend to impose its program as an ultimatum."

The Struggle for Program

The OCI relegates to a subordinate position, or even omits entirely, the Bolshevik concept of struggle for political program *within* the united front, which Lenin and Trotsky always saw as inseparable from the struggle for class unity through the united front. As Trotsky insisted in *What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat* (1932):

> "That a workers' party is compelled to carry out the policy of the united front—that is not to be gainsaid. But the policy of the united front has its dangers. Only an experienced and tested revolutionary party can carry out this policy successfully. *In any case, the policy of the united front cannot serve as a program for a revolutionary party.* And in the meantime the entire activity of the SAP is now being built on it. As a result, the policy of the united front is carried over into the party itself, that is, it serves to smear over the contradictions between the various tendencies. And that is precisely the fundamental function of centrism." [our emphasis]

Subordination of its full program is precisely the policy of the OCI. Although the OCI has a program, one has to hunt to find it. It is everywhere submerged like, as Trotsky put it, "treasure at the bottom of the ocean" which does no one any good.

During the 1968 events, when what was required was above all a clear-cut drawing of the political lines in order to expose the reformist betrayal of the CP, the OCI originally called for a single

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Fake Lefts Conciliate...

who declared that the Labor for Peace proposal was the only one in order. Mazey went on to explain that Labor for Peace is a "voluntary organization of trade unionists"—such innocence!—and that "we're trying to broaden our base, not narrow it." So much for the *Bulletin's* screaming headline, "Labor Party Fight Rips St. Louis Conference"!

The Workers League labor party proposals never *counterpose* themselves to the reformist, sellout *policies* of the labor bureaucracy; instead they lend credence to the bureaucrats' leadership of the unions by providing them with a left cover. The Workers League maintains "left pressure" on bureaucrats, who have been committed to capitalism and capitalist parties for decades, by "demanding" that they form a labor party. Although other "demands" are occasionally mentioned, and the *Bulletin* refers vaguely to an unspecified "socialist program" for the labor party, these are worthless abstractions since neither in print nor in practice does the Workers League ever do anything *concrete* to criticize or separate itself from the bureaucrats whom it hopes will lead the labor party. This extends to the most hopelessly compromised reactionaries, such as I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers and George Meany himself, if they make the smallest muttering about forming a labor party (see "Labor and the Elections," this issue).

The "Call For Rank and File Conference" proposal, which was pushed by the International Socialists and resulted in the formation of a "Rank and File Caucus" at the conference, showed the same method of bureaucratic tailism as the Workers League. The proposal stated, "We believe that this conference has the potential to begin to rejuvenate the labor movement and make it a fighting movement for social progress," thus lending full confidence to a hypocritical bureaucratic maneuver. Although the July issue of the IS *Workers' Power* had demanded that the "pro-Democratic Party electoral orientation of the leadership" of Labor for Peace "must be defeated, in favor of building an independent party of the labor movement," the IS subordinated itself to the "Rank and File Caucus" and totally neglected to fight for this demand at the conference. The "Rank and File" program concentrated on the unresponsiveness of the union leaderships in not mobilizing the rank and file against the war, the inaccessibility of the conference to rank and filers, etc., although it included denunciation of the Democrats and Republicans (with no alternative) and called for a one-day work stoppage.

IS Amends Social Patriotism

Steve Zeluck, a delegate from New Rochelle Federation of Teachers, presented the proposal for a work stoppage *in the form of an amendment* to the official Labor for Peace policy statement, a patriotic, pro-imperialist statement which read in part: "It is self-evident that this nightmare of killing has gone on far too long, and that this war is illegal and not in our national interest" and "It is self-evident that this war has severely tarnished the good name and moral leadership of our country in the arena of world opinion." Nowhere does the *Workers' Power* report of the conference (August) criticize this statement, except to say that the conference organizers "intend to do nothing" to carry it out! The "Rank and File Caucus" and its IS backers thus *endorsed* the labor bureaucrats' entire program and analysis, only proposing an action contingent upon that analysis!

Although only about 20% of the delegates voted, there was enough support in a straw poll for this amendment to alarm the callers of the conference, such as Harry Bridges of the ILWU, who demagogically attacked the amendment later (there was not enough support, however, to justify the IS' pompous *Workers' Power* headline, "Rank and File Caucus Shakes Labor for Peace Conference. . . "). In fact, the labor bureaucrats might someday lead one-day political strikes, as their class-traitor brothers in the large workers parties of Europe sometimes do, but only when such an action is simply a harmless protest—an "escape valve"—to head off even greater militancy. This is the only meaning such an amendment to the wretchedly social patriotic program of these pro-capitalist bureaucrats could have.

Stalinists Exclude Left Wing

Like the Workers League, the NCLC blows up its self-importance by claiming that its strike-support proposal dominated the TUAD Conference and was the basis for the exclusion of the Labor Committee and its supporters. What the CP was really afraid of was *any* criticism from the left of its effort to build support for McGovern and the Democratic Party in the elections. Supporters of the Spartacist League, Revolutionary Communist Youth, Workers League, and caucus representatives from NMU, AFSCME, UFT, AFT, UAW and taxi and hospital unions were violently excluded along with the Labor Committee. CP goons fingered known left-wingers as "disrupters" despite the fact that no disruption of the conference had even been threatened. The dissidents were herded into a small room, supposedly for investigation by the "credentials committee," and then expelled. Others were barred at the door with questions like, "Are you a member of the Spartacist League?" Inside the hall, a floor fight erupted over the question of the exclusions. Two supporters of the Workers League got the floor during the debate on rules, but spoke against the exclusion of *their own supporters only*, ignoring the principled question of the exclusions. After several futile attempts to gain the floor, the large NCLC delegation moved to the front of the hall and were physically ejected by CP goons. Supporters of the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth, some of whom had been inadvertently allowed in by the goons, walked out in protest of the mass exclusions after efforts to raise the issue from the floor proved futile.

While NCLC leader L. Marcus discusses exclusion with Chicago cops, SL/RCY members on joint picket line protest both exclusion and the use of cops within the labor movement.

Unlike the opportunist Workers League, which wormed its way into bureaucratic favor in order to remain in and present its proposal undisturbed by principled questions, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union was prevented from entering its resolution, "For a Labor Party Based On a Militant Program," because of its principled defense of the victims of Stalinist gangsterism. This resolution, which included a full program, stated that, "it is the reformist trade union bureaucracy, both 'progressive' and reactionary, which ties labor to the politicians of the capitalist parties," and called "for a labor party. . .to mobilize the entire struggle against the influence of the capitalist parties in the unions and the reign of their bureaucratic agents."

After the expulsions, a picket line was set up outside the hall by supporters of the NCLC, Spartacist League, and others. Members of the Workers League refused to join the picket, thereby supporting the exclusion. At a later point in the conference, the Workers League crossed the picket line en masse after having made a deal with some of their bureaucrat friends to allow them readmission to the conference. Although they feebly protested their *own* exclusion from TUAD, at the Labor for Peace Conference the previous weekend the WL had excluded all other tendencies from their publicly advertised forum, "The UAW Convention and the Fight to Build a Labor Party."

The Stalinophobic Nonsense of the NCLC

The Labor Committee's response to the TUAD events intensified the pattern of Stalinophobic reflex they have established against hooligan attacks and slanders suffered at the hands of the CP over the past several months. This reached a hilarious crescendo in the 17-21 July issue of *New Solidarity*, which stated.

> "As of the Chicago TUAD events, the socialist movement has entered a new, decisive phase.]:[In the weeks ahead the left as a whole will realize something we and the Communist Party (CP) already know: that there are only two serious alternative tendencies, crystallized in two organizations: the popular front or the class-for-itself—the CP or the National Caucus of Labor Committees.]:["

It is quite proper that the NCLC should see the CP as its chief competitor, since their "class-for-itself" politics have essentially the same popular front character as the more orthodox CP variety. The "Build Strike Support Coalitions" proposal which it tried to present to the TUAD conference is a hodge-podge of crackpot theories and a denial of the fundamental tenets of Marxism. The "coalitions" are to unite "*as equals*" workers, lumpen and petty-bourgeois elements which can never be "equal" until the abolition of classes under socialism. The program for these "coalitions," which are supposed to transcend "narrow trade union forms," is nevertheless nothing more than simple trade union economism. Furthermore, the NCLC places *conditions* on bourgeois politicians rather than demanding a break *in principle*: "TUAD will refuse all support to candidates for public office *who advocate wage-controls in any form*" (emphasis ours). Thus all the political elements of the classical pop front are present in the "class-for-itself": a coalition comprising many class elements, a reformist program subordinating working-class interests to demands acceptable to the petty-bourgeois and bureaucratic "allies," and an unprincipled conditional approach to the capitalist policicians, leaving open the

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possibility of a bloc if conditions are agreed upon.

The NCLC's attempt to put together a "united front" for defense against the CP has revealed the same pop frontist approach including indiscriminate appeals to all anti-CP forces, without regard for their class nature. They approached both the class-collaborationist Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) and the equally pop frontist, single-issue Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) in this endeavor. Furthermore, during the TUAD conference NCLC leader Lynn Marcus made a personal report to a Chicago cop who approached the picket line, informing him of the NCLC's exclusion from the conference and identifying the Communist Party as the executors of this action, thus providing the police with an excuse to raid or harass the meeting! This frenzied attempt to create an all-class anti-communist bloc against the CP can only play directly into the hands of those in the Stalinist parties who regularly invoke the charge of "police agents," etc., against their left-wing critics.

At the same time, the Labor Committee seeks to regroup with a large segment of the CP, with which it demonstrates such methodological kinship. The "Call for United Defense" printed in the same *New Solidarity* contains the absurd characterization that the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956 abandoned Stalinist hooliganism and " 'Moscow Trial'-type slanders"! The NCLC knows very well that the 20th Congress, which was followed shortly by the crushing of the political revolution in Hungary, in no way abandoned *any* fundamental aspect of Stalinism. This gross political softness is an opportunist ploy toward what the NCLC sees as "reformed" elements within the mainstream of Stalinism.

For Principled Defense of the Left!

On the basis of this "Call," *New Solidarity* claimed that Spartacist had "agreed to attend a planning meeting.". No such agreement had been made, since it would have implied political support not only to the nonsense in the "Call," but also to the class-collaborationist bloc and the provocative campaign the NCLC was waging against the CP in general. In rebuking the NCLC for this false claim (which was withdrawn in a later issue of *New Solidarity*), the SL pointed out its continuing commitment to the principle that all groups within the labor movement have a right to exist and freely propagate their ideas in public (see "Open Letter to the NCLC," available free on request). It is the duty of all militants and socialists to defend *any* group on the left—including the Stalinist hypocrites themselves—against any specific assault on this right. As we demonstrated at the TUAD conference, we unconditionally support united front defense against such assaults.

The politics of the fake-lefts at the Labor for Peace and TUAD Conferences—WL, IS, NCLC—all clearly demonstrated their inability to pose a working-class alternative to the reformism of the Communist Party and the labor bureaucracy. Each by its own particular method of opportunism served as an apologist and left cover for these same reformist politics. The construction of a revolutionary leadership in the labor movement, able to lead the struggle forward towards the socialist revolution, will never be won by such methods. Failure to ruthlessly expose the sellout policies of the labor bureaucracy and reliance on a single popular issue or organizational gimmick may gain temporary allies, but in the long run will only lead to defeat and postponement of the class consciousness needed to drive the working class forward in the struggle for power.

The Only Correct Course

The Spartacist League seeks to build a revolutionary leadership by the only means available: the organizing of caucuses and the creation of a communist cadre in the unions on the basis of a revolutionary program of transitional demands. This program calls for breaking state wage controls; a sliding scale of wages and hours; opposition to the special oppression of Blacks, other minorities and women; opposition to protectionist nationalism with its threat of third world war; strike action against the Vietnam war; defense of the Vietnamese Revolution and the deformed workers' states against imperialist attack; breaking the working class from the strangle-hold of the two capitalist parties; and building a workers' party based on the labor movement and committed to a transitional program.■

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OCI...

workers' candidate in the elections *without a program*. Justifying this policy, the OCI wrote:

> "But what about program? Didn't a single candidate put up by the workers' organizations need a program? What was it developing into? In these specific circumstances, the development of a program for the government of the united workers' organizations derived from this joint campaign. By fighting for the defeat of the candidates of the bourgeoisie, the working class would have given a class content to the united campaign of the workers' organizations."
>
> —Stéphane Just, *Defense of Trotskyism*

When a unified campaign did not develop, however, the OCI called for a boycott of the elections, on the grounds that participation in them simply meant approving the final destruction of the general strike.

The OCI and the CP

The OCI apparently interprets its application of the tactic of the united front to mean downplaying explicit criticism of the working-class organizations, in particular the CP. Thus in the first issue of *IO* after the CP-SP pact—an issue in which one would have expected a rather extensive critique of the pact—we read:

> "No working-class organization which cares about defending the interests of workers and youth can content itself with criticizing the bankruptcy of other working-class parties and opposing its demands to theirs. At a time when the entire economic and political situation impels workers to rise up against capital and the bourgeois State... revolutionary militants who fight in and for their class cannot counterpose their own ideas (which they continue to defend) to the search for a means of working-class unity capable of getting rid of the Pompidou-Chabal government.
>
> "Of course it would be very easy for us to undertake the 'critique' of the 'common program for a government'.... But that is not our intention at present. We have no intention of placing ourselves within the framework of the Marchais-Mitterand program in order to make a 'left-wing' critique of it. We leave that sort of game to Krivine [Ligue Communiste]."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 5-12 July 1972

Similarly, an OCI militant who intervened at the CGT congress in April raised several questions: the sellout of the Paris subway strike of October 1971, the CGT's attitude to the Overney murder, the political trials in Czechoslovakia. But he did so without either explicitly identifying the CP or proposing any explicit programmatic alternative to the CP policy. This is in marked contrast to, for example, a speech Trotsky wrote for an intervention in the CGT in 1935. Like the OCI delegate, Trotsky began by asking leading questions about the real meaning of some ambiguous phrases which are the Stalinists' stock in trade. But unlike the OCI militant, Trotsky then went on to pose at some length a programmatic alternative to the program and actions of the CP. The OCI limits itself to asking leading questions without posing an alternative. When the downplaying of OCI criticism of the CP was questioned by a number of people present at an OCI educational in Paris, *IO's* account of several OCI educationals quoted two of these questions but did not even attempt to answer them or justify its policy, merely stating: "Those are the real questions. That is the beginnings of an outline of a discussion entirely oriented toward a precise objective: how to construct the revolutionary party...." (*IO*, 21-28 June 1972).

It is not enough for the OCI to quote Trotsky's calls for a Blum-Cachin government in 1935, or to protest that it criticizes the CP privately or implicitly. That is no doubt true, but as Trotsky wrote in *Whither France?*: "As soon as principled political differences are not manifested openly and actively... they cease thereby to exist politically." The OCI bases itself on a one-sided allegiance to Trotsky's writings on the united front, including only his calls for class unity but neglecting his insistence on sharp polemics against centrists. This is evident in the most recent issue of *La Vérité* (No. 557) where the OCI quotes only from Trotsky's attacks against third period Stalinism in *What Next?* and ignores his criticisms of the centrist SAP in the same article.

Hard Trotskyist Stand Needed

In the absence of explicit principled programmatic counterposition, the OCI's single-minded concentration on the slogan of the united class front for an SP-CP government amounts to little more than the Pabloist concept of the Trotskyists as a "left pressure group" on the Stalinists. Blunting the edge of criticism of the CP can only mean tail-ending the CGT bureaucrats. By its lack of substantial and direct public criticism of the CP, the OCI logically liquidates its very reason for existence and withholds from militants the very tool they need to break from the CP *toward Trotskyism*. There is at least one sizeable group in France (the Centres d'Initiative Communiste) which broke with the CP in 1968 only to replace Stalinism with a hodge-podge of views. Without a clear Trotskyist pole, dissatisfied CP militants are likely to become simply demoralized and eventually leave politics altogether. But the OCI does not present a hard Trotskyist face. For example, during anti-war demonstrations the OCI disperses its cadre into union sections rather than marching under its own banner. The OCI rarely engages in serious public polemics with other ostensibly revolutionary tendencies in France, ignoring the responsibility to seek to polarize and split centrist currents on a hard programmatic basis.

Over and over, the OCI insists that it is dangerous to be "too far ahead" of the masses, and is critical of "iron Bolsheviks" as being sectarian. In the "Political Report for the National Conference of Militants for the Workers' Government," the OCI's emphasis on unity leads it to restrict demands to what is "immediately realizable": "Of course, there can be no question of advocating measures before they impose themselves on political reality as well as in the consciousness of the masses."

Centrism or Trotskyism

In practice, the OCI constantly sacrifices the explicit presentation of program to unity at any price—even when that price becomes inevitably a bloc. Thus, the OCI envisaged a Revolutionary Youth International, intended as a grouping in which largely non-Trotskyist organizations of the most disparate nature—from the OCI's unofficial youth group, the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme, to the U.S. National Student Association—could peacefully coexist. Similarly, in order to maintain for years the "International Committee" bloc with Gerry Healy's SLL, the OCI acquiesced to a federated concept of international organization. In the course of the IC split, the OCI's alliance with the Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario pushed the OCI to vehemently defend the POR's classically POUMist line, especially over the key question of political criticism within a united working-class formation.

More recently, the OCI has allowed its international youth policy to die a quiet death, publicly criticized the POR, and declared its intention to develop a democratic-centralist international organization. But unless the OCI makes a clear and explicit self-criticism of its past opportunism, its cadres will necessarily continue to accept as "Trotskyism" the opportunist policies in which the OCI has schooled them.

The size of the demonstration at Pierre Overney's funeral despite CP opposition is a sign that France could at any time see a working-class upsurge which could easily out-strip the bounds of CP control. None of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations are in a position to take the leadership of the class at the present moment, although the OCI feels it will be able to do so within a few years. For that to happen, however, the OCI will have to assume hegemony over the other left tendencies by defeating them politically. If the OCI is to play a part in deepening such an upsurge into decisive gains for the Trotskyist movement, the OCI *must*, through internal struggle, confront its past and repudiate its centrist policies.■

At Labor for Peace, TUAD:

Fake Lefts Conciliate Union Bureaucrats

Labor for Peace Conference, chaired by UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey.

The "Labor for Peace" Conference held in St. Louis on June 23-24 and the TUAD (Trade Unionists For Action and Democracy) "Emergency Election Conference" held in Chicago the following weekend were yet two more attempts by the "progressive" labor bureaucrats and their friends in the reformist Communist Party to head off and contain the growing discontent of the American working class. The liberal labor bureaucrats, faced with intense rank-and-file pressure stemming from the present capitalist crisis, want to make sure that Nixon gets the blame for the Kennedy-Johnson war in Vietnam and for unemployment, wage control legislation, inflation, etc. Thoroughly committed to the capitalist system, they must hold back the struggle and attempt to deflect it into a harmless "dump Nixon" protest, since in a real class-struggle explosion, they would be swept away as so much vermin.

The forcible exclusion of virtually the entire left wing by Stalinists at the TUAD Conference dominated the proceedings. This violence was the familiar handmaiden to the Communist Party's policy of a bureaucratic pop-front alliance with the latest darling of the liberal bourgeoisie, George McGovern.

"Pay for Peace"

The bureaucrats' and CP's pious phrases about "peace" and political independence are completely without meaning since they oppose *action* toward these goals in the form of striking against the war and building an independent party of labor. The only proposed immediate activity of the Labor for Peace group was that rank-and-file trade unionists should contribute one day's pay for "peace activity" and lobby for peace in Washington. TUAD sent a delegation to the Democratic National Convention to "place demands to candidates as a condition of support from rank-and-file workers." TUAD opposes the formation of a labor party as "not in the cards" at this time. This is a very old excuse which many bureaucrats themselves have used for decades to keep labor tied to the two capitalist parties.

The talk of "political independence" really means freedom to pick and choose among the capitalist politicians and to wheel and deal at the ballot box. The major theme of both conferences was to "dump Nixon" and while neither conference openly endorsed any particular candidate, criticism of George McGovern was notably absent. On the day preceding the Labor for Peace Conference, two of its initiators, Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the Teamsters Union, and David Livingston, vice-president of the Distributive Workers of America, had joined with former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford and Mayor Lindsay to demand that the Democratic Party adopt an "end the war plank." Since the Democratic National Convention many of the sponsors of the Labor for Peace and TUAD Conferences have openly declared their support for McGovern, seeing their role as maintaining a left pressure on the Democratic Party.

While Labor For Peace represents the broadest liberal segment of the trade union bureaucracy, the smaller TUAD represents the continuing effort of the Communist Party, the most unashamedly reformist group on the left, to forge an alliance with these labor liberals. The CP, like the bureaucracy as a whole, sees its role as applying "pressures" within the system. Although they are running their own candidates in the election, these hypocrites are really for McGovern; they see their "campaign" only as a pressure on him and the other Democrats, whom they will support anyway as a "lesser evil": "The CP campaign's aim is to push the entire election leftward, to make sure candidates such as McGovern are not allowed to abandon their liberal planks in order to satisfy more conservative supporters" (*Daily World*, 23 June).

It is this position that holds labor back, preventing it from fighting for its *class* interests. It was liberal Democrats (and their labor bureaucrat friends) who sponsored the wage control legislation which Nixon now uses to drive down real wages. It was the Democratic Party of Humphrey, Muskie, McGovern, Chisholm, Abzug, and Dellums that first involved the U.S. directly in Vietnam. McGovern himself, praised as "clear-cut" on the war, has voted against repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, voted for the 1967 Vietnam war appropriations, and supports NATO and SEATO. The Democrats are a savage, racist party which is even more useful to the capitalists than the Republicans, particularly in times of crisis, so long as the masses retain more illusions about it. The Democrats' new "reformed" image does not alter this, but is rather an example of how the Democratic Party superficially adapts, chameleon-like, to its environment in order to continually recreate these illusions.

Failure on the Left

The gyrations of the labor bureaucracy make it imperative to pose a clear-cut, *class* alternative to their sellout policies. The fake alternatives presented by the various left groups which sought to intervene in the Labor for Peace and TUAD Conferences only sow confusion, further the illusions, and deepen the crisis of leadership of the U.S. working class.

The Workers League (WL) and its supporters presented the same proposal, "On the Labor Party," to both conferences. It stated: "be it resolved that this Labor for Peace [TUAD] Conference demand that the American labor movement—the AFL/CIO, UAW, Teamsters and all other independent unions immediately call a Congress of Labor for the purpose of launching an independent labor party for the 1972 election." In typical opportunist fashion, this frenzied sect seeks to grossly inflate its own influence on the American labor movement by claiming that the question of the labor party framed in this way as an *immediate* question for the '72 elections, dominated the entire discussion at both conferences! This obvious absurdity is a cover for the WL's failure to struggle for a principled *program* counter to the bureaucracy's and, in the case of TUAD, for their complete failure to protest or even recognize the importance of the massive exclusion of leftists.

Workers League: Puffed-Up Cover for Bureaucracy

In reality the labor party question was dismissed out of hand by such statements as Jerry Wurf's (president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees), who said "We must talk in terms of what we can achieve, not in utopian terms" and that workers must "show their power at the ballot box." When the WL proposal was presented on the floor of the Labor for Peace Conference, it was ruled out of order by the chairman (Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Auto Workers)

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Left: Workers League members block hallway leading to "open" UAW Rank and File Caucus meeting; Right: Prominent WL spokesman enters TUAD Conference after WL failed to protest exclusion.

WORKERS VANGUARD 15¢

No. 12 October 1972

Murderous Nationalism and Stalinist Betrayal in Near East

Israeli soldiers gloat over captured Egyptian booty during June 1967 war. USSR kept tight control over its military hardware after Egyptians abandoned hundreds of Soviet tanks, other armour and missiles in the Sinai desert.

The violence at the Olympics which resulted in the deaths of Israeli athletes and Arab terrorists, and the swift and savage military "response" of the Israeli state, catapulted the Near East once again into the front-page headlines. The indefensible petty-bourgeois terrorist frenzy manifested at Munich grows out of the evident Israeli consolidation of the victories carved out of the living body of the Arab peoples. Respectable world bourgeois public opinion—such as that emanating from the current butcher of Vietnam, Nixon—against the Arab terrorist violence only obscures the fundamental violence of the continued denial of the rights of the Palestinian Arab population victimized by the State of Israel. Moreover, the bourgeois outcry passes lightly over the vastly bloodier retaliation by the Israeli state which, responding as if it were still a gang of Zionist terrorists, maimed and murdered Arab villagers, including children.

So long as bourgeois nationalism is pitted against bourgeois nationalism, no matter who had the last victory, the masses of the laboring population of the defeated will pay for that victory and be fertile objects for further nationalist manipulation. Thus the counterposing of Arab nationalism to Zionism in the absence of a decisive thrust for working-class power in the Near East leads inexorably to outbursts of the "Black September" type and to the inevitable fierce reprisals.

Somewhat less sensational than the events at the Olympics, but far more important in its implications, was the precipitous expulsion of Soviet military personnel from Egypt some weeks earlier. The Soviet Stalinists are reaping the fruit of their catastrophic alliances with the reactionary Arab military cliques, as part of the policy of great-power maneuvering and "peaceful coexistence."

Soviet Arms Squandered

The Soviets' policies have been equally catastrophic since the 1967 Near East war and before. Strewn across the Sinai desert and Egyptian airfields, 550 immobilized and deserted tanks, the twisted burned-out wreckage of 365 jet fighters and 69 bombers, over a billion dollars in Soviet military aid squandered—these were the spoils of the Six Days' War for the USSR and its "progressive" ally, Egypt. The fate of North Vietnam may hang by a thread as it bears the full brunt of U.S. imperialism's assault, while the Commissars and Party secretaries in the Kremlin dole out aid with an eyedropper. But for the bourgeois Arab military regimes nothing was too good. Since the 1967 war the Soviet Union has completely rebuilt the Egyptian armed forces, lavishing upon them the very finest and most advanced military hardware. Thus, by the end of last year Egypt had received 525 fighter bombers, including the latest model MiG-23's, 200 advanced MiG-21J interceptors and 110 SU-7 fighter bombers. Along the Suez Canal the Russians built 63 SAM batteries. For their "comrades" in North Vietnam the Soviets could spare only 10 bombers, 155 fighters (primarily MiG-19's, 17's and 15's) and 35 SAM batteries.

The recent North Vietnamese spring offensive gave dramatic evidence of the lack of sophisticated military equipment. In order to launch substantial troop movements into South Vietnam, the North Vietnamese were required to move *all* of their SAMs up to the DMZ to provide some protection from U.S. bombing. But this stripped their major cities of air cover and exposed them to heavy B-52 raids. Groups like Progressive Labor and the Maoists, who claim that sophisticated weaponry is unnecessary and the sheer will to fight "People's War" will defeat U.S. imperialism, only serve as apologists for the cowardly stinginess of the Soviet Union and China. Had the armaments which now rust on the desert sands or have been captured by Moshe Dayan gone instead to North Vietnam, U.S. imperialism would have been years ago plunged into a militarily untenable situation.

The Russian Stalinists' apparently unshakable determination to aid and abet anti-Soviet regimes in the Near East is not a policy of recent origin. Sadat's predecessor, Nasser, was second to none in anti-Soviet zeal. In a speech on 20 March 1959 he ranted:

> "Through our unity which enabled us to destroy imperialism and its stooges, we will, God willing, destroy Communism and dependence. Using the same weapons which helped us defeat imperialism and imperialist stooges, we can defeat Communism, its agents and Communist parties."

Yet in a speech on 23 July 1968 Nasser was able to boast:

> "In reality we have so far paid not one millieme for the arms we obtained from the Soviet Union to equip our armed forces.... I wish to tell you frankly and clearly that the Soviet Union has never tried, not even in our most crucial times, to dictate conditions to us or to ask anything of us."

This policy of munificent military support to the reactionary Arab nationalist regimes led directly to the Russians' inglorious departure from Egypt.

For no doubt a variety of reasons, the dumping of military equipment into Egypt was resented among sections of Soviet society. Soviet workers, in particular, were disgruntled about seeing their productivity wasted on reactionary Arab regimes. In an article entitled "No Love for Freeloaders" (31 July 1972), *Newsweek* reported:

> "Under the pressure of this discontent, the Kremlin has even taken to disguising its shipments to the Middle East—stamping special code words on packing crates instead of labeling them with destinations such as Latakia, Syria or Alexandria, Egypt."

While Stalinism is immune from learning the political lessons of its mistakes, the Soviet Union at least learned never to trust with sophisticated weapons an army composed of corrupt officers and unskilled peasant soldiers. Along with the jet planes, SAMs and three armoured divisions came 12,000 Soviet soldiers to operate and man this equipment, and 4,000 Russian advisors to attempt to instruct the Egyptian army in its use. (Needless to say, not one Russian soldier or military cadre could be spared for North Vietnam.)

Sadat Placates Military Clique

The presence of the Soviet troops, who had exclusive access to the Russian weaponry, and the advisors, who had, justifiably, nothing but contempt for the leadership capacity of the corrupt Egyptian officers and the fighting capacity of the Egyptian troops, undermined and incensed the Egyptian officer corps, whose xenophobia is exceeded

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Speed-Up Pressures Mount in Auto

Auto workers across the country are reeling under the impact of incredible speed-ups, layoffs and deteriorating working conditions as the auto companies attempt to drive up production on the new models. Their United Auto Workers (UAW) union "leadership" however, continues its blatant betrayals and policy of class-collaboration unhindered by any effective opposition.

The pressure remains acute in General Motors, which, complaining about lack of worker "productivity," instituted its special Assembly Division (GMAD) management team to drive up exploitation of labor through layoffs and speed-ups to counter the effects the capitalist economic crisis is having on auto companies (see *WV* No. 9). This pressure has resulted in several bitter walkouts in the GM system in the period since the 1970 GM strike, such as at the new "model" plant at Lordstown, and the longest GM strike in history at Norwood, Ohio for which the leadership had accepted a settlement at press time.

In the Reutherite tradition, the UAW bureaucracy under Leonard Woodcock is keeping the lid on rank-and-file unrest by isolating local walkouts rather than mobilizing a nationwide defense. The Lordstown strikers were allowed to burn themselves out before being railroaded back to work, and the International is doing its best to forget the Norwood strike. The September issue of the International's paper, *UAW Solidarity*, buries news of the strike on its back pages, referring to it vaguely as a "job description issue," with no mention of the special GMAD "productivity" measures and similar pressures throughout the auto industry

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...Near East

only by its anti-communism. This officer caste is the bulwark of such "progressive" regimes as Sadat's Egypt, Numeiry's Sudan, Baathist Syria and Iraq, which are *bonapartist*. Their "progressive" nature consists in the fact that, having been turned down by the World Pawnbroker for bankrupt bourgeois regimes—U.S. imperialism—they trudge shamefaced to Moscow to do their begging. As readily as a derelict "discovers Christ" to get his bowl of soup, these tinpot "revolutionary" colonels mouth the proper "anti-imperialist" phrases to get their hands on MIGs and SAMs. And just as readily on the morrow as the derelict finds his way back to the road of sin for a bottle of wine, so all these "progressive Third World leaders" will throw out Soviet advisors, butcher the local "reds" and denounce "Soviet imperialism" at the slightest beckoning from the American bourgeoisie. Meanwhile the North Vietnamese, despite their Stalinist leadership, are locked in a struggle with American imperialism and thus do not have the threat of a warm welcome from the imperialists to enhance their bargaining position with the Soviets.

Sadat's generals put up with the Russians only to get their hands on those fancy weapons, hoping to bluster the Israelis out of occupied territories, and perhaps even dreaming of someday taking the offensive. But the Soviets were determined to see no repetition of the 1967 war: the Russians and not the Egyptians were going to control the weapons and no offensive armaments would even be brought into Egypt. And the Israelis would not budge, secure in the knowledge that the Russian presence was a check on Egyptian military ambitions. Following the exodus of the Russians from Egypt, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir told the Israeli Parliament:

> "If the Egyptians are right in claiming that the Soviets did not respond to demands which, if met, would have caused and made possible renewal of the war—if that really was so, it should not be charged to the discredit of the Soviet Union."

Both the Soviet Union and Israel had an interest in maintaining the status quo in the Near East. For Israel, it meant that it could consolidate its hold over the territories seized in 1967. For the Russians, it meant they could stay in Egypt, keeping the U.S. out while blocking a renewal of the war with Israel which would mean not only the squandering of Soviet equipment but the danger of a direct military confrontation with the U.S. Further, as long as the USSR stayed in Egypt it was permitted to use Egyptian airbases for surveillance of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and to use Egyptian port facilities to build up its own naval power in the Mediterranean.

Anwar Sadat, the colorless President of Egypt who creeps so gingerly in the shadow of his predecessor, knows full well that his real base of support is the privileged officer caste. The endless demonstrations of fanatic, xenophobic university students, who take Radio Cairo's anti-Israeli propaganda almost as seriously as they take the Koran, could be either ignored or disciplined by the army, but the officer corps must be kept contented if Sadat is to stay in power. The 6,000,000-member Arab Socialist Union, like the Baathist parties, is simply the political expression of bonapartism which hides the rule by decree behind the "democratic" facade of referendums and rallies. Further, a strike wave had broken out in the textile factories and unrest was spreading to the peasantry. In Egypt as in all "Third World" capitalist countries, the bonapartist regime must feed the restless, hungry masses a steady diet of chauvinist demagogy; the expulsion of "the foreigners"—whether they be Russian military personnel in Egypt, Indian merchants in Uganda or Indian workers on the Ceylon tea plantations—is always a popular sop. But what motivated Sadat to give the Russians the boot was first and foremost keeping the loyalty of the officer caste.

Sadat Keeps the Peace

Like the Soviets, Sadat learned his lesson from the Six Day's War. Any mass army must reflect the society of which it is the product. The Egyptian army is no exception; it reflects the

—UPI Photo

Brezhnev greets Sadat in Moscow—friendly reception failed to prevent break-up of unholy alliance.

backwardness of Egyptian society as a whole. No matter how well equipped, the Egyptian army could not stand up to the better trained army across the Nile. Sadat does not want a renewal of the war with Israel although he may be forced into it by the logic of his own demagogy.

In this context it is easier to understand why Sadat has apparently been reluctant to jump at a marriage which on the surface offers so many advantages—the merger with Libya. The merger would provide Egypt with two things it desperately lacks: foreign exchange and *lebensraum*. With the Suez Canal (which once provided nearly half of Egypt's foreign exchange) still closed, Libya's $2.5 billion a year in oil revenues would be a spectacular acquisition. Further, Egypt with a land area of 386,000 square miles and a population of 34 million is terribly overpopulated; Libya with 680,000 square miles and 2 million people is underpopulated. But along with cash and land the proposed marriage brings with it the suitor—the fanatical, tumultuous Libyan President Colonel Qaddafi, the most virulent anti-communist among Arab leaders and the one most dedicated to resuming the war with Zionism. Thus while Sadat was willing to throw the Russians out to get the engagement going, he seems reluctant to consummate the marriage.

Finally, Sadat recognizes that, along with the Soviet's blind eye to the mining and bombing of North Vietnam, a free hand for the U.S. in the Near East was part of the door prize used to lure Cold Warrior Nixon to the Kremlin. The Moscow Summit redrew the "spheres of influence," with the Soviets at least partially ceding Southeast Asia north of the 17th parallel and the Nile valley to U.S. imperialism in exchange for promises of American investment, jointly-sponsored outer space spectaculars and ecological ventures. Thus, the road for Egypt to regain the Israeli-occupied territories no longer passes through Moscow but through Washington, and no longer consists in escalating the military pressure through Russian weapons but through undermining U.S. support for Israel. By expelling the Russians, Sadat has eliminated at least one of the U.S. rationales for supporting Israel: as a bulwark against Communism. Sadat would like to return to the fold of U.S. imperialism, but as both Nixon and the Democratic Pretender are in mad pursuit of the "Jewish vote" Sadat knows he will have to wait until after the elections to see if throwing out the Russians carries enough weight in Washington.

Of course, the doubletalk Soviet press, which turns every defeat into a victory, claims that the Russians were not expelled but that, "Their mission completed, the servicemen returned home and the Egyptian leaders thanked them for their conscientious, selfless efforts to help the Egyptian army heighten its military skills and capability to stand up to the enemy" (Moscow *New Times*, No. 34, 1972).

In the Russian Near East experience there lurks a message regarding the Middle East, i.e., Soviet policy in the Indian subcontinent. But the Soviet bureaucracy cannot comprehend the message because it is trapped within the strait jacket imposed upon it of attempting to defend the Russian workers state internationally by either great power militaristic sabre-rattling or grovelling capitulation to the powerful American imperialists. The Soviets' great and good friend, capitalist India, victorious in ripping East Bengal from Pakistan, will repeat the Egyptian conduct. The present Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has made this very clear.

The Russian bureaucrats outsmart themselves. They hope their massive arms aid will be used by an Egypt or an Indonesia or an India against clients of the Americans or the Chinese (or best of all against the Americans or Chinese directly as in the India-China border war). And to the Russian Stalinists it is but an incidental price that the arms will also be used against the masses. Since Stalin's rise the Russian bureaucracy by virtue of its social position has been incapable of recognizing the organic link between revolutionary upheaval abroad and defense of the Russian workers state. They are therefore endlessly surprised when their arms end up being used directly against Russian state interests, not "just" against the mass movement.

Nationalism and Stalinism

An examination of Soviet policy in the "Third World" provides striking vindication of the Trotskyist analysis that the Kremlin bureaucracy, which subordinates everything to the "defense" of so-called "socialism in one country," is incapable of really defending the Russian degenerated workers state. Even in terms of the narrowest national interests, Stalinist diplomacy among the underdeveloped countries—from Ben Bella's Algeria, to Sukarno's Indonesia, to Nkrumah's Ghana, to Sadat's Egypt—has been a history of defeats.

A characteristic example of the perfidy of Soviet diplomacy can be found in Iran. The Shah's regime is thoroughly despised by virtually the entire population of Iran, from the fledgling proletariat, poor peasants and left-wing students on the one hand to the fanatical mullahs and separatist tribes on the other. In 1964, confronted with acute social unrest and trying to reduce internal tensions to a minimum, the Teheran government announced it would not permit the establishment of rocket bases in Iran. In the myopic eyes of the Russian bureaucrats this immediately transformed the Shah's regime from a reactionary monarchical tyranny to a "progressive," "anti-imperialist" regime. The Shah was subsequently invited to Moscow and Eastern Europe where he was effusively praised. In the meantime members of the Tudeh (Iranian Communist Party) were being viciously hunted down by the Shah's police and army. Considering the relative popularity of the Tudeh party, and the widespread disgust with the Shah, the Tudeh might have led a revolution in the 1964-65 period, had that been the wish of either the Moscow or Persian Stalinists. Instead they contributed to the stabilization of the Shah's regime.

In underdeveloped, bonapartist-led countries, Soviet diplomacy operates on the proposition that it is possible to split the army into reactionary and "anti-imperialist" components and win over the latter. The Russians themselves provided an exquisite picture of these regimes in a description of Baathist Syria in 1963 after it had been through eight coups in eighteen months:

> "While this political merry-go-round continued, Syria presented an extraordinary spectacle: ministers and senior officials appointed to their posts exclusively on the principle of 'reliability' but often having no idea of the real situation and its economic problems, and interested only in political cabals; officers each of them thinking that his hour would come at any moment, and that a batallion of soldiers or a dozen armed cars would be enough to seize power; journalists trying to guess who in fact would carry out the next coup. Plots, rumors of plots, denials of rumors of plots, suspicious troop movements. No one trusts his neighbor, everyone tries to outsmart his partner, superiors look searchingly at their subordinates: who will be the next to strike?"
>
> —*New Times* No. 34, 1963

What the *New Times* report omits is that the Soviets are usually in the thick of the political cabals and palace coups. While their nimble zig-zags in switching their support to whomever comes out on top has won them cabinet posts in Syria, in countries like the Sudan and Indonesia it has resulted in disaster. In both Indonesia and the Sudan, large, well-organized Communist Parties

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SPARTACIST LOCAL DIRECTORY

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND.....(415) 848-3029
Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701

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Libyan President Qaddafi, Sadat's new ally.

Shah of Iran.

NY Times, 24 July 1972

Nasser (left) stands above symbol of "progressive" Egypt's National Guard.

were wiped out by Russian-equipped armies. And this scenario has been repeated in nearly every "progressive" country, though on a lesser scale.

Soviet support to these reactionary bonapartist regimes is always rationalized under the guise of support for "national liberation." But precisely because these regimes are intensely nationalist, they are almost invariably built through the suppression of other nations. (The creation of the state of Israel is itself a prime example.) By underwriting nationalism in Egypt the Soviets paved the way for their own expulsion. Numeiry too is a "progressive nationalist" who in the name of Arab nationalism, and using his Russian-equipped army, massacred half a million South Sudanese blacks and then wiped out the Sudan Communist Party. And it is under the banner of pan-African nationalism that Nigeria's Gowan massacred the Ibos and 100,000 Hutu tribesmen in Birundi are wiped out.

"Progressive" Nationalism?

The national question is a legacy of the imperialist dictum "divide and rule." Thus the British brought Indians to Uganda during the 1890's to build the East Africa Railroad just as they brought Tamil-speaking Indians to work the tea plantations of Ceylon during the 1840's and 1850's. The Indians in Uganda prospered and were subsequently used by the British as merchants and middlemen; the Indian-derived Tamil population of Ceylon became the most exploited section of the Ceylon proletariat. The ethnic antagonisms resulting from imperialism's transfer of populations is now used to buttress the nationalist regimes: the self-styled Fuhrer of Uganda, General Amin, turns the Asians in Uganda into displaced persons, while Mrs. Bandaranalke's so-called "socialist" regime in Ceylon continues to whip up anti-Tamil chauvinism among the dominant ethnic group, the Sinhalese.

Nor is the nationalism of the oppressed any more noble. Let it not be forgotten that the Palestinian Arabs are victims of the nationalism of the oppressed turned oppressor. In Birundi, had the Hutu's coup against the ruling minority Tutis been successful, the tribalism of the oppressed would have translated itself into the genocidal nationalism of the oppressor. All nationalism is reactionary, for successful nationalism equals genocide. Under British colonialism the nationalism of the Nassers and the Numeirys was the nationalism of the oppressed. Today, in victory, it is the instrument for the subjugation of other nationalities and the block to revolutionary class consciousness.

In the mythology of the petty-bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists, the particular conjunctural posture of various states is transmuted into morally categorizing the nationalities presided over by these state powers. We see the creation of the categories "reactionary peoples" and "progressive peoples." At least until lately, Arabs are "progressive peoples," even while the Sudanese Arabs were exterminating half a million black Africans. At the time of the partition of India, the Hindus were deemed progressive and all the Moslems were "reactionary." But today the Moslem East Bengalis have been re-awarded the merit badge of "progressive," while the millions of Bihari Moslems, now double refugees—having fled in 1948 from the Indian state of Bihar to throw themselves on the mercy of the West Pakistani government, now in a completely untenable position in the new Bangladesh and refused readmission to Indian Bihar and with no place else to turn—are deemed so reactionary as to have become complete un-persons, in distinction for example to the somewhat less numerous, internationally maintained (however miserably), "super-progressive" Palestinian refugees.

The classic model for the transmutation of a people in the eyes of those who cannot see beyond "national character" was the Armenians, who were deemed very progressive indeed following the terrible brutalities visited upon them by the Ottoman empire. One British statesman was moved to declare, "He who defends Armenia defends civilization." The Armenian Dashnag Party, a petty-bourgeois formation much akin to the pre-World War II Zionists (and so similar ideologically to their contemporary radical nationalist Arab counterparts), gained ascendancy in the Armenian population, and as the Ottoman empire fell to pieces the Armenians exhibited their "progressive" character by fighting ardently to continue the first World War, resisting the Russian Revolution and then launching an abortive drive for a "greater Armenia" by seeking to butcher every last Turk in large areas of Eastern Anatolia. The point is that the criterion of erstwhile progressive or reactionary national character is fundamentally wrong when not simply demagogically dishonest, and that the real underlying irrepressible axis in the condition of peoples is the class question: the class question within nations and the class question between nations. To believe otherwise is to open the door to the simple and frequently recurring inability to tell a progressive from a fascist, expecially since the one so often becomes the other (Mussolini, Pilsudski, Chiang Kai-shek).

20th Century Nationalism

Why is nationalism the political expression of the petty-bourgeoisie? It is the ideological envelope, i.e., the program, expressing the appetite for the transformation of the (perhaps even poverty-stricken) upper strata of the downtrodden nation to become a full-flown bourgeoisie in its own right.

Out of the consolidation of West European nations in the 17th and 18th centuries (and elsewhere in the 19th) emerged the great world imperialist powers. The consolidation of the first great national states had profoundly reactionary sides and it was only in the balance that Marx characterized the economic core, the development of industrial capitalism, as progressive. As the Marxists since have noted (one of the essential implications of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution), the attempt to mechanically repeat the process everywhere is reactionary and utopian.

Hence the negative features of attempted national consolidations loom large in this century, in particular the process of national compacting. Unlike the developed imperialists, who undertake the far-flung exploitation of many peoples in utter contemptuous indifference to the national character of their spheres of influence, the emerging nationalists, as a pre-condition for becoming would-be imperialist powers, must center their historic sights on the "purification of their own nation"—i.e., the creation of a nationally homogeneous population. The predominant mechanism of former centuries was the assimilation of differing populations, partly forcible but largely through automatic economic means. The English relied upon both toward the Welsh and the Scots.

But the "new nations" do not have economic power at their disposal; it has been pre-empted by those dominant in the world market. The Hebrew nation in Palestine exemplifies the contradictions of new nations in the 20th century. The crux of Zionist social policy was the exact opposite of the appetite to exploit the Arab population—rather, the aim was to exclude the Arabs from all economic life to create a clear-cut national enclave. The expulsion of Indians from Burma, cynically projected as nationalization to achieve Burman socialism, was a similar example. The Stalinists' and petty-bourgeois radicals' counterposition of new 20th century nationalism to imperialism is not only partial and at bottom false; it also denies and thereby conceals imperialist elements within all 20th century nationalism and the oppressive and even genocidal consequences for the objects of its revanchist and expansionist appetites.

For the Permanent Revolution!

The masses' resistance to national oppression can be mobilized on the side of the class-conscious proletariat in the struggle to end all oppression and exploitation by the overthrow of capitalism. But nationalism is a reactionary ideology whose precise function is to prevent a class solution to oppression. The national antagonisms which the imperialists fostered to maintain their rule are now manipulated by the bonapartists to prevent the working masses from turning their anger against their main enemies and uniting to overthrow the privileged military cliques.

Thus the Marxists, in confronting the sequence of Near Eastern wars, have had to carefully distinguish the element of national emancipation from that of national aggrandizement. In the 1948-49 first round, when the main contenders were the Haganah and British imperialism's Arab Legion commanded by General Glubb, the issue was at bottom the national survival of the Jewish people, although naturally enough the Zionist consolidation of that victory at the expense of the Palestinian Arab population created the preconditions for ensuing decades of nationalist antagonisms. The attitude of the Marxists should have been one of revolutionary defensism to shatter the hold of the Zionists ideologically, as an aspect of overthrowing the Zionist bourgeoisie and thus turning the Hebrew portion of Palestine into a springboard for revolution in the region. Instead, it has been conveniently employed as a counterrevolutionary lightening rod ever since by the rulers in the surrounding states.

In 1956 the second round of warfare was very simple. Israel was used as a cat's paw in British and French imperialism's feeble effort to maintain a Near East presence through retention of their Suez Canal holding. Critical support, i.e., a revolutionary defensist policy toward the Egyptians, was indicated. By 1967 in the third round, the secondary great power considerations aside, the core of the conflict centered on straight-out territorial confrontation between the Egyptian and Israeli rulers. Revolutionary defeatism—i.e., the position that proletarian aims could be won only by the overthrow of both the ruling classes and their respective war aims—was the only principled orientation.

It is not up to us to seek to specify the exact form of solution to the national question in the Near East in the outcome of victorious proletarian revolution. Certainly the content must be a regional socialist federation. Whether or not separate national entities, with territorial adjustments, or bi-national state formations emerge initially will depend on the particular course of the struggles leading to revolution in the face of accumulated national insecurities and distrust among the populations involved. But one thing is sure: only the dictatorship of the proletariat can have real authority on the national question, stemming from its real interest in an equitable reconstruction in the interests of all the working people. At the other pole, in the heart of every nationalist lurks the appetite for genocide of other peoples.

Nasser was quite right when he stated time and time again that "nationalism and communism are incompatible." What he failed to mention was that nationalism and genuine national liberation are also incompatible. The Nassers and Numeirys, no matter how virulent their anti-imperialist rhetoric, are linked ever more closely to world imperialism than to any abstract national sovereignty. In the epoch of imperialist decay the nation has outlived its usefulness and become a reactionary institution. The struggle for national emancipation must be a struggle against imperialism, capitalism and nationalism—a struggle for internationalism, for communism through the building of a revolutionary workers party whose understanding of the Permanent Revolution alone permits it to project a concrete internationalist program capable of transcending in theory and action the nationalist impasse and the consequent manipulation of the aspirations of the peoples of the region by the great foreign powers—imperialist or Stalinist. ■

Docks Crisis Provokes Near General Strike in Britain

Vicious Assault Launched on Working Class to Save British Capitalism

Labor Bureaucrats Cooperate

The recent British dock strike sharply highlights the British capitalists' attempts to "solve" their economic difficulties by passing them on to the working class, in the form of a sharp attack on the standard of living of the union dockers. Great Britain, dependent on exports for the survival of its economy, has become engaged in a bitter trade war. British exports remain well below the 1971 level in money terms and dropped 5% in volume from June 1971 to June 1972, while imports of manufactures have risen at an annual rate of 20%. In a desperate attempt to recapture foreign trade, Britain seeks entry, planned for January 1973, into the Common Market (EEC) where it will receive the benefits of reduced tariffs.

To prepare for entry into the EEC, the Tory government has launched a campaign intended to revamp British industry to a level of competition with its future EEC partners. British exports to the Continent have experienced a minute growth rate, while imports from that source have grown nine times as fast. Investment in home industry is being encouraged by the restoration of stock options and reduction of taxes on investment income. Incentives to expansion are being given to British firms by allowing them to set the entire cost of new plants and machinery against yearly profits before tax. British industry is pursuing a relentless program of modernization and automation to increase productivity for its projected expanded market. Most recently, the Heath government announced a decision to float the pound in order to lower the price of British goods in terms of the currencies of Britain's rivals.

Assault on Working Class

The policies employed to increase the competitiveness of British exports have meant a vicious assault on Britain's working class. Increased productivity through capital intensification has been bought only at the price of massive layoffs. The country's largest exporting industry, engineering, sought to drive wage costs down last year by laying off 114,000 workers or 9% of its entire labor force. The British Steel Corporation, ruthlessly modernizing its facilities, announced closure of all its open-hearth furnaces in Scotland which directly involves at least 7,000 jobs. In the mining industry 400,000 jobs have been lost through automation. Floating the pound will cause price increases of imported foods and consumer goods and an overall rise in the cost-of-living of 2-3%. While the British bourgeoisie screams of "wage inflation" it has been estimated that the combined effect of entry into the EEC, increased consumer taxes, and rent increases incorporated in the "Fair Rents Bill" which goes into effect October 1, will up inflation to an annual rate of 10-13% in 6 months' time. In view of the likely increase and to make up for the 7% rise in the cost-of-living last year, trade unionists will need pay raises of 18% simply to *maintain* their current real wages. To make sure that they don't get them the Tory government (in connivance with the Trades Union Congress) proposes an "incomes policy" which will link pay raises with the cost-of-living through "threshold agreements." The government will fix a norm (8% has been suggested) as the maximum increase in a given year. On top of this increase there will be an agreement that if the cost-of-living rises by more than a certain figure over and above the norm, then there would be another raise to compensate (4% has been suggested). This "voluntary" wage freeze means that wages will always lag behind prices.

Anticipating the response of the trade union movement to its economic policies, the Heath government introduced early this year its Industrial Relations Act (the equivalent of the American Taft-Hartley Law) to break strikes and tame the unions. The Act's provisions include a cooling-off period, prohibition of secondary boycotts, use of troops against strikers, and a government ballot among strikers to determine whether they backed a strike. A National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC) was set up to enforce the Act.

The government's attacks were met by the biggest strike wave in Great Britain since 1926. In the past few months there have been strikes by the miners, railwaymen, building workers, printers, engineers, and most recently a national strike by the dockworkers organized in the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU).

Dockworkers Under Attack

British longshoremen have suffered drastically from Britain's drive for increased productivity through automation and modernization. British shipowners are turning to the use of container ships at a rate faster than any other country in Europe. Container facilities are being developed inland where cargo is handled by fewer men at wages £12 to £16 less than registered dockers working a shorter work week in the ports. Containerization got its first big spurt in 1965 after a report of the "National Development Committee on Exports" which officially recognized and encouraged the growth of container depots. Tim O'Leary, national docks secretary of the T&GWU and a member of the committee, made no mention of the effect containerization would have on dockworkers' jobs. In the succeeding two years the Labour government introduced successive legislation to change customs clearance and transport regulations to aid the development of container depots, while falling to carry out its pledge to nationalize the docks. Recruitment of unregistered labor at the container depots was officially sanctioned by the T&GWU. Since then 20,000 dockers have been forced out of the industry.

Dockers won an important victory in 1947 when they forced the Labour government to introduce the National Dock Labour Scheme, a plan which deprived the employers of the right to hire and fire. The Scheme provided legal guarantees of job security by setting up a register of dockers and forbidding the employment of men not on this register. Dockers were ensured certain regular payments whether there was work for them or not. Following the 1967 Devlin Report, the Scheme was retained, but men were allocated to particular employers. Any surplus went on the "Temporary Unattached Register" (TUR) where the men received minimum compensation each week.

The partial erosion of the Scheme combined with the drive for containerization provide the background for the recent struggle. Despite the guarantee of job security provided for in the National Dock Labour Scheme, employers were able to induce large numbers of men to leave the industry with the bribe of a high severance pay. The price the port employers have had to pay for a smaller and vastly more productive labor force in the form of high severance and compensation to men on the TUR created a threat to the retention of the Scheme. In September-October 1970 Tim O'Leary and Jack Jones, General Secretary of the T&GWU, held secret talks with shipping employers on subjects including the eventual abolition of the National Dock Labour Scheme.

The National Port Shop Stewards Committee (NPSSC), the militant dockworkers' group heavily influenced by the Communist Party, led a picketing and boycotting campaign against the container ships and depots for the past several months, despite exhortations from the T&GWU bureaucrats to "obey the law of the land." (Secondary boycotts are outlawed by the Industrial Relations Act.) The campaign culminated in the imprisonment on July 22 of five dockers who continued their picket of the Midland Cold Stores container depot in East London after an NIRC court injunction was obtained against them. This first jailing at the hands of the hated National Industrial Relations Court led to widespread unofficial strikes. Miners, printers, truck-drivers, airport workers, and auto workers joined the dockers in sympathy strikes against the union-smashing Industrial Relations Act. Faced with growing rank-and-file pressure the TUC officials finally got together and scheduled a one-day strike the following Monday, which would have been Britain's first general strike since 1926. The Tory government, in a hasty attempt to avert the strike, which called the continuation of its own power into question, ruled that the T&GWU was responsible for the illegal picketing and released the five dockers on July 27. The general strike was called off. Thus the government through a quick court maneuver managed to deflect the rising wave of unrest.

T&GWU Sellout

The joint union-management committee headed by Jack Jones and Lord Aldington, head of the London Port Authority, chose the same day to try to ram through its proposals for the dockworkers, hoping that they had been satisfied by their victory in getting the five released. But the dock delegates voted to reject the Jones-Aldington proposals—which gave only vague promises of job security—and pledged to continue the dock strike until all four points of the NPSSC's program were won: no reduction in the current dockworkers' register, an end to the Temporary Unattached Register, inclusion of all ports in the National Dock Labour Scheme, and all stuffing and stripping of containers to be carried out by registered dockers.

When Jones-Aldington returned on August 16 with a revised set of proposals, the delegates voted to accept them, ending the three-week-old strike. The votes of delegates from the smaller ports where pressure on jobs is not so great and from the growing non-Scheme ports were decisive in swinging the vote. These delegates had abstained on the original proposals. The vote was met with hostility from rank-and-filers who clashed with delegates and stormed into the building where the meeting was held and roughed up Jack Jones. The T&GWU's response to the incident was to set up an official inquiry into the "violence"!

On the surface, the Jones-Aldington proposals do contain some gains for the dockworkers. The National Dock Labour Scheme was retained and the TUR abolished. Every worker now registered will be assigned to an employer and given full pay whether there is work for him or not. The settlement included programs to redevelop unused dock areas and create new jobs in the ports. But the question of who will stuff and strip the containers remains in the realm of promises: "Every attempt will be made by the port authorities to attract container groupage firms into the docks, or if not, to get operators to agree to employ dockers." Failing that,

continued on next page

Challenge, 7 September 1972

Jack Jones, head of T&GWU, is besieged by militant dockers protesting proposed strike settlement which was later passed by delegate conference.

Workers Press, 19 August 1972

Mass march of British dockers, printers and other workers in London protesting the first jailing of strikers by the National Industrial Relations Court.

Continued...

there are "suggestions that a special levy should be charged on containers which have passed through groupage depots manned by other than registered dockworkers" (*Journal of Commerce*, 21 August 1972). It is very unlikely that the drive to enforce the proposals will be successful. Some men now working the container depots receive less than half the weekly wage of registered dockers, and employers will fight tooth and nail to maintain this wage differential. Jones has already agreed that depots that employ men at equal pay with dockers do *not* have to pay the levy on containers. Employers are left with the same out for paring an oversized labor force: an increased severance pay of $10,000 for the "unfit" and over 55 as an inducement for these men to leave the industry. Employers hope that the normal $5,700 and the $7,000 offered to men currently on the TUR will convince others to leave as well. The Jones-Aldington proposals completely abandon the fight to include non-registered ports in the National Dock Labour Scheme, only promising "further study" of the problem.

The program put forward by the National Port Shop Stewards Committee, which seeks to squeeze reforms out of the existing government, provides no real solution for the dockworkers. The port employers will be seeking at every turn for ways to smash the National Dock Labour Scheme in order to maintain a low-wage, non-militant industry. The number of jobs available to registered dockers will continue to decline as container depots proliferate while employers seek to rid themselves of the support of unemployed registered dockers by bribing them with high severance pay. The severance pay arrangement only worsens the unemployment, the highest in 33 years, which the ex-dockers will face. A fight must be made for new hiring at no loss to those working.

Break With Class Treason!

The NPSCC abandoned its pretensions to militancy in the middle of the fight. The stewards refused to concede defeat after the delegates' vote to end the strike, recommending that the strike continue until all four points were won. But four days later they were willing to forget about inclusion of the unregistered ports in the National Dock Labour Scheme and told the dockers to go back to work. The advice came after a meeting with Bernie Steer, secretary of the London Stewards' Committee and a leading Communist Party spokesman. The CP no doubt sees the shop stewards' struggle as somewhat of an embarassment in view of the official party position of uncritical support to Jack Jones!

The British CP holds much more authority within the working class than does its counterpart in the U.S. The CPUSA remains indistinguishable from the "progressive" labor bureaucracy; in Britain the CP is more distinct from the bureaucrats through its participation in the shop stewards' movement. But its politics are essentially the same as those of the reformist trade union bureaucracy. Though more militant, it sees its role as securing minimal gains for the workers through "left" pressure on the government. By serving as a fake "Marxist" alternative to the treachery of union bureaucrats and Labour Party tops, the British Communist Party is an obstacle to revolutionary consciousness among the British working class. Its failure to expose the real nature of class relations preserves the illusion that workers can achieve lasting gains through piecemeal reforms granted by a capitalist government and holds the workers back in the struggle for their revolutionary *class* interests.

The aim of both the British Labour Party and the trade union bureaucrats is to keep the workers ideologically tied to capitalism. After having set the stage for the current crisis in the ports through his legislation encouraging the development of containerization, Labour Party head Harold Wilson claimed that the Jones-Aldington proposals were "first-class" and "should be put into effect immediately." The Labour Party bureaucrats hope they will be able to ride the current wave of unrest into office, but this appetite remains subordinated to their need to block the unleashing of the full power of the working class, which would sweep them from their own privileged positions.

The Labour Party retains its stranglehold over the British working class and is a mainstay in the maintenance of the Tory bourgeois system, crawling before the bourgeoisie to plead for reforms on behalf of partial and sectional interests of British workers, limiting its pleas to forms acceptable to the ruling class and savagely acting as its agents to destroy those who would go beyond these limits.

The Labour Party will never be shattered until its dual role is exposed by its own actions in power and under the continuous scathing criticism of the revolutionary Marxists. It is toward this end that revolutionists call upon the Labour Party to carry out its proclaimed fight to place the working class in power. It is in this sense and this sense only that critical support—"as a rope supports a hanging man"—can have any meaning other than the cynical strengthening of illusions among the working masses. The polarization of the Labour Party, splitting away its working-class base on a revolutionary class program, will open the road to the construction by the workers of their own organs of power—a mass revolutionary party and workers' councils. ■

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...Auto

which make Norwood the focus of problems facing all auto workers. Basic solidarity and militancy requires an immediate strike throughout General Motors in support of the Norwood workers and for the reversal of the entire intensification-of-exploitation drive spearheaded by GMAD.

Unrest Builds at Fremont

A typical example is the Fremont, California GMAD plant, traditionally a center of militancy, employing over 4,000 workers. The plant has been smoldering under the pressure of speed-up since the model change-over, and is just building up its passenger-car line speed to full production, from 22 jobs per hour in August to about 36. The union leadership reports it will go up to 44 before the end of the year. At such a time, the company always tries to acclimatize the workers to faster work with fewer workers per job. The workers individually try to resist, in the knowledge that they are setting the pace for full production, so "Paragraph 78" grievances mushroom. This refers to Paragraph 78 of the contract, under which a strikeable grievance protesting too much work and demanding more manpower can be filed. This year the older workers say that the pressure has never been so intense, and "78's" are snowballing as jobs are consolidated, giving each worker more work.

The Local 1364 leadership, headed by John "Chief" Herrera, local Shop Committee Chairman, has been delaying action on the accumulating "78's," ostensibly waiting for full production in November before cracking down on the company. This practice, which is well established by International guidance and the previous local leadership, serves the company by allowing it to stockpile cars and break down workers' resistance to the full production speed, thus making a strike on these issues more difficult to mobilize and win.

This treachery is true to the Reutherite tradition, which views an increase in workers' exploitation as a benefit to both company and worker by making the company more "competitive." In the May 1972 Shop Chairman's report Herrera stated, "We don't mean to sound like management, but, when all your jobs are at stake, it becomes important to build an automobile which can compete with the many other competitors." The report went on to scold the workers for unnecessary absenteeism. The acceptance of the capitalist profit motive and unplanned, competitive production leads the bureaucrats to become disciplinarians for the company, and this is immediately obvious at all levels. At one recent plant-district meeting, a committeeman (shop steward) chided the workers for cursing on the line!

The unusually heavy intensity of speed-up pressure throughout the auto industry—due to the general production upturn so far this year—combined with an increasing component in the plants of militant young workers willing to struggle, promises to build into an explosive force before the industry-wide contracts expire in 1973. Ford is rumored to be the next "target" company for a possible strike in the "one at a time" strategy laid down by Reuther and his heirs.

Ford plants in San Jose and Milpitas, California, Mahwah, N.J., and the giant River Rouge complex in Detroit, as well as elsewhere, have been the scene of local strikes or partial walkouts over such issues as safety, ventilation and excessive heat. Layoffs coupled with extensive compulsory overtime—12 hours a day for 7 days a week in some cases—are common at some Ford plants. At Mahwah there have been three departmental walkouts over unbearable heat and heavy overtime. Such "quickie" local walkouts, however, although sometimes achieving some specific demands, are completely unable to reverse general trends or prevent the company from recouping its losses through later speed-ups, layoffs, or both. Local isolation, combined with management tricks, often leads to demoralization and cynicism.

Treachery at the Top

What is required is a concerted, militant struggle led throughout auto by a national leadership firmly rooted in the ranks and implacably committed to a full, anti-capitalist program. The UAW leadership not only ignores this need but exists to prevent such a leadership and struggle from arising. With deceit and hypocrisy, the auto union bureaucrats try to disguise their total complicity and collaboration with all the basic aims of capital: foreign expansion, increased efficiency and profits, and the very speed-up and "productivity" drive which is forcing auto workers to rebel out of desperation. *UAW Solidarity* still boasts of Woodcock's "fight" for labor's interests on Nixon's Pay Board prior to his withdrawal, but nowhere is it mentioned why Woodcock *still sits* on Nixon's Productivity Commission together with Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters and I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers and despite the departure of Meany, Beirne (CWA), Smith (IAM) and other labor leaders in conjunction with Meany's resignation from the Pay Board.

The Productivity Commission was created by Nixon in 1970 to advise, systematize and excuse the big business drive to raise output per man-hour in order to increase the rate of profit and sharpen the competitive position of U.S. capitalism internationally. Its activities were expanded when the wage freeze went into effect under the Wage Stabilization Act, which provided for the freeze. The role of the labor bureaucrats on this little-mentioned commission has been to provide legitimacy for the commission's programs, which depend, as its reports make clear, on the success of joint labor-management efforts to cram key contract provisions and other decisions down the throats of the resisting workers through intimidation, trickery and Taft-Hartley injunctions. These provisions include the slashing of work crews and destruction of job categories in longshore contracts, planned attrition on the railroads and labor-management joint boards to control absenteeism, such as the UAW participates on in auto (see Labor Department Bulletin 1715 and *Report of the Commission on Productivity*, March 1972).

Labor Off All Government Boards!

Woodcock's presence on this government board is part of the reformist trade union bureaucracy's policy of collaboration with capitalism—the only policy possible when the continued existence of capitalism is accepted as inevitable, necessary or desirable. To

continued on next page

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...Auto

survive, each capitalist must strive to exploit labor more efficiently and with greater profits than his competitors, while the worker, also in order to survive, must struggle to lower the rate of exploitation through higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. Caught between the two sides, the reformist union leaders, hating and fearing the consequences of a full mobilization of the power of labor, accept the basic capitalist needs and agree to settle for crumbs from one capitalist as against another, with slogans such as, "save 'our' industry," and "buy American," and with massive betrayals which allow "their" capitalists to increase profits and productivity. In the stage of imperialist decline, this leads to an increasing growing together of the trade union bureaucracy with the capitalist state itself. If unopposed by workers, wage boards, productivity commissions, war-time collaboration, etc., will lead to incorporation of the unions into an arm of the state, as occurs most fully under fascism.

The fight to throw out the bureaucracy and launch a working-class counter-offensive can only be accomplished by building on the basis of a full class-struggle program. Despite the influx of militant, young workers, especially blacks and other minorities (and now including women), there has never been a greater lack of interest in the union or of politically serious and honest opposition. The UAW bureaucrats' blatant policy of collaboration with capital in the drive for profits through intensified exploitation has led many of the young workers, in the absence of a militant class-conscious alternative, to consider the union as simply part of the conservative "establishment." The quick succession of caucuses, followed by their disappearance after election time, and by the defection of many of their leaders to the bureaucracy, has created cynicism about the possibility of internal union struggle.

Herrera's Hypocrisy

The present Herrera regime at Fremont, for instance, gained power on the basis of the loosely-formed Headlighter Caucus in 1969, which bitterly attacked Reuther's betrayals, espoused militancy on plant questions and advocated the formation of a nationwide opposition group in the UAW. Completely lacking a systematic, political program, however, the caucus was a typical hodge-podge of opportunists and personal careerists. One of the primary issues of the 1969 election was the failure of the International and local leaderships to process Paragraph 78 grievances! In a long campaign leaflet signed by Herrera, the Headlighter Caucus emphasized the speed-up problem:

> "We should speed-up the settlement of these (Paragraph 78) cases and not wait until 7 or 8 months have gone by. This type of grievance should only be settled with the complete agreement of the brother who has the complaint.... We object strongly to the wholesale withdrawal of... Par. 78 cases.... We will not tolerate this kind of Hanky Panky."

Fed up with the incumbent leadership, the ranks voted in Herrera, who, naturally, immediately forgot all his campaign leaflets and proved himself to be no better than his predecessors. During the 1970-71 strike, Herrera suppressed all discussion of the union's demands, with the help of Regional Director Paul Schrade, and dropped all his talk of "opposition" to the International leadership. Not satisfied with this, he blamed "left-wing agitators" for rank-and-file militancy during the strike and even called in the local riot police to suppress a strike rally outside the plant called by the newly-formed United Action Caucus. He thus sealed himself fully into the ranks of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. This development was the absolutely inevitable result of personal careerism and the lack of disciplined alternative leadership based on a consistent proletarian *program*. The United Action Caucus, which picked up at least some of the support of the old Headlighter Caucus, has the same lack of consistent politics and is doomed to travel the same road.

UNC Degenerates

The paucity of real opposition politics at the national level is even greater, if that is possible. The only organized opposition at the last convention was the United National Caucus of Fox, Kelly and Sims. The UNC, which contains several supportable demands in its formal program, opportunistically limited its main effort at the convention to the demand for referendum-vote election of officers, a traditional "democratic" demand in the UAW. The only payoff of this policy was that the UNC got even less support for this demand than was obtained at the previous convention. This demand, which is also supported by many local groups, such as the United Action Caucus at Fremont, would actually make the union *less* democratic in the long run by placing the international leadership out of reach of the delegated conventions where the political issues are still decided. The leadership's control of the national publications and apparatus would make its position virtually impregnable. Given the lack of a powerful, working-class alternative leadership, it is easy enough for the bureaucracy to control either the convention or a referendum, but the only way such a leadership can be built is plant by plant, on the basis of political units able to convince the workers to vote for their delegates, not on the basis of nationwide campaigns for well-known personal careerists.

Disappointed with its poor showing, the UNC has further degenerated since the convention, dropping most of its militant-sounding program to concentrate on a campaign through the bourgeois courts to prevent retirees (generally a conservative section of the union) from voting in union elections. This is being done on the basis of a reactionary court decision restricting union control over pensions. This again confirms the character of the UNC as just another collection of would-be bureaucrats. Resorting to the legal authority of the class enemy to settle disputes within the labor movement is completely antithetical to the interests of the rank and file. This cowardly tactic, based on frustration and unwillingness to do the hard, patient organizing of caucuses within the labor movement, can benefit only bureaucrats and careerists who hope government intervention will install them in power. The government, of course, will do this only to increase its own control over the labor movement, backing the power plays of whatever faction seems more "responsible" or less discredited in the eyes of the ranks.

Black Caucuses

The recent history of black caucuses in the UAW is also a dismal parade of the same errors endlessly repeated, because militant black leaderships, while partially motivated by working-class aspirations, have failed to completely break with nationalist and separatist concepts and have degenerated into reformism and separatist pressure within the bureaucracy.

The only union work done by the Black Panthers was the Black Panther Caucus at Fremont begun by Kenny Horston in 1969. The original program of the Panther caucus contained several standard transitional demands, such as "30 for 40," and concluded, "We must rebuild a militant trade union movement by combatting these [class-collaborationist, cold war and racist] policies through the formation of rank-and-file caucuses and the fight for class consciousness." The perspective came into conflict with the Panther's nationalism and was dropped. The August 1970 issue of *Focus*, the caucus paper, defended black dual unionism and the Panthers' perspective toward the lumpenproletariat. Although it had declared its intention to become integrated, the Panther caucus failed to go beyond the concept of itself as a primarily black pressure group unable to overcome the racist barriers to the development of an integrated revolutionary leadership. An ethnically-based caucus which remains defined by race rather than program must degenerate, since the aspirations of one section of the workers cannot substitute for, or gain the authority of, the class struggle-oriented workers as a whole. The Panthers' ambivalent attitude toward the working class and their turn toward reformist social work has dissipated their union work at Fremont.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers, which flourished in 1970, based on DRUM and other caucuses in Detroit, has all but disappeared. It split three ways under the pressure of suppression by Chrysler with passive UAW support. One faction joined James Forman to found the Black Workers Congress (BWC), which has since virtually disappeared from the Detroit scene.

Although claiming to be the socialist and pro-working class remnant of the League, the BWC shows the same weak-

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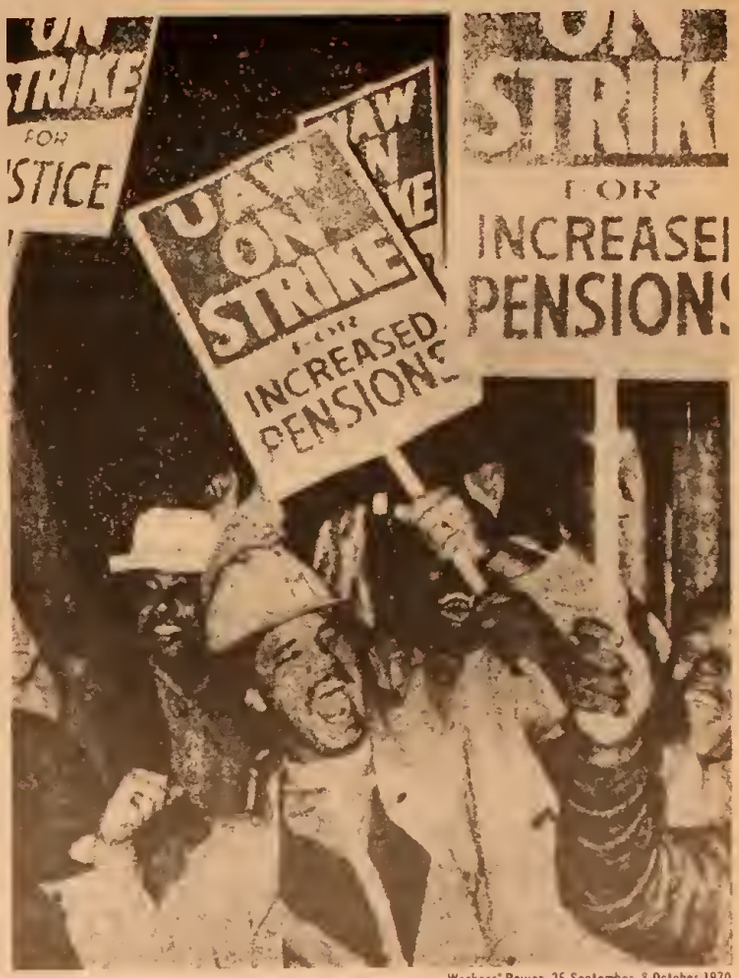

Detroit auto workers begin 1970 GM strike.

Workers' Power, 25 September-8 October 1970

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SATURDAY

- "Trotskyism and the American Labor Movement" by Chris Knox, Editor, WORKERS VANGUARD. (College of Liberal Arts, Room 12, 11 a.m.)
- Workshops (Place to be announced, 1 p.m.)
- Plenary Discussion (College of Liberal Arts, Room 12, 4 p.m.)
- Party (Place to be announced, 8 p.m.)

FRIDAY

- "The Struggle for a Workers Party" by Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee. (College of Liberal Arts, Room 522, 8 p.m.)

The Struggle for Revolutionary Leadership in the Labor Movement

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BOSTON NOVEMBER 3-4, BOSTON U.

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...NMU

ing for help. There not only is room in our Union for those unorganized but it is our duty to organize the unorganized."

In the past the NMU shoreside members in so-called "related industries"—taxi drivers, hospital workers, cafeteria workers—who have no history or tradition in common with the seamen and whose needs are dictated by their own industries, have been used as a bureaucratic weight against the seamen. In the late 1960's the bureaucrats rammed through a dues increase—33% for seamen and a token amount for the shoreside workers—by limiting the voting period to thirty days, thus ensuring that the majority of seamen would be out at sea and unable to vote.

Curran's hypocritical concern for "organizing the unorganized" is given the lie by the job-trust group system which denies jobs and full union rights even within the NMU! What is urgently needed is not an NMU which manipulates shoreside workers as voting cattle, but an aggressive drive to organize all workers in the maritime-related industries (seamen, tugboats, longshore, canal workers, etc.) into one united militant international maritime union.

Fake Lefts View NMU

Commenting on the NMU in their newspapers, some organizations which call themselves revolutionary socialist have exposed themselves as the politically bankrupt, opportunist elements that they are. The Workers League, characteristically operating as crude political pirates, orients toward the lowest level of thinking among the seamen, switching their emphasis according to what seems most popular. In their lying, garbage paper, the *Bulletin*, the Workers League uncritically reported Morrissey's reformist policies, vacillating on the question of using the courts in internal union affairs, and catered to social-patriotism, lamenting the loss of "American flag" shipping. Only *after* the Militant-Solidarity Caucus emerged with a militant class program did the Workers League adopt a more socialist-sounding front. But the *Bulletin*'s leftist rhetoric is only a thin veneer of mechanical pat formulas, reflecting total ignorance of the maritime trades—as with any trade union situation the WL writes about. The *Bulletin* has ignored the crucial issue of job rotation (to combat job trusting which degenerates the contract and reinforces the Curran regime) and simply calls for creating more jobs. The 10 April 1972 *Bulletin* advanced the most barbaric, conservative program for job security including calling for reversing modern industrial innovations—in this case containerization. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus correctly advocates the defiant strategy, not of opposing modern technology, but of demanding that workers be the ones to benefit from the innovations which their productivity made possible. The Workers League is not interested in providing real leadership, but prefers to rely on its dishonest and sensationalist ploys to pressure the existing labor bureaucracy.

Communist Party coverage of the seamen's unions in the 16 June 1972 *Daily World* reflects a surprisingly candid attitude toward the class-collaborationist methods the CP itself has relied on since the 1930's. The only political sentence, concluding a dry, factual report, states that "workers are beginning to see the need for developing a fight for jobs, pensions, and manning scales that no amount of 'labor statesmanship' and class collaboration can save." But Curran himself was schooled in his practices of class-collaboration as part of the CP apparatus which controlled the NMU until 1949! Continuing its devious collaborationist policies today, the CP runs candidates for public office in the party's name as a sop to militant youth and blacks under its influence, while recommending to the working masses through its front group, Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), that they vote for capitalist politicians like McGovern. The CP, of course, does not outline a specific program or course of action for the workers' struggle, in its tradition of always tailing after sections of the bureaucracy and trying to head off working-class struggles. In its own waterfront paper, *The Portlite*, the CP dishonestly broaches such "innocent" questions as "Should we nationalize the maritime industry?" without posing any answers!

The only way out of the desperate situation confronting NMU seamen is the struggle for a revolutionary working-class program. The NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus represents the kind of leadership which must develop in the trade unions today, for the working class to free itself from the quagmire of bureaucratic betrayals. Such a leadership must *consciously* carry forward the international, revolutionary working-class program of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky in order to transform rank-and-file militancy into a struggle for working-class power. Only through the overthrow of the capitalist order and the establishment of a workers government can the needs of seamen—and of the whole working class—be definitively secured. ■

NMU and the other maritime unions are fighting for laws that will build the U.S. merchant marine. We support the election of congressmen and other public officials who will support our program.

It's a fight that takes money — money to fight in the legislative department of our government, in the executive agencies and in communicating the plight of the U.S. merchant marine to the American people right down to the grass roots level.

FIGHT FOR THE FLAG!

If you want to see this flag flying on a mighty merchant fleet, back us in our struggle. Help us by SUPPORTING YOUR NMU FIGHTING FUND!

Buy Your Share of NMU Fighting Fund Stamps Now!

Patriotic propaganda in NMU Pilot (July 1972): Curran recruits seamen for U.S. imperialism, attempting to "solve" job crisis by convincing the government that its imperialist aims abroad depend on "loyal" U.S. merchant marine.

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...Auto

nesses. It speaks of the unions and companies in the same terms ("exploiters"), advocates dual unionism and white-baits other tendencies instead of analyzing their politics (see WV No. 10). The first two issues of its paper reveal a marked trend toward Third Worldism and away from the labor movement. Caucuses supported by the BWC in the unions lack programs that would distinguish them from a section of the bureaucracy. One such caucus, the United Black Workers at Mahwah, recently scored a "victory" when most of the black and Spanish-speaking candidates it had uncritically supported got elected in a mass rejection of the previous leadership. This did not, however, prevent the integrated new local leadership team from condemning an unauthorized walkout as "against our contract," despite the admission that the company had violated the contract in the first place, causing the walkout!

Most of the ostensibly revolutionary organizations claim some supporters in auto. The Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League (CP/YWLL) boasts of heavy involvement in auto, although most of its activities are limited to the lowest level, such as distributing free copies of its paper, the *Daily World*, and pro-Democratic Party buttons saying, "Phase III—Dump Nixon." The recruiting activity of the younger YWLL members only serves to buttress the deeply compromised position of the CP, which is barely to the left of the Woodcock bureaucracy itself. To the CP, a "progressive" bureaucracy is one which, like the UAW, verbally supports "peace" and backs liberal capitalist politicians like McGovern against conservatives. The fact that the Woodcock regime is just as fundamentally class-collaborationist as the reactionary Meany is unimportant as far as the CP is concerned.

The CP's class-collaborationist "dump Nixon" line dovetails with Woodcock's drive to replace Meany as "labor" political spokesman. This effort has included the heaviest backing of any union for the liberal "Labor for Peace" conference, publicity over Woodcock's "almost" being picked as McGovern's running mate, and support to various other pro-McGovern unions, including a "unity program to aid McGovern" with the Machinists Union, which may involve a merger plan. Such a merger would create the largest and most powerful union in the U.S. and greatly enhance Woodcock's position among the buzzards in the halls of labor.

For a Working-Class Program

If a caucus is to serve the interests of the working class rather than the careers of bureaucrats, it must be firmly rooted in a working-class program. There is no room for personal cliques or hot-shot adventurers in a serious caucus.

A critical element in such a caucus program must be to break the ties between the labor movement and the two capitalist parties. The caucus must agitate for a workers party, based on the trade unions and armed with the transitional program, to fight for a workers government. Other vital elements of the program for auto include a shorter work week at no loss in pay with restrictions on overtime; elimination of all discrimination in hiring, job assignment, etc., against blacks, other minorities and women; for workers control of production and nationalization of basic industry without compensation; for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution and strike action against layoffs, speed-ups, runaway plants, the Pay Board and the war in Vietnam. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Survival Is the Issue for NMU Seamen

Seamen in the National Maritime Union (NMU) face a desperate job crisis as American shipping capitalists seek to drive wage costs down through hiring lower-paid foreign crews and reducing manning scales on American ships. "Runaway shipping"—foreign registration of American-owned ships and American investment in foreign companies—coupled with the increased use of automated container and LASH (barge-carrying) ships, has resulted in the loss of 7,000-10,000 NMU jobs since the previous contract was signed in 1969. Last year a union vice-president made the statement that there are 25,000 NMU seamen for under 8,000 jobs. Those who do have jobs face low wages and worsening conditions.

The response of Joe Curran, first and only president of the NMU, to this crisis has been to step up his patriotic appeals to the government and propose liquidating the NMU into a multi-industrial union, thereby "protecting jobs"—*his* job! His program is entirely tied to the interests of the shipping conglomerates and the rest of the capitalist class. Besides spouting patriotic rhetoric, Curran subordinates the needs of seamen to "building the American merchant marine," and restricts all official union "struggles" to lobbying within bourgeois institutions for the most humble requests. The upcoming NMU convention in October could be an important test of strength, since the deteriorating conditions have created an increasingly rebellious mood in the ranks, but the ranks' discontent will not manifest itself at the convention without determined efforts on the part of the militants to organize consistent opposition.

Curran Eases Shippers' Minds

Curran went into negotiations for the 1972 contract assuring the shipping companies that there would be no strike or even the threat of a strike, telling the membership that this was necessary in order to "ease the minds of those who have cargoes to ship." He guaranteed that there would be no struggle over the contract by signing it and springing it on the membership *three months ahead* of the common contract expiration date of the other maritime unions, thus giving the lie to his phony talk about the need for unity among the maritime unions.

Curran boasts that despite the "extremely critical condition of the industry," the NMU bureaucracy was able to "negotiate an agreement for deep sea members with substantial gains well before the expiration of our current agreement." The "substantial gains" included wage increases of 5% per year—*below* the vicious anti-labor pay board controls—and an erosion of the pension plan, despite official reassurances about pension security. In addition to spending more than 200 days at sea each year for 20 years, men must now be 55 years old to qualify for a pension. Curran excuses this setback by saying that the pension plan was never meant to "provide a supplemental income for people who stop sailing at a relatively early age and go into another industry."

Bureaucratic Super-Patriotism

To deal with the job crisis, the bureaucracy makes patriotic appeals to the government through the class-collaborationist National Maritime Council, a joint company-government-union agency. The April 1972 *Pilot*, official organ of the NMU, explains that, "the aim of the NMC is to work aggressively to get importers and exporters to ship a bigger share of their cargoes on U.S. flag vessels. We can appeal to their patriotism and economic self-interest but most of all we have to convince them that the best, most reliable and most economical service is provided by U.S. ships." In his speech to a National Maritime Council unity dinner in Chicago, Curran described the foreign-registered, American-owned ships as those "manned by crews that owe *our* country no loyalty and, in many cases are hostile to *us* (emphasis added)." The *Pilot* reported that Curran's speech "was well received by over 300 shippers who attended..." And why not, with the president of the largest U.S. seamen's union sounding like a grovelling office boy?

Instead of struggling for an international union which would fight for the interests of all seamen and raise foreign shipping standards to U.S. levels, Curran vilifies the foreign seamen. U.S. seamen must reject all appeals in the name of patriotism in favor of unity with all seamen and all workers in the international struggle of labor.

In a direct confrontation with class-conscious foreign seamen, NMU bureaucrats organized a picket to "spotlight" the refusal of a foreign crew to sail for Vietnam (from On a True Course, the Story of the NMU).

Early Militancy Destroyed

Curran and his cohorts have been keeping the NMU seamen in line for over a quarter of a century. Once one of the most militant unions, the membership became disoriented by the betrayals of the Stalinist Communist Party which formerly controlled the union and manipulated the membership to fit the needs of Soviet foreign policy, which frequently ran counter to the seamen's interests. In their demoralization, seamen succumbed to the red-baiting tactics of Curran's break with the CP and the capitalists' purge of all militants from the waterfront. Union meetings and conventions became simple rubber stamps for bureaucratic decisions as the Curran regime exercised its crude methods of manipulation of the ranks and suppression of all opposition. Now, after 25 years of terror, bureaucratic control and sellouts, and caught between the loss of jobs and a risky pension, NMU members have demonstrated an intensifying dissatisfaction with the Curran regime.

The several opposition groupings and plethora of individual oppositionists which emerged in the NMU during the lay-up of the passenger ships and union elections two years ago has dwindled, however. James Morrissey and his "Committee for NMU Democracy" have all but ceased activity in the union. His paper, the *Call*, which was strictly limited to immediate bread-and-butter demands and superficial union democracy issues, has appeared only once or twice this year. His "Committee" now consists of only one or two semi-active supporters. Morrissey himself, whose strategy was primarily limited to waging his personal opposition struggle through the courts and the capitalist-controlled news media, has been out at sea on one ship for most of the past two years.

Militant-Solidarity Caucus

The only opposition group in the NMU actively struggling against the union bureaucracy is the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (MSC), which publishes the *Beacon*. The caucus is based on a program which includes points covering the contract, the constitution and political issues. It calls for more jobs by shortening hours and time at sea (a 4-watch system and alternating crews on each ship, receiving continuous pay) while increasing and adjusting wages and pensions to the cost-of-living, expropriation of shipping companies under seamen's control, organizing an international seamen's union to fight runaway shipping, and the formation of an independent workers' party based on the trade unions. The program also includes positions against the Vietnam war, racial and sexual oppression and the use of the courts (or any government involvement) in the internal union affairs.

The MSC has emphasized the need to eliminate the "group system" which has been used by the bureaucrats to divide the workers, by threatening the higher seniority Group I members who complain about bad job conditions with loss of their jobs to Group II men. Until just last year seamen with Group II status were not permitted to join the NMU or even attend union meetings. A partial victory was won when the ruling was changed to permit Group II's to join the union and have full union rights as soon as they had sailed 30 days. But in terms of shipping rights their Group II status was maintained. A Group II seaman can take a job only if there are no Group I's who want it; it takes 800 days of sea time during a five-year period to achieve Group I status. The MSC calls for complete elimination of the group system with full shipping and membership rights for everyone after 30 days of sea time.

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus has a genuine transitional approach, broadening the immediate felt needs of the NMU seamen and putting them in the context of the international class struggle. The caucus program clearly characterizes the class nature of the bourgeois state, calls for workers' defense and indicates the need for a society run by the workers. Through literature, the union meetings and its own demonstrations and open meetings, the caucus has continually and forthrightly presented its full program, even at times when some positions were unpopular among many workers.

Bureaucratic Pandemonium

MSC supporters told WORKERS VANGUARD that at the 22 May New York union meeting, the bureaucrats put forth a proposal for a "union employees' pension plan" which would cover top-level, non-elected union officials, trying to sneak the proposal in as part of the port agent's "report." A spokesman for the MSC called for rejection of the phony report and received heavy applause from the membership. A vote was taken with about 60-70 voting for acceptance of the report and 200-300 against. When the bureaucrats announced a vote of 300 for and 200 against, pandemonium broke out in the hall. A patrolman (appointed union official) quickly made a motion to adjourn (which couldn't even be heard above the jeers of the membership) and the chairman abruptly adjourned the meeting without a vote. The MSC spokesman, kept away from the microphone by a circle of goons, jumped on a chair and urged everyone to keep his seat and keep the meeting in order. The membership did stay seated for several minutes although patrolmen were running around the hall banging on the backs of chairs and declaring the meeting adjourned. In the confusion the seamen began standing up and their chairs were immediately whisked away. The pension plan stood approved.

At a special meeting on 31 May, the officers trooped in with a national office letter concerning the number of convention delegates which would be coming from each port. The letter was simply read and the seamen asked to vote on it with no discussion. A member of the MSC demanded discussion and called for rejection of the letter, pointing out that this was the first time NMU members had an opportunity to discuss the question of inclusion of shoreside workers in the union. To counter the bureaucracy's use of shoreside workers in completely unrelated industries as voting cattle to control the seamen, he correctly demanded that the shoreside workers have their own convention with their own elected delegates, at which they should decide whether to become independent, an autonomous union affiliated with the NMU, or an affiliate of other appropriate unions. Almost to a man, the membership voted against the letter amid catcalls to the bureaucrats, daring them to try to falsify the obvious landslide. For the first time in almost 25 years the Curran regime was forced to concede defeat, if only on a seemingly procedural issue.

This rebellious mood will lead only to sporadic upsurges followed by demoralization among the mass of the seamen, and bureaucratic reprisals against the most outspoken, unless a clear alternative is posed which organizes the rank-and-file revolt into a solid movement based on a full program. Curran is already gearing up for the attack with a new scheme designed to head off militancy and tighten his almost tyrannical control of union affairs. Despite the membership's rejection of his abuse of shoreside workers in the NMU, Curran announced in the September issue of the *Pilot* his intention to propose to the upcoming national convention in October that the NMU be liquidated into a multi-industrial union:

> "We must also take into consideration that because of the complexities of our industry we can no longer afford to be just a seamen's union. We must continue reaching out to those in related industries yet unorganized who are ask-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 15¢

No. 13 November 1972

The Only Choice: Build a Workers Party!

The passive exterior of the electoral contest in the U.S. conceals the real struggle beneath a shroud of phony issues important only to a small handful of the ruling class, its politicians and hangers-on. The cynical competition between two politicians who seek the "middle ground" of capitalist acceptability with equal fervor is rightly treated with the most notable disinterest and contempt in years by the working and oppressed masses.

The urgent need for a mass working-class party has become more nakedly clear since the last presidential elections than at any time since the immediate post-war period. Essentially unrepresented by any section of the trade union bureaucracy, militant workers created a massive strike wave in response to the inflation and economic downturn of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Record numbers of contract rejections and wildcat strikes, highlighted by such events as the "illegal" Postal workers' strike of 1970, underlined the disalfection of the workers from all their so-called "friends" in the two capitalist parties, from the government and from their bureaucratic union leaderships.

Temporary Rupture

The imposition by the Nixon Republicans of state wage controls, long advocated by liberal Democrats and many trade union bureaucrats, finally forced some of those same bureaucrats to openly break tactically with the government. Strained with too many betrayals, the traditional collaboration of the unions with bourgeois politicians was thrown into jeopardy. A mass workers party is an urgent objective necessity to defend the unions against the intensified anti-labor assault of the government and both capitalist parties.

Bureaucrats long committed to class collaboration increasingly found themselves mouthing empty threats to form a labor party. Such threats came to an end, naturally, when the election period began in earnest. They were, however, an indication of the extent to which the union bureaucracy is forced to attempt a posture of defensive militancy against capitalist attacks on the unions to stifle rank-and-file pressure within.

A Dire Warning

Paying little attention to the current efforts of the trade union bureaucrats to rustle up enthusiasm for one or the other bourgeois camp, the workers view the choice presented to them as a distasteful one, essentially between two evils. Cynicism and apathy greet even such issues as the Watergate break-in and charges of Republican espionage and sabotage against Democrats, which represent a genuinely bonapartist disregard for the niceties of bourgeois democracy. They are shrugged off as "one group of thieves robbing from another," with the expectation that bourgeois politics is always like that. Such acts are a real warning of the readiness of the ruling class to dispense with its democratic robes and institute the bonapartism of one-man rule whenever necessary. McGovern, of course, represents no "democratic" guarantees against such reaction.

McGovern has proved his reliability to the ruling class with his thorough unreliability to everyone else. His long trail of broken promises and "changes of mind" have demonstrated in advance his intention of doing what every "lesser evil" always does when finally entrusted with guardianship of the bourgeois state —the exact opposite of what he says.

Nixon's leading position is based heavily on negative factors and the lack

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CWA Paper Launches Smear Campaign Against Caucus . . . . . page 8

SL/RCY Demonstrate Against Israeli Terror Raids

Boston area Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth (SL/RCY) held a demonstration at a Harvard University-sponsored forum featuring Israeli Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin on 3 October. The Israeli bourgeoisie used the Munich killings as justification for a world-wide campaign of racist, nationalist hysteria against Palestinian and other Arabs and for a brutal, military gang-raid into Jordan, Lebanon and Syria which left hundreds dead. In addition, the international bourgeoisie is using the Munich events to prepare for the possibility of imperialist intervention in the Near East and, having beefed up the elite state security forces specializing in the repression of the workers' movement, to attack Arabs throughout the world and initiate a crackdown against the left, under the guise of stopping any future "terrorist activity." Despite attempted intimidation by the Jewish Defense League at the demonstration, the SL/RCY presented its call for working-class unity in the Near East and against Zionism and Arab nationalism.

SFCC Administration Bans Reds: RCY Leads Fight Against Cold-Warriors

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Editorial Miscellany

Polish Bonds Up 350%— Czarist Bonds Next?

The latest activity of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, previously in the news for their scabbing on the British dock strike, has been to establish the basis for the repayment of pre-World War II bonds issued by the previous capitalist government. Shortly before the official announcement, the sales of the Polish bonds, previously selling for 9% of their face value moved up to 33%, an increase of 350%! Thus, not only were the bond-holders assured of a nice pre-Christmas package by the Poles but the largess was spread to the Wall Street speculators as well.

Coming immediately after the Russian wheat deal with the United States and the Soviet willingness to begin settlements of WW II aid, the Polish deal can be viewed as another attempt by the bureaucracy to ingratiate itself with the West at the expense of the East European and Soviet workers. The *New York Times*, quick to pick up on this, stated that some bonds were held by the "little people" i.e., Polish immigrants who purchased them for "sentimental reasons" and the like. In actuality, the bonds specifically selected for redemption were "bearer bonds." Such bonds, which list no records of the various holders and are therefore untraceable, were used in the past for the shadiest manipulations and deals by those who were not interested in making their affairs public.

The redemption of pre-"revolutionary" bonds has long been joked about in the West by such diverse sources as the *New York Times* and *Playboy* magazine. For the Polish working class who must now labor to pay Western capitalists the profits on bonds as long dead as those who originally issued them, the event is no laughing matter.

SWP "Debates" the Stalinists — And Itself

An often-heard Stalinist "answer" to charges levelled by Trotskyists against numerous counter-revolutionary Stalinist betrayals—such as the signing of the 1954 Geneva Accords, which handed the southern half of Vietnam back to the imperialists, from whom it had just been wrested—is that these sellouts are merely compromises "forced" on the revolutionary forces by imperialism. As an example, the Stalinists cite Lenin's forced acceptance of the harsh German peace terms at Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

It should be a lesson to would-be Trotskyists that the SWP/YSA completely reinforces this reasoning in its 13 October *Militant* article, "Debate in antiwar movement over supporting '7-point peace plan.'" This "debate" with the CP supporters of the Vietnamese NLF PRG "7-point peace plan" *completely omits any mention* of the counter-revolutionary role of the Vietnamese Stalinists, which is responsible for the continued genocidal war by the U.S. and is clearly reflected in the "peace plan" itself!

Instead, the article argues that the anti-war movement should not support any particular settlement since the "Vietnamese liberation forces" may be "forced" as Lenin was in 1918, "to make concessions." The article implies that just as Lenin called some German socialists "scoundrels" for supporting the monstrous terms forced upon the Soviet Union in 1918, the "Vietnamese" would not want us to support the bad aspects of what they accept. Nowhere is there a word of distinction between Lenin's Bolsheviks and present Vietnamese Stalinist tops, or between the Vietnamese people and heroic liberation fighters on the one hand and the treacherous company of Ho Chi Minh and Le Duc Tho, who have betrayed the Vietnamese workers' and peasants' aspirations and struggle at every step of the way, on the other. This Vietnamese Stalinist treachery has included the physical slaughter of Trotskyist cadre and other working-class leaders in 1945-46 in order to crush revolution and pave the way for the return of the French.

All this is forgotten by the SWP in its opportunist rush to unite with the American Stalinist supporters of this treachery in the "anti-war movement."

Until the 27 October *Militant* that is, which dredges up a speech by Fred Halstead from last summer to cover this opportunism with a few remembrances from its Trotskyist past, as if in answer to its earlier article. Criticizing the compromises in the "Peace Plan," Halstead also attacks the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats for not providing adequate military guarantees to protect Vietnam. Does he remember the "sectarian" Spartacist demand for a Soviet nuclear shield to cover Hanoi and Haiphong against U.S. bombings? The SWP equates the defense of the Vietnamese revolution with simple opposition to U.S. interference in the name of self-determination. It thereby reinforces as legitimate, in advance, any rotten compromise the Stalinists may be "forced" to come up with in order to *prevent* the revolutionary culmination of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. This is modified by "Trotskyism" in name only, tacked on to divert the attention of the more serious supporters from the real meaning of the SWP's reformist, pop-frontist program on the war.

Let no one say there is a trace of Trotskyism left in the SWP/YSA.

Class Defense for Fired Journalist Squashed

During periods of working-class upsurge and increasing governmental assaults on the gains of the labor movement, some sections of the professional, middle-class intelligentsia side with the labor movement and come under attack despite the often feeble, reformist or revisionist nature of their pro-labor ideas. Such is the case with David Deitch, an economics and political columnist recently fired by the *Boston Globe*, a major mouthpiece of the liberal, pro-McGovern bourgeoisie. Reflecting the viewpoint of the "progressive" trade union bureaucrats, Deitch's articles supporting Irish rebels, British strikers and meat cutters, aerospace and longshore workers against the wage-cutting Pay Board conflicted with the *Globe's* anti-working class policies. They finally fired him in August on a trumped-up contract violation charge, providing an opportunity for a major defense campaign through the unions centering on the government attacks on labor. Unfortunately, this opportunity has been squandered by the phony labor leaders and left.

Local union bureaucrats called a press conference, but failed to say what action the labor movement should take or how it should fight government attacks such as wage controls, all of which are supported by McGovern, who is their candidate as well as the *Globe's*. The bureaucrats' do-nothingism was matched by the classless impotence of the fake left. Progressive Labor and the Socialist Workers Party fought together to obscure the class nature of the firing with a multi-class appeal for "civil liberties" aimed at students and professors, while the NCLC opposed action in favor of *debates* with bourgeois economists at MIT! SWP Senatorial candidate Don Gurewitz called upon "all candidates for public office, including Senator Brooke," to defend Deitch, and for community control of the mass media. PL members gave holiday speeches for socialism at two defense rallies that have been held, but red-baited Spartacist League members, who were *alone* in calling for unconditional defense of Deitch by the labor movement through class action in the name of labor solidarity. The only result of PL's approach has been a utopian consumer boycott of the *Globe* which naturally has achieved nothing.

Deitch views himself as some sort of community representative on the mass media. This is just an apology for his complete failure to help organize and prepare the labor movement for the conflicts ahead. This would involve attacking his friends in the trade union bureaucracy, which insists on trying to "free" the capitalist state from the embrace of capitalism, instead of launching a struggle against it.

Bowdlerizing Their Own History

The American International Socialists in their *Workers' Power* of 28 September ran a fund drive column which offered as a motivation a brief history of the IS' aims and origins. The column stated:

> "During this period ["the reactionary and repressive era of the 1950's"], the organization holding the revolutionary socialist views which the International Socialists represent, dwindled to the point where it existed only as a federation of scattered groups called the Independent Socialist Clubs (ISC)."

Now in truth, they didn't "dwindle," they quit. In 1958 Max Shachtman and Hal Draper's Independent Socialist League dissolved into the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation on the SP-SDF's terms: a signed statement forswearing and denying any version whatsoever of Leninism or Trotskyism. And in that period, as now, the SP-SDF was up to its armpits in pursuing American imperialist aims in the Cold War, which is why they so readily fell in with so many of the CIA's front groups and plots. Shachtman's support for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba sickened even Draper who with others, such as Sy Landy, the IS' current National Secretary, began drifting out of the SP-SDF to ever so reluctantly create the IS as a sort of hybrid between the old ISL and New Leftism (losing Hal Draper along the way).

In recent years the opportunism of the centrist Third Camp tendency has led away from direct support to imperialism, which is why the IS today smothers a crucial and revealing half decade of its historical antecedents.

Letters

France
5 October 1972

...In the article about the OCI, about the elections: There were elections in 1967 for the "National Assembly" (Chamber of Deputies) in which the "left" (from the "radicals" to the CP) nearly got the majority. This "Chamber of Deputies" was dissolved by DeGaulle in the middle of the 1968 general strike. New elections were organized in July 1968 which all extreme-left organizations (including the OCI) boycotted, because they were obviously a maneuver by DeGaulle to break the strike.... The mandate of this "Chamber" is about to expire (March 1973).

After the general strike, feeling that he couldn't succeed in integrating the unions into the state apparatus by brute force, DeGaulle tried to do it through a "referendum" (April 1969) which sent him back to Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises (where he died somewhat later). After DeGaulle's resignation, Presidential elections were organized (May-June 1969) where Krivine ran for President and where the OCI fought for a single workers candidate on the first round, and for a boycott on the second round...because the two candidates left were bourgeois (Pompidou and Poher)....

Communist greetings,
William

Cambridge, Mass.
5 Oct. 1972

To the Editor
Workers Vanguard

Comrades,

The article on the OCI which appeared in the September issue of *Workers Vanguard* contained an inaccurate telescoping of the OCI's position toward elections in 1968 and 1969. In June 1968, the OCI correctly called for a boycott of the parliamentary elections on the grounds that "participation in them simply meant approving the final destruction of the general strike" (*WV*, September, 1972). Only after the defeat of DeGaulle's referendum the next spring, in April, 1969, which caused him to resign and provoked new presidential elections, did the OCI call, as *WV* stated, "for a single workers' candidate *without a program*."

In addition, I would draw your attention to two other points. Since that article appeared, the OCI has somewhat increased its criticisms of the French CP in its press (*Informations Ouvrières*). In particular, it has published the article written by Trotsky for an intervention in the CGT in 1935, to which the article refers. However, the exact extent of this leftward motion remains unclear as yet.

Finally, the July, 1972 issue of the OCI theoretical journal, *La Vérité* (No. 557), includes a position on Cuba which is curiously close to that of the SL. In discussing the POR, the OCI is led to evaluate the nature of the Cuban state as follows:

> "During the course of the specific period in which these upheavals took place [in Cuba], and at the point of the most direct confrontation with imperialism, the thorough mobilization of the masses and the existence of organs such as armed workers militias undeniably gave to Castro's government a clear character of a workers' and peasants' government, in the sense that the Communist International gave to this term,... and created the elements of a revolutionary situation which posed the problem of the total destruction of the bourgeois state and of the establishment of working class organs of power, workers' and peasants' councils.
>
> "But whereas the Transitional Program considered that if a 'workers' and peasants' government' was established (in the sense indicated above) it would in fact only represent a 'brief episode in the path toward the true dictatorship of the proletariat,' in Cuba, the process has not gone through to completion. Castro's government has neither given way to a government which would have emerged from the

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workers' and peasants' councils, nor has it at this stage resulted in the reestablishment of a bourgeois government."

—*La Vérité*, No. 557, pp. 70-71

However, although the OCI's formulation clearly leads to the conclusion that Cuba is a deformed workers state, that is, that a petty-bourgeois caste based on proletarian property forms, has usurped political power, the OCI rejects this elementary Marxist conclusion. The OCI retreats, to give the following political characterization:

"To say this does not *in any way* mean that Castro is *the same as* Stalinism. Castro is the political expression of the radicalized Cuban petty-bourgeoisie, which has been led to establish an ever closer tie with Stalinism, because of its inability or unwillingness (there is no such thing as a 'spontaneous' or 'national' Marxism) to orient itself toward proletarian positions." (p. 72)

"The Cuban state is a bourgeois state. It will remain so until the power of the workers' and peasants' soviets reigns in Cuba." (p. 69)

In its desire to reject the Pabloist thesis, according to which the construction of the revolutionary party is no longer necessary, the OCI denies that petty-bourgeois forces can ever break with imperialism and establish a deformed workers state. According to the OCI's logic, Cuba just barely misses being a deformed workers state—the same logic which allows the Pabloists to "measure" quantitatively the class character of a state. Moved by its noble desire to reject Pabloism, but limited by its inability to grasp the theoretical basis of Pabloism, the OCI adopts the methodology of "inverted Pabloism."

Bolshevik greetings,
J. Sharpe

Fake Lefts Push Protest Vote for Socialist Lesser Evil

In capitalist elections dominated by bourgeois parties and secondary issues, the act of voting in itself has no political meaning. An electoral campaign or support for a candidate is only justifiable from the point of view of building a movement for a working-class alternative. Thus Leninists seek to use the elections, parliaments, congresses, etc., whenever possible, to expose them as frauds, counterpose a working-class program and mobilize the masses in a struggle for power. In addition, they sometimes give critical support to the candidates of another working-class tendency in the election provided there is some programmatic element in the campaign behind which the masses can in principle be mobilized.

The fact that this election is marked by a massive disenchantment with all the alternatives on the part of the working class represents at least a negative advance in consciousness, i.e., more workers are aware of what is *not* in their interest than the last time around.

Thus there will be greater mass abstention than usual, but this rejection accomplishes nothing unless it can be turned into a movement of the working class *for* itself. The attempt of groups such as Progressive Labor to get around this problem simply by raising abstention to the level of a principle is worthless, as is the "solution" of the International Socialists, which urges a vote for candidates of parties which it admits can only block the development of the workers' movement with more illusions. Abstention in principle is a sterile gesture long since rendered dead by the process of life itself. And voting for a candidate whose program is fully unsupportable is an equally sterile gesture which flows from an opportunist desire to avoid telling the truth for fear of appearing "abstentionist" and unpopular.

Often a bitter pill for opportunists to swallow, the truth is the beginning of revolutionary wisdom. Besides advocating all possible revolutionary use of even the pseudo-democratic Czarist Duma elections, Lenin also sought to establish legal as well as "illegal" (underground) Bolshevik political work. Yet he struggled for years against the "liquidators" (mostly Mensheviks) who sought to establish a fully "legal" Marxist vanguard party when, under the fact of Czarist political repression, the opportunity for such a party was lacking and the attempt to set one up was actually just a cover for opportunism and abandonment of the struggle for such a party.

The IS position is carried to its logical conclusion by the pseudo-Trotskyist, opportunist grouping around Harry Turner's *Vanguard Newsletter*, which urges a vote for either the SWP, SLP or CP on the explicity moralistic, impotent grounds that "hundreds of thousands of American socialists" should have a way to indicate that, "in fact, they *do* exist" (*VNL*, September 1972). Turner then has the hypocritical effrontery to conclude that, "we do not find a position of critical support to be warranted for any of the socialist parties on the ballot"! If he really believes there are "hundreds of thousands" of genuine socialists in the U.S., why can't he find any of them actually doing anything *supportable* from the standpoint of socialism?

The candidates of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Labor Party offer absolutely nothing to workers seeking to break from capitalist politics, even if taken with a heavy dose of criticism. They are socialist in name only—in their program, not at all. The blatantly reformist and pro-capitalist Communist Party campaign only builds up McGovern as a "lesser evil" to Nixon, while the SWP's purpose in running is solely to divert would-be revolutionists into sterile, reformist, petty-bourgeois and anti-working-class protest politics (see *WV* No.'s 8 and 11). And the irrelevant SLP runs candidates as a ritualistic gesture of ultimatistic sloganeering divorced in principle from any concrete effort to defeat reformism and bourgeois dominance of the labor movement with class-struggle politics. In the privacy of the voting booth, one fake-left "protest vote" is as good as another. And the "socialist" vote, like the rest of the election returns, is an "index" of the workers' consciousness. But the attempt to make this over into a politically meaningful response to capitalist electoral domination is sheer illusion.

We note by way of conclusion that the IS discusses only the SWP and SLP of the "socialist" electoral alternatives, ignoring completely the Communist Party, which is not only the leading contender for the "protest vote," but also the most working-class of the lot, by its composition and existing support in the class. Is it the sheer number of illusory "alternatives" that makes the IS' head spin? Or is the IS unwilling to advocate a vote for the more blatantly reformist and pro-capitalist CP, yet unable to say why, given the logic of its argument? Turner is willing to vote for any of them in order to prove that he "in fact, does exist," and feel that he is doing something useful, but the IS abstains on not being abstentionist on the CP campaign. Perhaps the two groups should get together and resolve this, in the interests of opportunist consistency. ■

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For Turner's Vanguard Newsletter, Discretion Is Indeed the Better Part of Valor:

Harry, Are You Listening?

In the September 1972 issue of *WV* we began an article on VNL by stating:

"In the July-August issue of *Vanguard Newsletter (VNL)* there appears a letter from the "Committee for Rank and File Caucuses" (CRFC) challenging the Spartacist League to publicly defend our statement that VNL/CRFC leader David Fender called the cops to open up the "public" Workers League forum at the St. Louis Labor for Peace Conference. The CRFC letter charged the SL with a deliberate "misrepresentation of fact" and challenged us to a "public forum" to debate the incident in question. This is the first time in the SL's eight-year history as a tendency that the accuracy and integrity of our press—despite its highly polemical, frank and revealing character—has been so challenged. We accept the CRFC's challenge and are prepared to confront the CRFC before any body in the socialist and working-class movement. We want to make known throughout the socialist and labor movement that this erstwhile proletarian revolutionist, David Fender, called upon the class enemy to decide a struggle within the workers movement."

The following is the chronology and extracts of correspondence and published material around the Fender/cops incident:

1. *10 JULY* letter to SL by "CRFC" Malcolm Kaufman, reprinted in July-August 1972 *VNL*: "If you still stand by the charges raised in your leaflet we presume the SL will accept our challenge."

2. *28 JULY* letter to "CRFC" by SL: "As it happens, we are now preparing a much fuller treatment, for our public press, of Vanguard Newsletter and the CRFC. At that time we, and/or you, might be interested in a debate between our two groups."

3. *SEPTEMBER 1972 WV* article on pages 6, 7 and 10 entitled: "'Trotskyist' Lonely Hearts Club: WHAT IS VANGUARD NEWSLETTER?": "We accept the CRFC's challenge and are prepared to confront the CRFC before any body in the socialist and working-class movement."

4. *29 SEPTEMBER* letter to VNL:

"In the July-August issue of your publication you printed a letter signed by Malcolm Kaufman of Socialist Forum in his capacity as an officer of your joint front group, CRFC ("Committee for Rank and File Caucuses") in which Kaufman gratuitously undertook to deny and defend David Fender from the accusation, publicly made by both the Workers League and ourselves, that Fender brought the police into a WL 'public' meeting. Kaufman, jointly on all your behalfs, challenges us to a debate on this issue. It strikes us that to propose a debate over an alleged act of violation of the elementary class line by a socialist merits not a debate but a commission of inquiry into the facts to hear witnesses etc. and come forth with a finding. A debate is the appropriate vehicle for a clash of opinion. Nonetheless in our September issue of *Workers Vanguard* in the lead paragraph of our article, 'What is Vanguard Newsletter?' we publicly accepted the debate challenge.

"Lo and behold, a month has passed and we have not heard from you. Continued failure to respond to our acceptance of your challenge can only lead us and others to conclude that on this issue, for you discretion is the better part of valor. We would also like to suggest to Brother Kaufman that he not be so hasty in the future to go to bat in defense of the political misconduct of his factional bloc partners, especially over incidents which are witnessed by four Spartacist League supporters as well as numerous others in the radical movement."

5. *2 OCTOBER* letter to SL by Harry Turner of VNL:

"The letter of Cde. Malcolm L. Kaufman of Socialist Forum, Secretary-Treasurer of the Committee for Rank and File Caucuses (CRFC) of July 10th informed you that CRFC and its component organizations were ready to answer your charges in a public forum at a 'time and date to be set at your convenience.' The Spartacist League's letter of July 28, 1972 in response to that letter merely stated that you were: 'preparing a much fuller treatment for our public press of Vanguard Newsletter and the CRFC. At that time, we and/or you might be interested in a debate between our two groups.'

"In the circumstances, we consider your raucus claim that our 'delay' in responding to *your* 'challenge' represents a capitulation to your dastardly attack on Cde. Fender to be ludicrous in the extreme."

Get it?—to hear Turner in his 2 October letter: *We* challenged *them* to a debate, and as far as the debate is concerned our September *WV* doesn't exist,

Whether or not we ever have the *public* confrontation initially demanded by that blustering crew, what shows in this concrete case is the relationship between centrism and political dishonesty. That is, *centrism* is "revolutionary in words, opportunism in deeds" and *dishonesty* is a means to cover the contradiction between revolutionary pretense and opportunist reality. ■

SPARTACIST LOCAL DIRECTORY

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

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Aftermath of Munich Killings:

International Witchhunt Against

Even before the gunplay began at the Munich airport, Nixon responded to the Black September seizure of hostages from the Israeli Olympic team by initiating the opening shot in what has become an international witchhunt against Arab nationals living or travelling abroad. On September 5 Nixon called for international collaboration in hunting down anyone suspected of being an "Arab terrorist." In this election year, when myth and media have it that the road to the White House passes through Tel Aviv, and Nixon and McGovern rush to outdo each other in Zionist demagogy as if they were running for president of the JDL instead of the U.S., Nixon's racist and sinister anti-Arab diatribe immediately found an echo as McGovern tried to outshrill the encumbent the next day before the Board of Rabbis of Southern California. For once backing up promises with deeds, a campaign of deportation, harassment and imprisonment has been launched against Arabs in the U.S. and Europe.

Many Palestinians, who often make up the educated elite in oil-rich Arab countries, are brought to the U.S. and Europe on college scholarships in the hopes of returning them to the oligarchies as pro-imperialist technocrats. And many unskilled Palestinians, along with other Arab workers, are brought into Europe as super-exploited foreign labor. The wave of anti-Arab repression has been most vicious in West Germany, where the authorities' hands are stained with the blood of the Black September guerillas and the Israeli athletes, and where 60,000 Arab residents (the largest Arab population in Europe except for France) are concentrated.

Anti-Arab Hysteria

Following the Munich massacre, the West German public was served up an orgy of anti-Arab hysteria. The mass circulation tabloid *Bild* ran huge headlines warning "NEW BLOODBATH THREATENS." Already the West German authorities have expelled nearly 100 Arabs, raided dormitories which house Arab students, banned two Palestinian organizations (the 1,000-member General Union of Palestinian Workers and the 800-member General Union of Palestinian Students) and restricted travel in and out of West Germany by Arabs (on October 4 the West German government announced that over 1,000 Arab travelers had been denied entry into Germany since the Munich events). The SPD is seeking to push through parliament a new restrictive law for aliens as a device to expel foreign workers, and a "special detachment" of the Bundesgrenzschutz ("Federal border defense") is being set up to detect and harass so-called terrorists.

In Perugia, Italy, a university town with 2,000 Arab students, 200 of whom are Palestinians, dormitories have been raided and Arab students expelled or imprisoned. In the U.S. a campaign of harassment and surveillance has been launched against Arab students, travelers, seamen and even diplomatic delegations of the Arab states by the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service, the FBI and the State Department. This wave of racist and anti-democratic repression by the imperialist governments of course emboldens Zionist terrorists like the U.S. Jewish Defense League and other ultra-rightists to step up intimidation and violence (such as the October 4 bombing of a Palestinian bookstore in Paris) against Arab students and other residents.

Bombings and Crocodile Tears

Of course Israel has its own way of "avenging" Munich, first with bombing raids into Lebanon and Syria on September 8, then a massive invasion into Lebanon on September 16. The former operation, according to the *Christian Science Monitor* of September 11, resulted in 126 casualties in Lebanon and 200 in Syria. Emulating U.S. "search and destroy" missions in Vietnam, where the entire population—human, animal and vegetable—is wiped out to find the "enemy," the latter operation was termed "combing and purging" and involved a force of 5,000 men and 200 armored cars.

Like the U.S. in Vietnam, the Israelis claim that it is only terrorist military bases that they are attacking. But of the seven villages that were attacked in the September 8 bombing raid into Syria, three are in the far north, separated from Israel by the entire territory of Lebanon. And of the five Lebanese villages attacked, one is nearly 100 miles from the Israeli border. The September 16 raid into Lebanon destroyed a new water filtering plant serving 70 villages, one hospital and two schools, and killed 23 civilians. A taxi with seven passengers was flattened into an 18-inch-high metal pancake by an Israeli Centurian tank. Obviously, Israeli terrorism has as its aim not only revenge, but the hope of provoking a repetition of the Jordanian civil war of September 1970, when Jordan responded to Israeli raids not by counter-attacking Israel but by wiping out the guerilla movement within its territory.

The "Black September" group which took credit for the Munich events took its name from this bloody suppression of the guerilla movement in Jordan in 1970. The Jordanian civil war was only the culmination of the struggle that every Arab regime in the Near East has waged to subordinate Palestinian self-determination to its own nationalist appetites.

The hypocrisy of Nixon's condemnation of the terrorism at Munich is duly demonstrated by the House of Representatives' recent disclosures that the CIA "Phoenix" program, which primarily consisted in torturing suspected NLF supporters, resulted in the cold-

Joint Declaration of Israeli and Arab Socialist Militants

The following statement is reprinted from Informations Ouvrières *No. 577, 13-20 September, organ of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. The OCI identifies the document as a "joint declaration of the Trotskyist 'Vanguard' group of Israel and of some Palestinian Trotskyist militants who are struggling together in the Near East for the construction of the revolutionary party and the reconstruction of the Fourth International. This declaration responds politically to the situation created by the terrorist act of Munich which delivers up the Palestinian masses defenseless to the massacres undertaken by the Meir-Dayan government, with the support of the reactionary Near East regimes and of imperialism." We note only that the declaration, which concludes with a call for a "constituent assembly of Palestine" to install a "Socialist United States of the Middle East into which the Palestinian soviet republic will be integrated," fails to also raise the slogan of self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew peoples, which is a vital link to defuse the long-standing national hostilities and direct the hatred and combativeness of the working people squarely against the class enemy at home.*

Proletarians of all countries, unite! The main enemy is at home!

All of the world's imperialist governments, their politicians, their priests of all faiths, their journalists, their political branches in the Middle East: the government of Meir-Dayan, the Hussein regime, the Sadat government, and with them Nixon, all shed pious tears over the Munich victims or declare themselves "moved" and embarrassed over the break in the Olympic "peace."

Workers and militants, peoples of the world! Those who, today, bow down hypocritically before the Jewish victims of the "terrorists" are lying!

Mr. Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee who bowed down before Hitler in Berlin in 1936 and who had blocked access to the games to athletes of Jewish descent, is "crying."

Those who, in 1948, sowed hatred among Jewish and Arab Palestinian workers, are lying. They divided the Middle East and Palestine to rule it—the U.S. leaders and those of all the imperialist countries, with the complicity of the leaders of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Today, they say: "Enough of the Palestinian 'terrorists'! Enough of the Palestinians!" This international unanimity is in fact a call for a new pogrom organized against the Palestinian masses.

Workers and militants, let us not forget! "They" have all agreed on the plan proposed by U.S. imperialism. All of them: Hussein the butcher, and Meir-Dayan. All of them: Nixon and Brezhnev. All of them: Sadat, following Nasser and the King of Araby, they all agreed on the "Rogers plan" in August 1970. The Rogers plan is the political and military framework through which Hussein organized the September 1970 massacre and had tens of thousands of Palestinians assassinated in order to crush the struggle by the Arab people of Palestine for their national independence. They were massacred because, at Irbid, the Palestinian workers had built soviets to carry out the democratic and national tasks of the revolution.

Terrorism and Class Struggle

Workers and militants! At what point in history does the Munich act of terror take place—an act which is opposed to the interests of the laboring masses in all countries and most of all, opposed to the interest of the Arab masses of Palestine. It takes place at a time when strikes organized by factory union committees against the Histadrut (integrated into the government apparatus of Meir-Dayan) are developing; at a time when street confrontations in Jerusalem are taking place; demonstrations of anti-governmental solidarity with the Palestinians expelled by the army (the opening of Rafiah and the land in Arba in 1972 and of Biram and Ikrit in 1950). At a time when the holy union was splitting apart in Israel, when the class struggle was again breaking through nationalist and racist chains. This is the moment when the terrorist act at Munich tends to weld the Jewish workers to the bourgeois state and to its Meir-Dayan government, their enemy. From now on, a new obstacle has arisen to the necessary realization of unity among Jewish and Palestinian Arab workers, and through that unity, the unity of all workers of the Middle East.

The "Black September" organization is mainly the creation of some guerilla fighters from Al Fatah who have sought a way out in individual terrorism after the feudal-bourgeois Jordanian regime, acting under the aegis of its imperialist protectors and with the complicity of the Soviet bureaucracy and the state of Israel, had crushed the Palestinian organizations.

"Black September," the expression of disenchanted elements of Al Fatah, sees itself as an organization for revenge against Hussein. The death of Abou Ali Iyad (the military leader of Arafat's branch of Al Fatah), tortured to death by Hussein's executioners, consecrated the failure of a policy of conciliation with the Jordanian feudal-bourgeois regime, a policy with which the Al Fatah, Habash's PFLP, Hawatmeh's and Al Saika's DPFLP were associated. In every epoch and in all countries, refuge in individual terrorism has represented a tragic and erroneous response to the real problems.

The Palestinian Resistance Betrayed By Its Lendership

We—the Israeli Vanguard group and Palestinian Trotskyist militants—point out:

Before the 1970 massacres, Arafat, in the name of Al Fatah, considered the butcher Hussein as his "brother"; Habash, in the name of the PFLP, felt that the problem of the political regime and the nature of the Jordanian state was not the central question to be settled; Hawatmeh, in the name of the DPFLP, affirmed his solidarity with Arafat, who proclaimed his solidarity with Hussein, who received, under the pretext of the Rogers plan, tanks and planes to crush the Palestinian masses.

We say: It is because none of the leaders of the Palestinian resistance have seen the destruction of the feudal-bourgeois Jordanian state as a precondition to the solution of the problems of the national independence of the Palestinian people; it is by not drawing the lessons of the September 1970 defeat to their conclusions that "Black September" rapidly accepted once again the political control of Al Fatah, in particular after the murder of the deputy butcher of Amman, Wasfi Tal.

That is why "Black September" now allows Al Fatah to act out two com-

Arabs, Reds

plementary scenarios: the fundamental one of subordination to the feudal-bourgeois regimes of the Middle East and another of terrorist pressure on governments which are in too much of a hurry to negotiate with the Israeli government.

In fact, there can be no doubt that rather advanced negotiations are underway in the Middle East. Thus a former minister of the court of King Hussein came to Israel for three months for a "cure." Thus the under-director of the Jordanian secret services recently visited his "family" which lives in occupied territory. All these visits, all these talks have only one aim to force the masses to accept the United-Kingdom-Trans-Jordan-Cis-Jordan-Gaza which has been put forth by Hussein and Washington, or some other form of imperialist territorial division.

The recent secret encounters between Allon, the vice-president of the Israeli council, and Hussein; the "indiscretions" of Israeli journalists close to Dayan concerning the future map of the area; the statements of Rached El Charva, the mayor of Gaza, on Amman radio alter his lengthy conversations with Hussein—all this on the one hand, and on the other hand the semi-official confirmation which Israeli radio gives to the Dayan plan, as revealed by *Time* magazine—all these maps which the rulers draw in the living flesh of the Palestinian people demonstrate the dead end into which the petty-bourgeois organizations have thrown the Palestinian masses.

We say: there is no other path for the laboring Israeli and Palestinian masses, for the exploited and oppressed masses on the two banks of the Jordan than that of the common struggle against the Meir and Hussein governments. This is the path by which we will liberate the imprisoned Palestinian militants.

Workers, Palestinian militants! We warn you: individual terrorism has carried out a new Al'Brk; it has facilitated a new September 1970. The peasants on the Golan heights, the Palestinian refugees herded into the Southern Lebanese camps will have no refuge when the Israeli, Lebanese and Syrian armies strike their blows. A new September 1970 is on the program of reaction in the Middle East and worldwide.

The Palestinian Masses Menaced With the Worst

What is being prepared is even more than a new September 1970, because in September 1970, even though the masses suffered serious losses, the Palestinian people remained upright. What the Meir-Dayan government, with the support and complicity of Hussein and all governments, including the Moscow bureaucracy, wants to bring about is the destruction of all the political cadres of every tendency, of the Palestinian people. In Gaza and in the zone occupied by the Israeli army, repression is already combined with setting up of Palestinian "Quislings," the instruments of imperialism, the Arab feudal-bourgeois states and the state of Israel against the people.

Israeli and Palestinian workers, workers of the entire Middle East! Faced with the open or de facto alliance of Meir-Hussein-Frandgié-Sadat-Assad, with the failure of the current Palestinian organizations, we say:

To unite the Arab workers of Palestine and the Jewish workers of Palestine, we must undertake a common struggle for the constituent assembly of Palestine. We say that today, given the bloody dramas which unfold in the Near East, the expression of the decomposition of world imperialism, we, the Vanguard group of Israel and Palestinian Trotskyist militants, who bear the whole weight of the impasse in which the peoples of our country are plunged because of the delay in the international proletarian revolution, are discussing these difficult problems of strategy and of slogans which will allow us to unite the Jewish and Arab workers of Palestine. Thus it is with the slogan of the Constituent Assembly of Palestine, on which discussion is open in our organizations and with all militants.

There is only one road: the revolutionary mobilization of the laboring Jewish and Arab masses against imperialism, against the bourgeoisies and the caste of landowners, for a united Palestine with the two parts which constitute it—Jewish and Arab, for the abrogation of all measures of expulsion taken since 1948, for the expropriation without indemnification or repurchase of Jewish and Jordanian capitalism, and of the land possessed by the caste of landowners, for the return of the land to the tillers, against the division of Palestine perpetuated directly by Zionism and the Hashemite regime—let us unite to install the Socialist United States of the Middle East into which the Palestinian soviet republic will be integrated, whose internal legislation will be decided fraternally by the Israeli and Palestinian working masses in power.

Workers, we repeat: those (imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy) who divided Palestine in 1948, those who accepted and supported the Rogers plan in 1970, those who gave political and material support to General Numeiry who massacred all the leaders of the Sudanese union movement and the Sudanese CP—the facts, the events, have demonstrated the real content of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The 'Vanguard' group of Israel and the Palestinian Trotskyist militants affirm their will to continue the fight in their countries against imperialism and their own bourgeoisie.

—translated by J.S.

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...Workers Party

of an alternative. However, he has also managed to create the illusion of an ability to somehow solve or at least ameliorate social problems with his tricky maneuvers. This, and the support he enjoys with the bulk of the ruling class itself, is based on his real though temporary successes as manager-in-chief of the executive committee of the ruling class. This includes the so-far successful imposition of wage controls, de-fusing the Vietnam war as an issue by reducing U.S. casualties, and the diplomatic "coup" of taking advantage of the willingness of the Peking and Moscow bureaucratic elites to collaborate and betray the workers in order to bail out a politically weakened U.S. imperialism—all long-advocated liberal measures. To the better-off workers and middle-class layers, especially white ethnic minorities, increasingly including Jews, Nixon provides an illusion of security for limited but hard-won gains through his barely-disguised appeals to racism over the busing issue.

Whether or not the persistent peace-deal rumors flowing from Kissinger's high-powered comings and goings are based on fact is immaterial, since in either case, fully according to plan, they can only benefit Nixon in the elections. The lesson here is that secret negotiations between a workers state and an imperialist one can only benefit imperialism. The North Vietnamese do not insist on open negotiations (they made a despicable pretext of such insistence only at the beginning) because they have no interest in using them as a platform from which to speak to the American workers with propaganda for internationalism, after the model of Lenin and Trotsky's handling of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk in 1918 to reach the German workers. The North Vietnamese Stalinists naturally prefer secrecy. Negotiating only to save the power of the bureaucratic elite in Hanoi at the expense of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, their peace terms allow Vietnam to remain divided, with capitalism firmly in power in the South, enabling the U.S. to get a deal virtually whenever it wants to.

The Real Meaning of Politics

The importance of elections under capitalism is that they reflect the relationship of forces and give the revolutionists a chance to reach the workers with their program, when everyone's mind is turned to politics. At present, however, the election is entirely dominated by secondary issues, fought out ritualistically by two parties equally dominated by the big bourgeoisie. The several so-called working-class parties fielding candidates offer no alternatives, since they are completely dominated by reformism and back-handed support to McGovern and create more illusions than they destroy. The difference between this election and most previous presidential elections is that the working class is increasingly aware of its lack of alternatives, but not of what to do about it.

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blooded murder of more than 20,000 Vietnamese. Likewise, Golda Meir's pieties about Munich are only a smokescreen to hide the daily terror that Israel perpetuates in the occupied territories. The Israeli government recently arrested the JDL's Meyer Kahane for airfreighting out of the country weapons and explosives to use in a terrorist campaign against Arabs living abroad, no doubt resenting Kahane for pre-empting their governmental prerogatives.

Two Kinds of Terror

Marxists must draw a class line between terrorism directed at the class enemy—such as Black September's assassination of the Jordanian Prime Minister, the U.S. Weatherpeople's attempts to blow up corporate buildings, the kidnapping of industrialists in France by Maoists or in Argentina by the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP)—and indiscriminate terrorism, itself essentially racist in character, such as the Munich events or the Lydda massacre where three Japanese sympathizers of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) indiscriminately machine-gunned airline passengers, killing 26 (including 11 Puerto Ricans who had come to visit Christian holy places) and wounding 72. (The PFLP dubbed the Lydda slaughter "Operation Deir Yassin" after an Arab village in which the Zionist terrorist commandos of the Irgun systematically murdered all 254 inhabitants in 1948.)

Individual terror directed against the class enemy, no matter how inevitably counter-productive and substitutionist, is still an act of class hatred against oppression, and its perpetrators must be defended against bourgeois repression. But while one can understand how the plight of the Palestinian people drives groups like the PFLP and Black September to desperate and frenzied acts, nonetheless indiscriminate mass terror such as at Munich or Lydda is completely indefensible. The Irgun at Deir Yassin also claimed to fight in the name of the oppressed. The correct Leninist insight that the chauvinism of the oppressed is not to be equated with the chauvinism of the oppressor must not be perverted into a justification for pogroms. Thus the current bombings in Northern Ireland of Protestant workingmen's pubs is no less vicious than the bombings of the Catholic workers' pubs. Each goes to escalate the communal savagery and make more difficult the achievement of united working-class action against the real oppressors: the rulers in Belfast, Dublin and above all London.

Witchhunt Against Left

The response of the ostensible left to terrorism was a measure of its departure from class principle. Progressive Labor simply denounced all individual terror and called for "People's War"—a strategy which the Palestinian resistance tried from the June 1967 war until the 1970 Jordanian civil war, when they discovered that unless a clear revolutionary program is posed, the institutionalized terrorism of the state can outlast the guerilla terrorism of attrition. Instead of "People's War," the Socialist Workers Party called for "mass action," which they did not bother to define but which, if modelled on the SWP's practice in the U.S., would consist of attempting to organize legal, peaceful parades in the occupied territories where parades are not legal and what demonstrations do take place are never peaceful.

The Munich events have taken on a more sinister significance for the left given the slander campaign of the bourgeois press to link the formally Trotskyist United Secretariat with Munich (*Newsweek*, 18 September 1972) and the Lydda massacre (*The Economist*, 23 September 1972). This is part and parcel of the bourgeois press' drive to create an international witchhunt atmosphere directed immediately against Arab nationals but having as its ultimate target the socialist and labor movement. This attempt to rationalize in advance an international witchhunt against leftists is as ill-informed as it is ominous. The *Newsweek* article actually maintains that the Fourth International was founded in 1969 in Brussels; *The Economist* seriously alleges that the Fourth International (by which it means the United Secretariat) supplied Czech weapons to the terrorists who carried out the Lydda massacre—as if Czech Stalinist bureaucrats, timid Trotskyist revisionists and lunatic-fringe Japanese Maoists were in a common conspiracy!

While never relinquishing our opposition to the substitution of individual terrorist acts for the revolutionary mobilization of the working masses, and while relentlessly opposing as entirely outside the boundaries of class violence any acts of indiscriminate terror, revolutionary militants throughout the world must refuse to be intimidated by the vicious witchhunt smear campaign of the bourgeois press. We must come forward proudly as the defenders of the democratic rights of the Arab residents in Europe and the U.S. We must redouble our efforts to bring about the creation of proletarian vanguard parties in the Near East to expose the genocidal ambitions of the Zionist and Arab bourgeois regimes (the "progressive" bonapartist as well as the overtly reactionary) and to press forward the rights of the Near Eastern peoples to self-determination, welding together the laboring masses of the Near East for the world-wide proletarian conquest of power which alone can destroy the Meirs, the Arafats and the Husseins and their imperialist masters.

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The working class needs a mass party of its own, controlled by it and ruled in its interests, to put forward its own program in its own name and fight for a workers government. Such a party would raise demands in the interests of all the workers and at the expense of the capitalist class, and would lead the massive class battles necessary to accomplish these aims, which would necessarily culminate in the seizure of power by the working class, expropriation of the capitalists, and reordering of society for socialism. Yet such a mass revolutionary party cannot be created overnight. The many small political groups calling themselves working-class political parties are unworthy of the name from the standpoint of program. The Spartacist League, which alone maintains a consistent working-class program, begins with the premise that a Leninist vanguard party must be created through the political defeat of this fake left, which remains as an obstacle to Marxist consciousness in the working class.

The trade unions are the only existing mass organizations of the working class. But they are completely dominated by cynical, corrupt, and openly pro-capitalist bureaucrats who are thoroughly tied to the two capitalist parties. It is precisely this bureaucracy, with its innumerable ties to the capitalist system and parties, that prevents the working masses from taking up a struggle for their real interests through their mass organizations. Thus millions of workers, as yet unfamiliar with revolutionary Trotskyism and the Spartacist League, are in immediate need of a program which both breaks the hold of this reformist bureaucracy and unites the entire working class in a political struggle for power. As important as revolutionary work in the trade unions is at this time, the few cadres available can only hope to set a small example of what needs to be done. They cannot now create a mass workers party simply by their own growth and the process of revolutionary regroupment under the present relationship of forces.

The Demand for a Labor Party

It is for this reason that Marxists raise the call for a workers party based on the trade unions. The call is made because of the great disproportion in strength between the authentic Marxist working-class forces and the reformist trade unions, which makes the unions the central arena for the struggle for a break from capitalist politics. The labor party demand is an attempt by the communists to initiate and link up with tendencies within the unions making a real break with the bureaucracy on the question of independence from the two capitalist parties.

The labor party question historically has produced a recurring right-wing adaptation running from Pepper-Lovestone in the 1920's to Wohlforth (Workers League) in the current period. Their position, that the labor party is a historical necessity, is a rationalization for an opportunist two-stage theory of building the vanguard party. For Marxists, on the contrary, the labor party demand is a tactic, aimed at a section of the trade union movement, and represents the most direct route to the building of the revolutionary vanguard party in that period. A labor party is a historical *possibility*, but not the only or even necessarily the most desirable way in which a mass working-class party can come into being.

Furthermore, the labor party slogan can have no meaning other than a deliberately reactionary one if taken separately from the Trotskyist revolutionary working-class program—the transitional program. The labor party slogan must be seen as providing a vehicle for the struggle for this program and for working-class power. It is thus aimed at creating and strengthening an alternative communist leadership to the existing bureaucracy. The position that a labor party is inevitably necessary for the American revolution is a justification for tail-ending the union bureaucracy as the Workers League does, making appeals to it rather than counterposing a revolutionary program against it. The WL line consciously limits the labor party program to one that is reconciliable with bureaucratic reformism, and leads to support for all bureaucratic "labor" party rhetoric including hailing statements by labor traitors like Abel whose sole and explicit rationale is social-chauvinism or outright anti-communism, particularly on Vietnam.

Trotskyists and the Labor Party

Before 1938, the Trotskyists did not advocate the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions. As Trotsky pointed out, it was not yet determined whether the workers would seek their first political expression through a mass formation based on the trade unions or through a mass revolutionary party based on individual membership.

In the face of the capitalist crisis and massive unemployment in the early 1930's, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) bureaucracy pursued disastrous business-as-usual and arch-conservative policies. Meanwhile the Depression stimulated a considerable leftward shift in the masses, which was reflected in the American social-democracy (Socialist Party), through increased worker-membership and in the development of leftward-moving centrist formations such as the Musteite American Workers Party. Stalinist and Musteite dual unions also registered some surprising successes. These trends culminated in 1934 when there were three city-wide general strikes all led by professed reds—in San Francisco by the Stalinist Communist Party, in Minneapolis by the Trotskyists and in Toledo, Ohio by the Musteites. Thus, the basis for a mass working-class party appeared to be through the path of programmatic regroupment among the socialist tendencies, who were threatening to mobilize the entire working class over the heads of the official trade union leaders.

The Trotskyists actively pursued this opportunity, attempting to link up with the main motion of the masses and create by the most direct possible road a single revolutionary vanguard party standing at their head. To this end, they fused with the Musteites in 1934 and entered the Socialist Party two years later. Conditions changed shortly therealter. It was on the basis of objective conditions and tactical opportunities to build a vanguard party existing at the time that the Trotskyists opposed the raising of the labor party demand, as it appeared that such a party could only be a conservative competitor to the massive socialist formations.

Thus in 1935, when the CP revived the labor party demand temporarily as part of its rightward turn (away from the "third period" and toward the popular front and bloc with Roosevelt), the then-Trotskyist Max Shachtman wrote a noteworthy article entitled, "The Problem of the Labor Party." After reviewing the history of the Farmer-Labor movement of the 1920's, Shachtman raised several arguments against the labor party demand. One was that since the unions had become generally less progressive and the bureaucracy more reactionary since 1900, with no foreseeable signs of change, any labor party was likely to be deliberately anti-revolutionary and there was no reason to assume that the U.S. would have to follow the British experience. An additional argument was more fundamental and not historically specific: that any call for a labor party necessarily implied a reformist program, which was how the Pepper leadership of the early CP had approached the Farmer-Labor campaign.

Developments in the American labor movement were about to make Shachtman's reasoning academic. The radicalization of the workers and growing strength of the socialists did not go completely unnoticed in the AFL bureaucracy. A section of the bureaucracy, led by John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman, belatedly realized that if the AFL was not going to organize the mass production industries along industrial union lines, the reds would. Despite the significant growth of the Stalinists and considerable growth of the Trotskyists, the rise of the CIO qualitatively strengthened the trade unions relative to the socialist movement, thereby reversing the trend of the early Depression period.

Furthermore, the CIO drive quickly exhausted the possibilities of working-class advancement by simple trade unionism, posing the necessity of political influence. This required the fundamentally counter-revolutionary CIO tops to weld the unions much more firmly to the capitalist parties, through identification with Roosevelt's Democratic Party, than had ever been the case before. In addition, the New Deal greatly strengthened the authority of the Democratic Party within the working class, the Communist and Socialist vote falling from almost one million in 1932 to under 300,000 in 1936. With these historic changes, the labor party question was placed firmly back on the agenda for a long time to come.

In 1938, on Trotsky's initiative, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), with some internal opposition, reversed its labor party line and decided to make the labor party demand a major part of its program. Trotsky cut the Gordian Knot of the objection that any call for a labor party was a reformist substitute for a revolutionary party: he explained that the SWP should call for a labor party to carry out the Transitional Program. During the discussion, the context for viewing the labor party demand was made clear (Shachtman, incidently, switched positions, causing Cannon to remark later at how well he wrote on either side of any question):

> "Do we then become a Labor Party party, like the Lovestoneites or Thomasites, carrying on an abstract, general, universal and perpetual campaign for a labor party? Nothing of the kind. We need a position that enables us to give the concrete revolutionary answers to the specific situations as they arise."
>
> —Max Shachtman and James Burnham, SWP Majority discussion article, 1938

Thus the labor party demand is a maneuver, a tactical turn, a shift away from a path that has been blocked off and onto another road *toward the same goal*. It is a tactic, designed to meet a specific set of historic circumstances and accomplish certain limited goals, not a substitute for an entire revolutionary strategy. It is similar to the fusion with the Musteites and entry into the Socialist Party undertaken by the Trotskyists before 1938 in that it is another kind of attempt to build the revolutionary party through polarizing another party along fundamental class lines. At all times, we are for building the revolutionary vanguard party, standing at the head of the masses in the class struggle, by the most direct path available.

Bureaucrats and the Elections

The current fundamental attack on the labor movement by both bourgeois parties gives the labor party demand a directness and relevance it has not had for the past twenty years.

The narrowness of the union bureaucracy's left turn in walking off the Pay Board, and its generally reactionary political character, is underlined by the AFL-CIO's policy in the current election. Given McGovern's decisive lead in the Democratic primaries, the Meany bureaucracy engaged in the deliberately symbolic gesture of championing Henry Jackson, the "Senator from Boeing"—the most right-wing candidate in the race barring Wallace. Although the union bureaucracy can certainly attack McGovern (like any other bourgeois politician) for his anti-labor record, their split from the Democratic Party was clearly to the right. The AFL-CIO "neutrality" is back-handed support for Nixon designed to help re-establish the Humphrey-Jackson leadership in the Democratic Party after a resounding McGovern defeat. Meany's hostility to McGovern reflects his fanatical anti-communism and support for the aggressively militarist wing of the American ruling class. The Meanyite bureaucracy, with its base in the labor aristocracy, feels threatened by McGovern's adaptation to New Left populism. The Meanyite bureaucracy's de facto support for Nixon, when Nixon is openly attacking the very basis of unionism, demonstrates once more that the existing labor bureaucracy is organically incapable of forming a figbting labor party. There is a widespread notion, common to both opportunists like the SWP and Workers League and to utopian radicals like Marcuse, that ruling groups are infinitely adaptable to pressure from below. In reality, the policies available to any actual ruling group, whether a class in power or a bureaucratic layer subordinate to it, are sharply limited by the needs and attitudes of its social base, an evolved complex of vested interests and its own historically developed ideology. It is precisely the inevitable rigidity of established ruling groups that make revolutions, violent upheavals and organizational splits both necessary and possible.

The existing union bureaucracy is essentially a product of the late 1930's and the systematic purge of its left wing in the late 1940's-early 1950's. Its own attitudes are unalterably shaped by the Democratic Party's political hegemony over the labor movement since Roosevelt and by the Cold War. The bureaucracy's ties to the Humphrey-Jackson wing of the Democratic Party are based on innumerable political, social and financial relations. The bureaucracy's ties to American imperialism are not only based on general support for U.S. foreign policy, but on active counter-revolutionary intervention, in collaboration with the CIA and similar agencies, in foreign labor movements. Within the working class, the Meanyite bureaucracy rests on older, white, skilled workers whose main organizational base is the construction craft unions, most of which, along with the Teamsters, are openly backing Nixon.

The Bureaucracy Can Be Shattered

Rigidly conservative and increasingly alienated from the union ranks both politically and socially, the American labor bureaucracy is now fragile and can be shattered. The new layers of militant young workers, especially those doubly disalfected by special oppression (such as black and Spanish-speaking workers), view the privileged conservative union bureaucrats, like they view the "friends of labor" politicians, with suspicion and resentment. The socially conservative Cold War labor bureaucracy finds its stranglehold increasingly precarious, as its function as the "labor lieutenants" of capital depends on its ability to channel an increasingly restive working class into the policies of class collaboration. In this context the demand for a labor party as an integral part of the struggle for revolutionary leadership in the unions and the construction of a Leninist vanguard party acquires renewed urgency.

The rising line of working-class discontent can sweep the entrenched bureaucracy from office, but in the absence of a powerful and fully class-conscious leadership it may do so only to replace the discredited Cold Warriors with a slicker version of the same, armed with social-democratic rhetoric for duping the class instead of with the old lead pipes. Those who would pose a labor party demand stripped in advance of its revolutionary transitional program, in alliance with the labor bureaucracy instead of over the political corpses of the Meanys and Woodcocks, would doom the working class to an illusory victory In the consolidation of a new "progressive" facade for the more effective continuation of the same class treason. ■

SFCC ADMINISTRATION BANS REDS:

RCY Leads Fight Against Cold-Warriors

The Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth group of the Spartacist League, chapter at the City College of San Francisco has been leading a fight against the suppression of its legal rights as a campus organization by anti-communist administrators and Student Council members since September. The mask of bourgeois democracy has been ripped away once again in an ugly move that threatens the rights of every organization to the left of Youth for McGovern on all community college campuses in California and presages new anti-communist virulence by campus administrators.

Sue Miles, RCY.

Asst. Dean Flanagan.

Despite its fulfillment of all the usual requirements for legal status, including a faculty advisor, 15 registered signatures and an offical constitution, the RCY chapter was denied recognition by vote of the Student Council on 19 September in a mood reminiscent of the flag-waving 1950's. Campus police and police science majors, who comprise 5 out of the 14 representatives on the Student Council, contributed heavily to the rabid anti-communism behind this vote. On further consideration of what such a dangerous precedent would mean, however, the council reconsidered and took another vote, in which recognition passed. The RCY was thus legalized—temporarily.

Flanagan's Statutes

It was now the turn of the Administration to act. When RCY chapter President Sue Miles applied for a literature table on campus the following Wednesday, she was informed that the RCY was *not* legal and directed to Assistant Dean of Student Activities Flanagan. Flanagan informed her of the newly discovered rule that a motion to reconsider must pass by a 2/3's majority, and since the council's motion had only passed by a simple majority, the vote making the RCY legal was invalid, despite the fact that the chairman of the meeting at the time had ruled otherwise. In addition, Flanagan passed out to all members of the Student Council at the meeting the same day a copy of California Code Statute 25512—hastily taken out of mothballs for the occasion. The statute states that a campus affiliate of any political organization on the California ballot may hold meetings and distribute literature on community college campuses. It is completely inapplicable, however, since nowhere does it *prohibit* organizations *not* on the ballot from being active on campus. Thus in order to make his "case" more convincing, Flanagan was also forced to rummage through the barrel of blatant anti-communist laws. He came up with a statute from the State Education Code prohibiting groups that advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. This is tantamount to accusing the RCY of a felony—without proof. Emphasis is being placed on the first statute, which would provide a new and dangerous precedent that could be applied against the left at all community colleges in California.

Despite the virulent anti-communism on the council, Flanagan's attempt to intimidate it with these two statutes and veiled threats that it shouldn't do anything "illegal" succeeded only temporarily. The RCY immediately mobilized supporters and began a full-scale defense campaign. Within two days, the RCY and others had collected 360 signatures of students supporting its right to be on campus. The campus chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, aided in the collection.

Although it does not participate in working-class political defense, as exemplified by its disgusting refusal to defend Juan Farinas of the Workers League against anti-labor persecution, the YSA/SWP has so far aided the Revolutionary Communist Youth in this case on a strictly civil liberties basis. On 25 September, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), two YSA/SWP front groups, held a defense rally on the CCSF campus which mobilized students to march in solidarity with the RCY into the Student Council meeting which was to again discuss the question.

Student Council Circus

The council meeting was a ridiculous circus, with students shouting out and one of the cop representatives announcing that he had to leave to go to court just before the crucial vote. Hanna Takashige of the YSJP and the president of Young Voters to Re-Elect President Nixon both appealed for the RCY's rights at the meeting on the grounds of civil liberties for all. Because of the large audience filled with students opposing the ban, both Jay Frank and Sue Miles of the RCY were able to speak at length to the body. While emphasizing their contempt for bourgeois democracy and the entire illegitimate proceedings, they explained the fraudulent nature of the case in full to the council and audience, and described the program and practice of the RCY. Miles discussed the experience of the rise of fascism in Germany and the McCarthy period in the U.S., and the need for a united front defense of the RCY. Despite repeated interruptions and calls to order, she was allowed to finish amidst applause from the audience. In a roll call vote, legalization passed 9 to 2 with 2 abstentions. But the Administration continued to deny implementation!

In a San Francisco *Chronicle* article on the Student Council meeting the next day (26 September), Miles was quoted denouncing the Administration's throttling attempt as "a thinly veiled attempt to smash the left." The article indicated the tactic of the Administration, quoting Flanagan to the effect that the RCY was still illegal, but that a final decision would have to come from Administration President Harry Buttimer. Buttimer insisted that he must check the "legality" of the decision, collect lawyers' briefs from both sides, etc. This is a stalling maneuver designed to dissipate the indignation aroused by the original exclusion of the RCY by giving everyone plenty of time to forget.

The RCY chapter declared that it will not be driven off campus by "legal tricks," but will stay to fight for its program of revolutionary socialism, which includes nationalization of the higher education system under student-teacher-worker control with complete open admissions made meaningful with stipends for all students, and abolition of the degree system "flunk-outs," all military research and ROTC. The RCY rejects the theory that the students as a group are inherently a revolutionary social force, and calls for political solidarity with the Spartacist League in the struggle to build a revolutionary, working-class vanguard party. The Buttimer-Flanagan gang have made clear their intentions of "purifying" the campus of any organization which seriously struggles for socialism. Their purpose is to defend capitalism and elitism in higher education, thereby excluding the working class, promoting war research, etc. This is a class attack on the entire working class and left.

RCY supporters protest anti-communist ban.

For Working-class Defense!

The question of democratic rights of all groups is secondary. It is the left that is under attack, not right-wing groups that are "not on the ballot." With the ripping away of the shroud of "student government," which everyone knew was a joke to begin with, Buttimer-Flanagan have demonstrated in a small way the ease with which bourgeois democracy itself may be replaced by more open dictatorial rule by the bourgeoisie in order to crush the working class. It is in the interest of the working class to defend what rights are allowed it under bourgeois-democratic forms, but with its own means of defense, a clear understanding of the class nature of its enemy and no illusions as to the "protection" afforded by the shibboleth of democratic slogans!

The RCY chapter has welcomed the support of all groups sufficiently consistent in their democratic principles to speak up, such as the pro-Nixon conservatives and YSA liberals. A Committee to Defend the RCY has been formed around the following slogans: Rescind the ban! Full legal status for the RCY! For the right of full political expression for all organizations! End political harassment of all organizations by the state and administration! But the RCY has sought to expose the class nature of the attack and put forward its socialist program as the only alternative. In addition, the RCY emphasizes a united front of the left and defense through reliance on mass action rather than legal maneuvers and court battles, although these cannot be ignored.

A picket was held on 12 October which received only token support from the YSA and none from the Black Student Union or SDS chapter, though members of these groups had signed the petition defending the RCY's rights. SDS spokesmen said individuals had supported the RCY, but that SDS as an organization has not had a meeting yet to decide! This month-long stall only reflects the traditional Stalinist refusal of Progressive Labor, which completely dominates SDS, to defend against the bourgeoisie Trotskyists and others it disagrees with. The Young Workers Liberation League, youth group of the Communist Party, demonstrates this more directly by refusing to support the RCY's rights in any way whatsoever.

These groups are only digging their own graves, since if the ban on the RCY is allowed to stand, it will enable the Administration to make similar attempts to eliminate any or all left-wing organizations, and establish a useful precedent for the same purpose elsewhere in the state and country. It is essential that all organizations and individuals on the left protest the ban and solidarize with the RCY in the name of working-class solidarity, retaining fully the right to express their own views, program and criticism. For unconditional defense of the left against the class enemy! ■

Leaflets on the anti-communist ban available from CCSF Revolutionary Communist Youth:

Student Council Excludes Communists! and *Rescind the Ban!*

Revolutionary Communist Youth, Box 40574, San Francisco, Calif. 94140

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WORKERS VANGUARD

West Coast Bureaucrats Run Amok—

CWA Paper Launches Smear Campaign Against Caucus

The trade union bureaucracies throughout the country are intensifying their efforts to ensure their continuing survival by working out new arrangements for "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist state, as exemplified by the complete subservience of all wings of the bureaucracy to the two parties of capitalism in the elections. In such a period, it has become more important than ever for revolutionists to work within the unions to expose and politically defeat these traitorous bureaucracies which stand as roadblocks to working-class action and to replace them with a leadership committed to proletarian principles. The alternative, as Trotsky correctly pointed out in 1940 in *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*, is that the trade unions will be made to serve as "secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of the workers and for obstructing the revolution..."

The initial form of revolutionary organization within the unions is the caucus, which is the nucleus of the alternative, militant leadership for that union. Such a caucus, based on a correct political program, must expose the union bureaucrats as unwilling and unable to fight for the class interests of the workers. Transcending simple bread-and-butter unionism, it must use its program to link proletarian class consciousness with a unified perspective of general social struggle against capitalism.

In the present period, exemplary work is being carried out along these lines among telephone workers by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9415. The regime of Local President Loren Blasingame typifies the bankruptcy of union leadership in a period in which the militancy of the ranks has been increasing. At the end of the last nationwide CWA strike, Blasingame's administration simply walked out on an overwhelming vote by the membership to reject the settlement and stay out, leaving those who obeyed the vote to fend for themselves.

MAC's Program Wias Election

More recently, the leadership was discredited by its cowardly handling of the Franklin Street affair, in which it refused to mobilize the ranks in response to company firings and suspensions despite widespread sentiment for a strike and a one-day walk out by Franklin St. operators. Subsequently, the MAC's candidate, Jane Margolis, won an election for alternate representative to the executive board, despite the fact that her leadership-backed opponent enjoyed real prestige as a militant. The difference between the candidates was the MAC's consistent militancy, its demonstrated leadership capacity and its full political program which guides all of the MAC's actions and which was described in detail during the elections. It included such demands as: end racial and women's oppression—equal pay for equal work; equal access to all job categories; for an equalized wage system—raise the lower paid categories; end unemployment—30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay; end government control of unions—no court or cop interference in union affairs; rank-and-file control—for direct election of shop stewards; immediate unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia—labor strikes against the war; nationalize the phone company and all major industry under workers' control; a workers party based on the trade unions—toward a workers government (see *WV* No. 10).

The need for a labor party has been underscored within the CWA during this election period by the political maneuvering of the union bureaucrats. Joseph Beirne, International President of the CWA, announced several months ago that the union would not support George Meany's pro-Nixon "neutrality" program, but will funnel political contributions to McGovern. The September issue of *Labor News*, a newly-revived newsletter circulated to all Local 9415 members by the local bureaucrats, also endorsed McGovern without bothering to go through such formalities as a discussion among the membership or a vote.

In the face of bureaucratic support for McGovern, the MAC has intensified its campaign to dispel the illusions about the Democratic Party as a "lesser evil" and about Democratic "friends of labor," and to expose the underlying interests of Beirne and Blasingame in creating these illusions in order to keep the workers in line by keeping them tied to the Democratic Party. The MAC has emphasized in its recent literature that the Democrats, no less than the Republicans, are a political arm of the U.S. ruling class. The MAC has reminded telephone workers that McGovern called for a wage freeze long ago, voted for compulsory arbitration to smash the dock strike, and favors the anti-union "right to work" section of the Taft-Hartley Act. The MAC correctly points out the critical necessity for the trade unions to break with *both* ruling-class parties and assert their power politically through a labor party based on, and controlled by, the unions—a party to fight in the workers' interests and to struggle for a workers government.

Bureaucratic Venom At Its Worst

The significance of the threat which the MAC poses to the Local 9415 leadership has not been lost on them and they have retaliated with a series of vicious attacks, the most recent being a grotesquely slanderous "Letter to the Editor" of *Labor News*. This unsigned so-called "letter" had been circulating in mimeographed form until the bureaucracy, which had earlier opposed a newsletter for the local, decided to revive *Labor News* in order to print it and otherwise counter the influence of MAC.

The bureaucracy must take full responsibility for this piece of filth. The "letter" is nothing but a series of disgusting personal attacks and gigantic lies designed to discredit MAC and intimidate any serious opposition to the leadership. It accuses MAC of union busting, of being company agents and of taking the union to court—all lies which fly in the face of all of MAC's actions and its explicit program. It is a cheap and filthy slur which calls the membership "sheep" and treats them like sheep with its vile playing on male chauvinism. It stinks to high heaven of woman-baiting and sexual innuendo.

Disguised as a supposed "report" from a caucus agent to the company, "Ma" Bell, it begins:

> "Dearest Mummy:
> Reports from the Coast are super! *Your girls* have done it again. Union busting was never so fun. With their *neurotic whines*, the Mac Pac (better known) as the "mini-muddy-murky-multi-purpose raucus" *clawed* their way through another union meeting.... this time the *fehne chorus* managed to convince the *sheep* that their leadership was wrong for not calling a strike without the raucus' permission. Another great job done for our company by *your broads*.... (Strange their initials spell out a man's name—might be some deep, subconscious lack here. After all, the only men I've seen them with are pale, shaking, downtrodden types....
> "...they call for the end of government control of the unions, yet where did your star, Kathleen *Strichnine*, go when she was suspended—to Uncle Sam NLRB." [emphasis ours]

This last point is only one of the most blatant lies. Blasingame's regime follows the principle of the bigger the lie, the better. What caucus member Kathleen Dicken actually did was appeal a *company* suspension based on a *company* charge of participating in an "unauthorized work action" to the NLRB. The caucus has never appealed to any section of the capitalist judiciary against the union.

The MAC wrote an answering letter to *Labor News* which, of course, was never published. Caucus members called at local and executive board meetings for opening of *Labor News* to signed letters by local members to no avail. They subsequently issued a leaflet to the membership entitled "*Labor News* Attacks MAC and the Membership" which pointed out that,

> "The savage content of this anonymously authored letter renders everything else in the issue fraudulent, dishonest and patently self-serving.... Faced with the possibility of being voted out of office by a hostile membership, the paper is a cheap gimmick, revived by the local bureaucrats as part of their election machinery to ridicule and smear the only principled opposition in CWA."

The leaflet concludes by calling for censuring the misleaders for "an attack on the rights of the entire membership."

"Bell Wringer" Sells Out Program

One small group within the CWA which claims to agree with the MAC program, but not with its strategy of counterposing to the bureaucracy a leadership based on that program, is the group which publishes the *Bell Wringer*. This group, which is supported by the International Socialists (IS), split from the MAC several months ago and is now pursuing the kind of rotten, centrist politics typical of the IS itself, despite its early insistence of agreement with the MAC program. In fact, for a group which has had so brief a career, it has already rolled up an impressive record of despicable sell-outs. With no inkling of the necessity to struggle for union leadership based on a militant, working-class program, the *Bell Wringer* can offer no alternative except spontaneous membership action. Instead of clearly demanding the ouster of Blasingame, they say only: "We have our own criticisms of Blasingame, but we think it is up to the rank-and-file to decide what to do about him."

More recently, they declined to support the MAC demand of 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. Instead, they are backing the *Company's* "Affirmative Action Program" as the answer to discrimination in hiring! In the face of the forced transfers of six operators and the threat that more than 150 may be forced out of work, their response has consisted of a pathetic appeal to District Manager Alan Prestegard for a one-month advance notice of any forced transfers.

Several months ago, a MAC leaflet ("Strike to Defend Our Union") stated: "The *Bell Wringer* is not willing to wage a political struggle against the bureaucracy. They see themselves as a *pressure group* on the leadership and when they follow their position to its logical conclusion they will end up supporting 'progressive' union bureaucrats who will play the same rotten role as the bureaucrats we have now." And so it has come to pass, and in a remarkably short time. In blocking with "progressive" would-be bureaucrats, including Virginia Branning and Bobbie Williams, in the Committee to Elect Shop Stewards, the *Bell Wringer* group has fulfilled the MAC prediction perfectly.

Virginia Branning, who has consistently played the role of loyal opposition and lawyer for Blasingame, has only recently come out in favor of the election of shop stewards in order to "put the issue to rest," because it is always being raised from the floor. As the MAC has reminded the membership, it is also because she and Williams are key elements in the local counterslate for the elections in November. She also states that she hopes that when more people become stewards, they will understand what a difficult job it is and be more sympathetic toward the leadership.

Bloc With Beirne's Regime

For fear of being exposed in its real, careerist aims, the Committee to Elect Shop Stewards has refused to meet with MAC members, despite the fact that the MAC has always been for the election of shop stewards, who are currently appointed by the local president. Furthermore, the committee's original "elected stewards" proposal gave veto power to the International! While this obvious crudity had to be withdrawn, the rotten bloc *Bell Wringer* has concluded with these local careerists still courts Joe Beirne's rabid CIA-linked anti-communist regime with subtler methods. *Bell Wringer's* opportunist, bureaucratic tail-ending reflects the classic historical role of a social-democratic grouping.

The heavy-handed and ineffectual Blasingame regime has become an embarrassment to the International, which would prefer a slicker local leadership capable of presenting a militant face while remaining loyal to Beirne. In this way, they hope to calm the growing rank-and-file unrest and undermine the impact of the MAC. Branning and Williams provide the perfect material for such a leadership. The International has already indirectly indicated its support for them through its representatives in Los Angeles and on the Local 9415 executive board itself.

Like Progressive Labor Party (which supports a Committee to Elect Shop Stewards in San Francisco), IS and the Communist Party, the *Bell Wringer* group is hoping to implement "union democracy" without undertaking the necessary struggle against the foremost obstacle to working-class politics—the trade union bureaucracies, which whatever their rhetoric are the sworn enemies of a vital and democratic labor movement because their own privileged position depends on keeping the workers passive.

Leadership of Nothing

The *Bell Wringer* has consistently refused to deal politically with the charges brought against them by the MAC. Borrowing an argument from the bureaucrats, they claim that to attack the politics of other groups would be "divisive"—as if it were not the bureaucrats who by their sellout policies daily divide and disarm the workers. But *Bell Wringer's* reluctance to politically confront the MAC did not prevent them from publishing a cowardly non-political attack on the MAC (*Bell Wringer*, 5 September 1972). Disingenuously defining themselves as "just a few people putting out a bulletin for our fellow workers... [with] no pretense of being the leadership of anything," they went on to attack the MAC for "hassling with other small groups in a clique-like and know-it-all fashion."

The *Bell Wringer* is right about one thing—they are not the leadership of anything. Within the CWA, the MAC stands as the only group whose program and strategy make it capable of leading a struggle not only for elected shop stewards, but for working-class political power. They are the only group which will not sell out the membership. The *Bell Wringer*, meanwhile, is going exactly where the MAC predicted their opportunism would lead them—right into the open arms of the bureaucracy! ■

Literature of the MAC caucus may be obtained by writing:
MAC
P.O. Box 462
El Cerrito, CA 94530

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 14 December 1972

N.Y. Times

"Well, we did it!" Victors shake hands. Kissinger and Nguyen Phu Duc, special advisor to Thieu.

Nixon Reaction Wins in Vietnam, U.S. Elections

The Kennedy/Johnson policy of counter-insurgency depended on U.S. imperialist hegemony and ability to play world policeman, and on the Cold War bogey of a Communist plot emanating from Moscow or Peking, the excuse for crushing movements of "national liberation," unreliable regimes, etc. With the overturn of capitalism in Cuba and the prolonged revolutionary war in Vietnam seen as examples, the widespread Soviet and Chinese influence combined with numerous unreliable petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes throughout the "Third World" was presumed to be the chief threat to the capitalist world order. This dovetailed with Maoist and Guevarist theories of guerilla war and "encirclement" of the imperialist centers by the Third World "countryside," which lumped the workers of the imperialist countries in the same camp with the imperialist bourgeoisie and relied in fact not on "armed struggle" but on an alliance with petty-bourgeois nationalists, often to the exclusion of the working class. Thus the absurd image of a petty-bourgeois Third World guerilla army, floating in on sampans under the Golden Gate bridge to liberate U.S. wealth for the world's peoples, irrespective of the main motion of the class struggle in the U.S., was common to LBJ, naive Guevarists and much of the U.S. left.

The Cuban and Vietnamese developments, however, were historical exceptions consisting of petty-bourgeois-led, peasant-based armies confronting peculiar historical circumstances in the absence of the working class as an active contender for power. The role of the Maoist mass party of Indonesia, the PKI, in leading the working class to slaughter in 1965 on the basis of reliance on the nationalist demagogue Sukarno, was the reality of Maoist Stalinism throughout the colonial world. One by one, the Sukarnos, Ben Bellas, Nkrumahs, and Nassers were toppled, undefended and unmourned, by more reliable military dictatorships which were more openly pro-imperialist and more unashamedly eager for U.S. capital penetration. Yet Vietnam remained a running sore.

By the time of the 1968 U.S. presidential elections, the U.S. ruling class had come to a decision that in order to avoid a clear defeat at the hands of the persistent revolutionary fighters of Vietnam, a settlement acceptable to imperialism would have to be brought about through the medium of another Stalinist betrayal, using the Russian and Chinese bureaucracies as levers to pressure the wretched, counter-revolutionary Hanoi and NLF leaderships to restrain the struggle. Nixon the right-wing anti-communist privately recognized, after Johnson was forced to abdicate by the unending war, "that there's no way to win the war" (Whalen, *Catch the Falling Flag*), and formulated this strategem as the main element in his so-called, "secret plan." With Kissinger writing his speeches for him, Nelson Rockefeller was clearly projecting the same strategy:

> "The convergence of Rockefeller's views with Nixon's in 1968 can only reflect a new consensus in the American capitalist class. These matters are well chewed over in the bankers' clubs

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Baton Rouge:

Two Students Killed in Racist Cop Assault

NEW ORLEANS—Cold-blooded, racist butchery is the only possible description of the killing of two students at the all-black Southern University campus in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on 16 November. The far-fetched and lurid accusations against the students from police, Governor Edwards and the press are desperate lies to cover up the naked brutality and lack of pretext for a vicious cop assault which was planned in advance and unleashed by the ruling class to crush black student protests.

The Mayor of Baton Rouge, W.W. Dumas threatened, "Two have been shot and there may be more if necessary." This exposed all the ruling-class lies as to how the students died!

Thirty students, who were accused of having "taken over" the campus administration building, were actually *invited into* the building by Southern University President Netterville when they came to protest the 4 a.m. arrests of three students who had previously been granted amnesty in an earlier protest. A larger crowd gathered out-

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New Orleans States Item

Bodies of students removed from Baton Rouge campus after police assault.

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Punto Final

PAGE 6

Pop Front Imperils Chilean Workers

Miguel Enriquez, secretary-general of the MIR: "Although we have differences with aspects of its policies, this does not mean that we come to a definitive break with the Popular Unity."

Leninist Faction Breaks from Bolshevik Course

Four More Choose Spartacist Politics

In the past three months, left-splits from the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance have reduced those organizations by some 30 members. Those who left, far from being a rag-tag collection of marginal members, included 5 past local organizers and 5-7 others who had been on local and regional executive committees.

The first wave of resignations came on 14 August 1972 when 5 members of the SWP/YSA resigned from the SWP and from the Leninist Faction (LF) of the SWP, stating that they were going to fuse with the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth. The resignations came immediately after the (of necessity) secret national convention of the LF. The 5 who split based their decision on the LF leadership's precipitous but definitive veering away from the positions of its basic factional statement (the LF's founding "Declaration of Faction" which was submitted to the SWP on 15 May). This political turn meant a decisive motion away from a perspective of fusion between the LF and the Spartacist League, which the 5 LF comrades had been advocating within the LF for several months. (The LF "Declaration of Faction" and the telegram of the 5 resigning from the SWP/YSA were printed in *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972; a full discussion of the counterposed currents within the LF could not be undertaken by us at that time since the core of the LF still remained within the SWP.)

On 26 October 1972 the LF as a faction left the SWP, but immediately underwent a split paralleling the one of 14 August which is explained in the letter below. Finally, Comrade Dave J. has also resigned from the SWP and applied for membership in the SL. Thus, of the 30 or so in or politically sympathetic to the LF, 10 have chosen the SL rather than continue in the LF with its nebulous perspectives and political back-sliding.

Two Years of Internal SWP History

The Pabloist revisionism which gained hegemony over the Fourth International in the early 1950's took its toll on the SWP, which decisively capitulated to revisionism in the early 1960's when the SWP adopted the position that Castro's Cuba was a fundamentally healthy workers state. Beginning first with the denial of the need for a Leninist vanguard party to lead the revolution, the SWP went on to jettison a large amount of its theoretical past which got in the way of its opportunism toward the "growing mass movements." Key to the new turn was the development of an absolutely homogeneous internal party situation. During the 1963-65 period, all opposition groups of both the right and left were expelled or driven out. This opened the road to the SWP's rapid consolidation around a fundamentally *reformist* thrust. The 1965-70 period was then marked by a high recruitment rate for the SWP/YSA and the lack of any oppositional tendencies to prevent the Barnes-Dobbs leadership from educating the recruits in the "new reality" rather than the "old Trotskyism."

In 1970, a series of SWP members met at the Oberlin Educational Conference and prepared an outline-study guide as the basis of an oppositional document to be presented at the 1971 SWP National Convention. The document—"For A Proletarian Orientation"—supported the SWP majority positions on the "mass movements," while calling for a break with the petty-bourgeois campus orientation, urging instead that forces be sent into the unions. The Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT), then, was a highly contradictory force within the SWP, abjuring a struggle against the SWP's anti-Trotskyist positions on crucial international (e.g., Cuba) and domestic (e.g., Black Nationalism, anti-war popfrontism) questions while presenting a sharp and effective polemic on the issue of the need for an orientation toward the working class, counterposing the heritage of the SWP to its current policy.

Such contradictions cannot continue to exist indefinitely within organizations, but are usually resolved by splits. When the POT formally dissolved after the 1971 SWP convention, certain groupings within it, centered in Boston and Washington D.C., refused to sit back and wait two years for another convention before again taking up the fight. After several months of study and analysis, both groups independently reached the conclusion that the POT's earlier support for the SWP's "mass movements" line was incorrect and that a faction was necessary to fight the SWP leadership on all these questions. Two draft documents were circulated and at various national gatherings, these comrades (who were later to form the LF) met informally to discuss, reaching the conclusion that the SWP was no longer revolutionary, while the rest of the ex-POTers still maintained it was and termed the intent to continue a struggle "disloyal." On April 1-2 the "Declaration of the Leninist Faction" was drawn up as the basis upon which to sort out the left wing of the old POT along fundamental programmatic lines. Thus the fundamental contradiction within the old POT was resolved: on the one hand the revolutionary program of the LF, and on the other the declarations of loyalty to revisionism by the rest of the POT's former supporters.

The Turn Away from the Revolutionary Program

The subsequent course of the LF can only be understood in the light of the lack of revolutionary continuity within the SWP. Those few in the SWP who themselves experienced the SWP's revolutionary past were not prepared to go into opposition: the attitude was at best, "Of course we stand for a proletarian orientation, but now is not the time to fight the leadership." The watch-word of the LF was "Back to Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky!" But for all these comrades it was a Marx, Lenin and Trotsky that existed only on paper. While a critique of the SWP's practice could be achieved on this basis, the LF's method was insufficient to establish a program of *action for the future*.

At this point the LF elements began to diverge. The D.C. group had discussed with the SL (which embodies revolutionary continuity in the U.S.) and, agreeing with the SL on all principled questions, fought for the SL program in the SWP/YSA and the LF. The Boston group, however, specifically shied away from discussing with the SL leadership. Pulled since the beginning between two poles—SL fusion or independent organizational existence—and without roots in the authentic traditions of Trotskyism, the LF leadership was driven deeper into a Talmudic-like study of Lenin's *Works* and evolved a series of positions based on this or that article but lacking an *understanding of the development* behind the works they quoted. They exhibited gross instability and rapidly adopted a series of positions which constituted a clear retreat from the politics of the "Declaration of Faction"; they now called for: a Fifth International; the right of minorities to publically criticize the majority (and initially no right of proportional representation on higher bodies for minorities!); consideration of a fusion course with H. Turner's opportunist *Vanguard Newsletter*. Linking together all the elements was a fundamental misconception of the dialectical relations between the party and the class, an overall "workerist" bias which sees implantation within the class as the essential answer to all possible ills of the party.

Today the LF is beset by a series of internal differences based on the above mentioned development. The Minneapolis wing reflects the opportunist narrow trade union conception of *Vanguard Newsletter*. The Madison wing is developing the bureaucratic-collectivist position on the Russian question, and both Chicago and Cleveland have exhibited severe demoralization.

The course of the 9 members of the LF who have turned to the SL shows the only way forward. Either the LF will turn to the SL and thus establish continuity with the revolutionary Trotskyist world movement, or, without any real base, it will continue to disintegrate. Some of its members may for a time find a home in *Vanguard Newsletter;* some will undoubtedly gravitate toward the third-camp dilettantes of the International Socialists (*Vanguard Newsletter* writ large); some will leave politics altogether. The fraction of the LF which has, in two successive waves, found its way to fusion with the SL/RCY shows the principled way forward for any serious Trotskyist individuals and groupings which may yet emerge from the reformist SWP in years to come.

LETTER OF RESIGNATION FROM THE LF OF THE SWP

October 29, 1972

Central Committee
Leninist Faction
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Comrades:

The recent developments in the political direction of the LF are not encouraging and we are particularly concerned over the break in fusion discussions with the Spartacist League. As reported in Leninist Faction Report No. 17 the reasons are as follows:

> "...SL broke off all discussions with the Leninist Faction at this time on the grounds that the LF was not really interested in fusion and was playing games ('proof' of this was our maintaining that we could be in a common organization with SL despite our position on democratic centralism and our maintaining that VNL, SL and the LF could be in a common organization)."
> —LFR, 10/15/72, p. 2

We should briefly look at both these issues, democratic centralism and a three-way fusion with the SL, LF and VNL. What has become ever so clear since the Ashtabula Convention, as illustrated by Comrade Paul Abbot in his document, "Party, Class, and Consciousness," is that the unifying conception behind these separate propositions is precisely the misconstrued relation of the vanguard to the class.

First, democratic centralism. The point in conflict here is that the LF holds the position that minorities have the *right* to publish their views in the public press. Comrade Barbara G.'s document does stipulate that this right is to be under the supervision of the CC but this, in itself, is a contradiction. A right that can be monitored by the CC ceases to be a right and may or may not become a norm. The right of proportional representation is a right of minorities, and this right is not governed by the discretion of the CC. It is a right, pure and simple; there is no discussion, etc. If the minority has the required number of delegates they get a seat(s) on the national bodies.

In practice the first issue of the LF's press could contain three articles on trade union functioning, two on the Russian question and possibly three on the international question. The CC would of course attempt to regulate this but which minority positions would be left out? Would this not violate their rights? In short this process could easily turn into a factional football which could seriously endanger the unity of action that is so necessary for a vanguard party.

> "The petty-bourgeois opposition in our party demonstrates its hostility to Bolshevik organization by its demand that the minority be granted the right to transform the press into a discussion organ for diametrically opposite programs. By that method it would take the control of the press out of the hands of the National Committee and subordinate it to any temporary, anarchistic combination which can make itself heard at the moment."
> —James P. Cannon, *Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, p. 234

When the opposition in the 1940 SWP fight did not win the right to publish their positions in the party press they then demanded their own journal. This quote is not used to link the present LF policy as leading in this direction but to show how this right can easily destroy the purpose of the party press. Certainly on occasions both sides of an issue will or should be presented (e.g., *New International*, 1940, carried the major documents of both sides on the Russian question) but this should *not* be the norm and *never* become a right.

What is at issue here is the 60-year experience since Lenin's final defense of "public criticism." That this is so, one need only examine Comrade G.'s document, "Democratic Centralism," adopted at the Ashtabula Convention. In a concrete description of Lenin's organizational principles up to 1912, Comrade G. shows convincingly that Lenin insisted on public debate within the party press. But 1912 appears as a watershed. After the actual foundation of the Bolshevik Party, she finds eclectically only episodes where a minority view was presented to the public as a whole. The *April Theses* are cited as an example, along with permission for Bukharin to speak as a member of the Left Communists. Virtually in every case cited, however, it becomes clear on further examination, that the Party would tolerate appeals to the support of the working class only when such views could not be contained *internally* or when the issues themselves constituted "split issues" (e.g., the *April Theses*).

The peculiarity of the historical circumstances before 1912 in Russia was underscored by Trotsky when he discusses Shachtman's "historical precedents" for public criticism:

> "In the Bolshevik Party the opposition had its own public papers, etc. He forgets only that the Party at that time had hundreds of thousands of members, that the discussion had as its task to reach these hundreds of thousands and to con-

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and corporate board rooms before their regurgitation in the common cud of campaign discussion."
—I.F. Stone, *New York Review of Books*, 2 November 1972.

Soviet/Chinese Subservience

With the breakdown of the international monetary system, and declaration of trade war and economic emergency measures by Nixon in mid-1971, the international power rivalry of the main imperialist countries had erupted into the open, and the hegemonic position of U.S. imperialism of the post-war era was broken. Since China and the USSR had become increasingly isolated and stripped of international influence by their own treacherous policies, they immediately began to look to their own positions in the scramble of alliances which was under way among the imperialist powers. As Nixon made his move in striking a deal with Peking, the Soviet Union sent out strong feelers to Japan.

These developments came to a head when the mining of North Vietnamese harbors by Nixon coincided with the culmination of a U.S./Soviet trade and arms deal in the Moscow summit meeting. With the largest fleet of mine-sweepers in the world at their disposal laying idle, the venal Soviet bureaucrats embraced the perpetrator of this act of supreme imperialist arrogance at the very moment that his mines and bombs were raining down—the greatest campaign of aerial bombardment in history—on their "ally," North Vietnam. Nixon gave them not the merest scrap of a face-saving concession, such as a bombing halt while he was in Moscow: he knew such gestures were unnecessary. With such cringing, dog-like cowardice proving their total reliability for future peace-keeping in the colonial world, the Peking and Moscow bureaucracies competed with each other to secure a deal with imperialism, while the U.S. bourgeoisie lauded Nixon for beating its rivals to the Moscow/Peking trade market. Thus under the formula of "a healthy U.S.—Europe, Soviet Union, China, Japan each balancing the other," combined with joint responsibility for swiftly policing the world of any signs of "instability" (read threat to capitalism), Nixon promises a "new structure of peace."

Based on the subservience of the Sino/Soviet bureaucracies and the possibility of massive new outlets for capital expansion through trade and credits with the deformed workers states, this formula does provide a temporary basis for a new imperialist stabilization. Yet the competition between the imperialist powers will soon burst the narrow limits of this bubble. Already, giant U.S. corporations are demanding the kind of direct, overt state aid and assistance for their international plundering exploits which has enabled Japanese monopolists to dominate the economy of the entire Pacific basin despite trade barriers, concessions made under pressure, and a vicious American campaign of chauvinist slander. This competition will lead directly and inevitably toward a new, third world war for the redivision of world markets, with the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states choosing sides between sets of international pirates on the basis of whose capital investments and trade their economies are most dependent on. Only the intervention of the international revolutionary proletariat can halt this process.

The Sellout in the Sellout

Little room for maneuver was left to the bureaucratic clique in Hanoi. Yet these junior parasites on the workers movement have been through similar treachery and know just what to do. As the bombs fell while Nixon and Brezhnev conversed and Nixon befouled Moscow television with his crocodile tears over "Little Tanya" and victims of Nazi aggression, not one squeak of official protest came from these North Vietnamese butchers of the workers of 1945, these betrayers of 1954! Instead, as before, they prepared the defeat of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and liberation fighters. They had already curtailed the massive offensive which had very quickly threatened the very existence of the Saigon puppet regime. Even American officers expressed amazement at the Stalinist leadership's failure to press the offensive forward when the Saigon militarists had been routed and disorganized.

The Hanoi/PRG/NLF program was a sellout to begin with. Thrusting reunification of Vietnam into the distant background, and disclaiming any interest in socialism whatsoever, their terms called for a "neutral" (read capitalist) South Vietnam, open to foreign investment (allowing continued U.S. control) and run by a coalition government, including the Saigon regime, minus only Thieu. As the jaws of Nixon's "secret plan"—the pressure from Moscow and Peking to achieve a "settlement"—began to close around them, they began to betray even this meager program, in favor of essentially U.S.-dictated terms. In an 8 October announcement, the Hanoi bureaucrats for the first time dropped, among other things, their demand that a political solution accompany an end to the military conflict. As Kissinger said later, "... for the first time they made a proposal which made it possible to negotiate concretely ...," (*NY Times*, 27 October) i.e., they came to terms.

The core of the new terms, which ostensibly allow both "governments" to coexist in the South until the election "decides" on a new government, is that they unambiguously allow the Saigon regime to remain intact, whether Thieu remains or is eventually sacrificed. Just as the breathing spell of class peace after 1954, enforced by the Stalinist leadership, enabled the U.S. to re-stabilize the French colonial regime under Diem, so the release from the pressure of the war in the current deal will only aid the stabilization of the present regime. Through intimidation, fraud, etc.—i.e., all the usual methods—Saigon will "win" any elections held on its territory, if any are ever held. The regime may lose more territory after the removal of U.S. troops through continued guerilla war and isolated rebellion, but NLF "representatives" of the liberation forces will then simply be included in the government in exchange for guarantees of class peace in the countryside. This would have to be done only if needed to pacify the masses, since the well-established policy of the South Vietnamese Stalinist leadership is not to intervene in the class struggle in the heaviest population areas even to obtain a mass base, let alone to attempt to seize power.

As a further guarantor of class peace, which is to be guaranteed for *all* of Indochina, Nixon offers Hanoi the same economic incentive which Moscow and Peking have already bitten into: trade and "aid," underlined by a promise of $2.5 billion for reconstruction made by Nixon in January. Every bureaucratic usurper has his price. For this, Hanoi agreed that the CIA-controlled net including private armies will be allowed to remain and spread from Laos to Vietnam. In addition, the Hanoi/NLF cabal, in contrast even to the 1954 sellout, did not even insist on the release of political prisoners held in the South. These will be murdered when ARVN and U.S. prisoners have been released.

The international supervisory commission, in which the only Southeast Asian country will be the blood-stained, voraciously counter-revolutionary Indonesia, with willing tools of the U.S. and the Soviet Union for partners, will no doubt allow a tendency for Saigon territory to predominate over that of the PRG/NLF because of the more ostentatious and overwhelming military firepower the regime will be able to bring into play in any local conflicts. (The U.S. insisted on dumping the old international commission created by the 1954 Geneva Accords because of the recent flaunting of U.S. imperialist interests by India, one of its three members, thereby giving it a majority not directly controlled by the U.S.)

Thus despite such difficulties for Saigon as the allowing of North Vietnamese troops to remain in the South and the hard-to-police infiltration routes from the North, the *Wall Street Journal* (30 October) was able to agree with Kissinger that the terms were essentially "made in America..."

While Kissinger spoke righteously of the need to have full truce supervision in place immediately as the cease fire went into effect in order to prevent last-minute land-grabbing by each side, the U.S., in addition to stepping up the bombing of the North, was conducting a massive airlift of military hardware into the South during the delay thus using its technical advantage to grab an advantage for Saigon in material before

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Canarsie: Nixon Profits from Racism

Nixon won the election primarily on the basis of a racist appeal to the white workers and lower middle class on the busing issue. The Canarsie busing dispute, in which a mob of white parents occupied a Brooklyn school and conducted a boycott to prevent the admission of 31 black and Puerto Rican students from a nearby ghetto to John Wilson Junior High School, was thus more important to the average voter than the continuing war in Vietnam.

The smug liberals of the 1960's sanctimoniously proclaimed that the reformist civil rights movement had made "great strides." Perhaps the economic condition of blacks had actually worsened, but "public opinion" was being won over and never again could *overt* racism raise its head in the North. The anti-busing backlash, exemplified in Canarsie, shows again that bourgeois "public opinion" is a will-o-the-wisp, and metaphysical "strides" not safeguarded by an organized and conscious proletariat are easily obliterated.

The Canarsie confrontation typified the bankruptcy of liberalism, of which Nixon's re-election was definitive proof. The northern liberals and civil rights leaders tried to duplicate the reformist tactics of the southern civil rights struggle in the North by appealing to the bourgeoisie, through the courts, to correct the conscious discrimination of "de facto" segregation in the schools. White workers fear that what the bourgeoisie "gives" one section of the working class will be paid for by another. Thus racists played on white parent fears aroused by "pairing" plans, in which white students are sent to ghetto schools as blacks are bused out of the ghetto. The liberals did not try to hide the fact, of course, that the ghetto schools, which must prepare black youth not to be fully-developed human beings, but only for the worst jobs, unemployment and a marginal ghetto existence, are inferior to schools in white neighborhoods. In fact, they based their case on the illusion that blacks could advance into the "middle class" if only they had decent education and went to school with middle-class students. In the end, they only succeeded in convincing white workers that they had to oppose black advancement in order to preserve their own gains.

"Left" groups such as the Socialist Workers Party buried the class nature of the school question by firmly adopting a virtual race-war perspective in the 1968 New York teachers strike, by backing the black "community"/Ford Foundation/Mayor Lindsay pop front to smash the teachers union. Now the SWP screams support for "community control" only for the "oppressed community," thereby claiming that whites are not oppressed! Picking up the "community control" demand in response to the liberals, the anti-busing forces of Canarsie have demonstrated the utopian and reactionary character of this slogan. It can only aid segregationism!

Busing to decrease school desegregation is a minimum democratic reform which must be supported as such. Decent education for all, with genuine equality and integration, will come only with the working-class overthrow of the capitalist vermin who thrive on the misery and inequality of the masses. But this cannot be made a *precondition* for simple equality for blacks. Marxists are the first and most consistent supporters of the elementary democratic right of the masses to equality. No concessions to the anti-busing reaction!

Canarsie is only one small eruption in a situation seething with potential for full-scale explosion. The racists continue to organize and regroup their forces for future assaults on blacks over busing. The racist hysteria manifested there is present as an undercurrent barely beneath the surface throughout the U.S. Needless to say, race war among workers would be a massacre of blacks in which the only victor would be Nixon and the capitalist ruling class he represents.

Economic and therefore educational equality is a contradiction in terms when capitalist society is *defined* by inequality. Only through united class struggle around a communist transitional program can an equal and decent standard of living be achieved by workers—at the expense of the capitalists, not each other! For full employment—shorten the work week—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! For a sliding scale of wages and hours. Capitalist inflation must be paid for by the capitalists. Control prices, not wages! We demand quality education for everyone, not *equally miserable* education. For open admissions to *all* educational institutions! No "community control"—schools to be run by the students, workers, teachers.

These demands will be fought for and won not by the multi-class "community" or the liberal politicians whose reformist sellout programs are capitalist through and through, designed to make capitalism work better, but by the organized and independent working class with revolutionary leadership. ■

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the truce (after the truce, only replacement of existing materiel will be allowed), and further demonstrating its confidence in the longevity of the Saigon regime.

U.S. Left Grovels

The reaction of the left to the peace settlement has been predictable. The Communist Party, *Guardian*, and right-wing Maoist and "Third World" groups such as Revolutionary Union, Black Workers Congress and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (Young Lords), hailed the terms as a great "victory" for the NLF/DRV, thereby demonstrating, not total blindness, but just sufficient vision to discern the essential interests of the bureaucratic ruling stratum without receiving an actual cable from Hanoi. The Communist Party of course has been doing this for decades; the others, with the exception of the *Guardian*, represent the CP-trained remnant of a section of the New Left which sought not revolution but reliance on the bureaucratic elites in the deformed workers states as substitutes for the revolutionary struggle of which they could not conceive anywhere, especially in the U.S.

To the left of these, the hypocrisy of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League and ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party stands out. Both, of course, denounce the peace terms. Yet both have relied heavily on political adaptation to the Hanoi leadership as part of their opportunist strategies. The SWP leadership has since 1965 based its main orientation on a perspective of loose popular-front coalitions of left petty-bourgeoisie, trade union bureaucrats and bourgeoisie around the "single issue" of the war. They almost seem to feel sorry to lose the issue, since womens' liberation has failed to replace it as a "mass movement."

Demonstrations called by SWP-front NPAC at federal buildings on 26 October drew no more than 250 people anywhere. The usual excuse of an "election year" was given—the SWP's semi-honest way of admitting that its "independent" "mass movement" was out working for McGovern (or completely paralyzed by Kissinger's statement, "Peace is at hand.")! Thus as Nixon steps up aid to Portugal's counter-revolutionary wars in Africa, deepens committment to the Republic of South Africa and designates the Indian Ocean area a "power vacuum" calling for increased military attention, the SWP's "anti-war" movement is gone, nowhere to be found, having served its function of helping to prevent the development of a real, i.e., *anti-capitalist*, anti-war movement by tying it to the liberal bourgeoisie rather than splitting off a wing on the basis of working-class politics.

In order to promote its "anti-war movement," the SWP, while retaining a verbally Trotskyist analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking, has to be criminally soft on the "heroic" Hanoi/NLF leadership in order not to alienate the other liberals in the "movement." Thus at a recent "educational" conference at UCLA (10-12 November), SWP leader Fred Halstead carefully refrained from characterizing the Vietnamese Communist leadership as "Stalinist," and in effect exonerated them from complicity in the sellout, placing all the blame on Moscow/Peking.

Essentially the same position is pushed by the Workers League (and their mentors of Gerry Healy's British SLL) since these left-sounding political bandits have consistently adapted to the Hanoi bureaucracy and NLF in order to wean their way into favor with a section of the SWP, its "anti-war movement," and its international co-thinkers in the United Secretariat. Thus the 6 November *Bulletin*, in an article on the sellout, only briefly mentions a possible *"retreat,"* not betrayal, on the part of Hanoi, and concentrates its fire on the Moscow/Peking bureaucrats' attempts to strangle NLF "victories" just at the moment at which they were about "to topple the Thieu regime and throw the Americans out..."

Moscow/Peking and the Meaning of the Nixon Victory

Not only diplomatic isolation, but also economic considerations, impelled the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats to this most craven betrayal since the immediate post-war period. Both are thirsting for trade to generate capital for technological modernization as well as for needed commodities.

Looking for new markets for trade and capital investment, capitalists of the rival imperialist countries have been racing each other to get to Peking and Moscow first. 2,500 representatives of U.S. businesses have visited Moscow so far in 1972 looking for deals, including the biggest monopolists. (Some of their house-boy labor leaders, such as Leonard Woodcock of the UAW, could even be found tagging along in the crowd.) This drive by U.S. capitalism is a major part of the new "Nixon" program.

Being more modern and more diversified in its economy, and therefore more dependent on interconnection with the capitalist world market, the Soviet thirst is greatest. Far from being on the verge of "surpassing" capitalism through "peaceful coexistence" as Khrushchev promised, the Soviet economy—deformed and disorganized by heavy-handed bureaucratism—is weak, as evidenced by its need to purchase a staggering one-third of the U.S. wheat crop, and is desperately in need of over-all technological upgrading, without which new investment fails to sufficiently improve the productivity of labor. The USSR lacks high-grade saleable commodities to build up credits in Western markets; most of its industrial products sell only in captive East European markets. Raw materials, such as the potential of natural gas to supply an energy-starved Europe and America, are still its best source of income. Yet even here, massive investments from a major capitalist power are needed to undertake projects such as the natural gas development, and this is an expressed part of Soviet aims. The *Wall Street Journal* (18 March) quoted an unnamed U.S. official, referring to the trade talks: "...the magnitude of the credits the Russians want is mind boggling."

Thus the continued rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic usurpers in the Soviet Union and China has not only led to monumental new betrayals of the world working class, but, under the continued myth of the peaceful development of "socialism in one country," now directly threatens to lead to deep imperialist penetration undermining the nationalized economy itself. Aside from the unpleasant prospect of Soviet workers being directly exploited for the profit of U.S. investors, this threat will ultimately pose the question of the very existence of the basic conquest of the October Revolution, the state-owned planned economy. As the economy becomes more and more linked up with and dependent upon imperialist capital, the bureaucracy will more and more tend to become merely the administrators for the foreign capitalists. Only the construction of Leninist vanguard parties in these degenerated and deformed workers states for workers' political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy, with the slogan "No retreat—for communist unity against U.S. imperialism" and a program of spreading revolution to overthrow the world bourgeoisie and place the world economy in the hands of the working class, can prevent the eventual final betrayal and the ultimate return of the Soviet Union and China, etc., to direct capitalist rule.

Nixon Loyalty Drive Coming

The strength of Nixon's position flows from the interconnected tasks the Nixon administration has accomplished for the U.S. bourgeoisie, its real masters: new markets for trade and capital expansion; the weakened position of the Moscow/Peking/Hanoi bureaucracies, clawing at one another's throats and locked into a gross new betrayal, the Vietnam "problem" also solved thereby; a gain for the U.S. in its race against Europe and Japan; and prospects for a return to domestic tranquility and class peace through jobs provided by the overseas economic expansion and through the elimination of the Vietnam sore spot. Yet the class struggle goes on, as Nixon and the ruling class are well aware. The prospect of unrest at home is dangerous for them, since above all, the U.S. needs a reliable home base in order to pursue its global designs, which must include new and eventually much bigger wars. Unquestioning patriotism and enthusiasm will be required for this—enthusiasm which was so evidently absent during the Vietnam war. The bourgeoisie cannot lead the working class into a major war if the liberal bourgeois news media are cynical about U.S. policies and "unreliable" enough to print factual exposes which undercut jingoist myths.

Speaking about the renewed bombing of North Vietnam and mining of the ports, Nixon said on 16 October, "Immediately after that decision, there was precious little support from any of the so-called opinion leaders of this country," referring to editors, publishers, television commentators, university presidents, professors, et al. And in a grossly paternalist, arrogant interview just before the election, referring to the American people as "children," Nixon vowed to end the "era of permissiveness." The left (and some unlucky liberals) will be the first victim of this assault in the name of loyalty, and the news media and campus administrations, etc., will begin to line up and help purge their ranks of "reds" as they have done before, thus ushering in a new mood of expansionist pro-imperialism. The trade union leaders, lapping at their master's hand in the usual short-sighted way, will be the most eager adherents to the campaign, although their unions will soon be the target of ruling class assault—not just to purge "reds" and "trouble-makers," but to break trade union resistance, drive down wage scales, etc., in order to make U.S. labor more "productive" for international competition.

In the same interview, Nixon mentioned the need to cut costs in government through purging "fat." The first wave of the assault indicated by this is under way in California under Reagan, where a statewide campaign to smash the union wages of building trades workers on the University of California campuses has been scoring gains because of typical bureaucratic foot-dragging and betrayals. Such cam-

N.Y. Times

White parents defend "community control" in Canarsie – racist exclusion of blacks.

paigns, conducted by the federal government, embolden the entire capitalist class to step up the union-busting campaigns which have been building for years. As the trade union bureaucrats trip over each other to assure Nixon of their "loyalty," they will set their own unions up for the axe. A clear example is the construction trades unions, the leaders of which have been the most adamant pro-Nixon anti-communists, organizing anti-red "loyalty" marches in New York City, etc. This vile prostration has merely served to convince the capitalists to go ahead full steam with attacks on the building trades unions.

War and the Election

Nixon's decisive victory at the polls was based on the fact that he had already phased out virtually all direct U.S. involvement in Vietnam, meaning no more American casualties, and seemed to be in the midst of many high-powered maneuvers designed to bring "peace" and provide a basis for jobs and prosperity through renewed capitalist expansion. Particularly, with no more American "boys" coming home in bags, Nixon had indeed succeeded in his promise that Vietnam would not be an issue in the 1972 elections. This was a necessary precondition to the new "Nixon" policy, which certainly does not rule out future use of U.S. troops, but which had to begin its campaign for a new loyalty on the basis of eliminating this great source of discontent of the previous decade.

The liberal pro-imperialist position, especially as it was conveyed by son-of-preacher George McGovern, was left with only "moral" objections about the "evil" character of U.S. bombing, etc. in the context of the general lack of consciousness of the division of society into two basic classes, and the continuing strong identification of the bulk of the working and middle classes with the government as "theirs"—a concept pushed equally, of course, by liberals and conservatives alike—the McGovern position amounted to little more than a statement of the moral culpability of the American people themselves in the crimes of U.S. imperialism. Thus Nixon reaped the anger and frustration of years of liberal propaganda about "injustices" implicitly or explicitly laid at the doorstep of working people (the war, racial oppression, inflation), combined with similar reasoning from the most vocal "Third Worldist" New Leftists (identified by most workers as belonging to the same privileged social stratum as the liberals).

"Race" Question Sweeps Nixon In

Nixon's success in mining Haiphong harbor virtually without a peep of protest from the Russians had already basically defused the Vietnam issue, allowing domestic issues to come to the fore—particularly the "race question." The returns showed that Nixon received the entire Wallace vote, and decisively swept such areas as Michigan—despite a major UAW push for McGovern—where the busing issue had been hottest. McGovern, meanwhile, collected consistent support only from among blacks and the very poor. His puerile, pablum-like evasions of the busing issue were an insult to everyone in place of a program.

Nixon's counter-attack to liberalism on both the international and "race" questions was similar: Don't worry about the problems of other nations and races, ran his appeal; rely on the government to provide prosperity on the basis of capitalist expansion and peace, order and the status quo. In a country completely dominated by capitalist politics, no minority section of the working class can advance without appearing to threaten the rest of the workers. To white ethnic workers and the lower middle class—living perilously close to a ghetto existence themselves and plagued by unemployment, rising taxes, etc.—blacks and liberals making demands on the "establishment" are a threat: what the ruling class "gives" the blacks will be paid for by them. Thus millions of workers, ground down by exploitation all their lives only to be cast onto the human slag heap with nothing to show for it, are transformed into the willing political allies of Nixon and the ruling class for the racist double oppression of blacks and other minorities and the genocide of Vietnamese peasants. This backlash is an outgrowth of the total lack of a working-class political alternative or even the merest semblance of one since the forties. The complete failure of the left to transcend New Leftism, liberalism and the now-shriveled bubble of the bourgeois-dominated anti-war "movement," the inability to address the key questions of a working-class program and orientation, has allowed this miserable condition of a backward and divided working class to be extended, basically unaltered, into the seventies.

The election demonstrated the fragmentation of both bourgeois parties into the plethora of individual careerists, cliques and pressure groups of which they are composed, and of the official labor movement, which was failing after the different capitalist candidates. To aid the bourgeoisie in restoring some semblance of "voter choice" (and to save the political skins of his cronies in the Democratic Party from the fangs of the old machines), McGovern gingerly suggested the old social-democratic formula of "realignment" of the two parties along clear liberal and conservative lines.

The firm alliance of the official labor movement with the Democratic Party, which was established under the New Deal in the thirties to provide an illusory substitute for a working-class program and party, is in a shambles, thereby increasing the vulnerability of all wings of the bureaucracy. Meany rides at the top of the heap of those seeking to reestablish the old coalition. Probably no one besides Nixon himself was more pleased with the outcome of the election, since it provided the basis to smash the McGovern liberals and reinstate the likes of John Connally, Mayor Daley and Henry Jackson on the Democratic National Committee. This should be a lesson to the Workers League, which gleefully publicized Meany's "neutrality" position as a break with the old coalition and capitalist politics generally, and called on Meany to form a labor party. As all wings of the bureaucracy scramble to redefine "labor's political position," no section even dreams of forming a labor party. Statements made by some of the leaders threatening to form a labor party (before the election began in earnest) were never meant for serious deliberations, but only for gullible fools and cynics such as the Workers League, which consciously forms its entire politics from such rubbish. (see *WV* No. 13)

The apparent break to the left from Meany during the election on the part of central leaders of the AFL-CIO who supported McGovern, such as Beirne (CWA) and Smith (IAM), was also food only for fools, such as the Communist Party. Among the bureaucratic tops, Meany's prestige is now enhanced even with the prodigal sons, who were simply maneuvering for a good position in the inevitable in-fighting if Meany were toppled.

The CP's own electoral "campaign" was a complete fraud, aimed "to defeat Nixon" rather than directed against both capitalist candidates equally; it was back-handed support for McGovern. And in the trade unions, of course, there was no mistake about this on the part of CP supporters, who made themselves completely indistinguishable from the entire so-called "left-wing" pro-McGovern bureaucrats. The CP's *Daily World* hailed this section of the labor bureaucracy and urged it on with a frenzy. But all the Beirnes, Smiths and Woodcocks have essentially the same appetites: to advance themselves first and their own small section of the working class second, when possible, consistent with, and on the basis of, the advancement of "their" capitalists. Thus the ambitious Woodcock's tour to the Soviet bloc countries during the capitalists' deal-rush, supposedly to help provide jobs, naturally (just like the capitalists: which of them does not claim that *all* his deals are *only* for this purpose?), ironically could only help Nixon rather than McGovern, since Nixon provided the diplomatic structure for this capitalist expansion "to provide jobs."

Bombs on U.S. carrier in Tonkin Gulf—part of stepped-up war after "peace" announcement.

While the CP hailed the Vietnam peace deal as a "victory" for the NLF/DRV, denounced Nixon's "stalling," and vigorously supported McGovern, it preferred not to notice the confidence in Nixon expressed by the Moscow bureaucracy. While noting the usual arguments about the "lesser evil" McGovern in perfunctory fashion, the Soviet tops emphasized Nixon's voter appeal on the basis of improved "Soviet-American relations," and immediately after the election sent Nixon a laudatory telegram and ran an election analysis which said, "McGovern, the main rival of president Nixon, could offer the electors only the statements which in the course of the election campaign were modified, whereas representatives of the current Administration, including Nixon himself, repeatedly referred in their speeches to the agreement reached with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on an end to the war." (*NY Times* 9 November)

Unlike the Communist Party, Progressive Labor Party is ashamed of its support for McGovern. PL, which has come a long way indeed since it left the CP in 1963, is trying to keep quiet about its return to the CP position of supporting lesser-evil capitalist candidates. PL refuses to admit that its members, disguised as independent members of the "McGovern movement," worked in Boston "Grassroots for McGovern." With this semi-clandestine entry into the "left-wing" of the Democratic Party, PL has completed its turn to the right begun a little over a year ago. It has now taken the SDS experimental alliance with "honest" supporters of McGovern (*New Left Notes*, October 1972), and its call on the U.S. government to stop being racist and oppressing people (Anti-Racism Bill), to the logical conclusion. It has proven that despite its rejection of major elements of Stalinism, it never really rejected the fundamental class collaborationism of the Communist Party, but rather went through a number of phases composed principally of ultra-leftism, which represented its opportunism standing in fear of itself.

Build A Communist Opposition!

A greater percentage of the electorate abstained in the election than at any time since 1948, showing a profound if inchoate alienation from the capitalist parties. In addition, the votes for the CP and SWP candidates, who were on the ballot in several states each, were an index of a hunger for some kind of alternative. The CP vote particularly, through its pseudo-working-class line, trade union orientation, major pitch to blacks through the Angela Davis campaign, etc., demonstrated the existence of a section of the working class looking for radical answers and socialist politics, despite the fact that these campaigns were in no way a motion towards those politics.

The Independent Socialists, which urged a vote for the SWP or SLP candidates, and the Workers League, which "critically" supported the SWP, did so out of pure opportunism and disregard for the Leninist conception of electoral work and "critical support." Neither IS nor WL could find any basis for actually *working* for these candidates in the labor movement, though only the IS was honest enough to admit it. Leninists do not support candidates just for the act of voting, but only as part of building a movement capable of ultimately bringing the working class to power on the basis of its own political forms. This requires an element of real programmatic agreement with the candidate(s) from the standpoint of a revolutionary Marxist program. This was totally lacking in both cases: both the element of working-class program of the candidates and the element of agreement by the IS and WL.

Because of the isolation and brittle character of the arrogantly right-wing heads of the trade union movement—the only mass organizations of the U.S. working class—and the extremely rebellious, restless and combative mood of huge sections of the industrial proletariat, the objective basis exists for a hard revolutionary vanguard based on the Trotskyist transitional program to make sweeping gains in the coming period. Such a development could qualitatively alter the relationship of forces within the labor movement, enabling it to launch a counter-attack to Nixon's attacks and new imperialist stabilization, and place the continued existence of the reformist bureaucracy in question. It would further open the possibility for revolutionary working-class leadership of blacks and other specially oppressed strata in an offensive on all the key social questions. It would pose head on the question of the formation of a mass working-class party to destroy the dominance of capitalist politics within the labor movement and struggle for a workers' government. ■

Pop Front Imperils Chilean Workers

in the face of continual concessions and compromises by the popular front government, Chile's bourgeoisie is mobilizing for counter-revolution. Beneath the evolutionary facade, Chilean society has been deeply polarized and is building toward an explosion, a counter-revolutionary onslaught before which the proletariat is defenseless. As the forces of repression gear themselves for the confrontation and the petty-bourgeoisie slides into the camp of reaction, the working class stands naked, without the organs of dual power, without arms, without a vanguard.

Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) government will not defend the proletarian and peasant masses against the vicious reactionary mobilization, for the only defense is the independent mobilization of the proletariat in its own revolutionary class interest, and the UP government is dedicated to the subordination of the proletariat to the so-called "progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie." The tragic defeat which looms before the Chilean masses has all too many predecessors: Stalin's disastrous policy of alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, which led straight to the strangulation of the Chinese Revolution in the Shanghai and Canton massacres of 1927; the bloody defeat of the 1937 Spanish revolution and the secure installation of the Franco dictatorship; the butchering of more than half a million Indonesian workers and peasants in 1965, the outcome of Mao's policy of peaceful coexistence with Sukarno; the impending betrayal of twenty-five years of revolutionary struggle by the Vietnamese masses by the NLF-DRV Stalinists.

In Chile there is already a foretaste of things to come as Allende puts twenty-four provinces under Army control (telling the workers to stay home), capitulates to the reactionary mobilization of the petty-bourgeoisie, consolidates the position of the military elite, shoots down peasants who are taking over abandoned haciendas, and arrests workers and students who are trying to keep fascist demonstrations from taking over the streets. Like Torres in Bolivia, Allende is demonstrating that his fundamental loyalty is to the bourgeoisie, and like Torres he will allow himself and his popular front coalition to be swept from power rather than unleash the power of the working class.

Revolution by Stages

One of the myths fostered by Chile's latter-day Mensheviks (the CP and Allende's SP) is that the Chilean ruling class is a feudal landholding aristocracy. From this assumption they reason that a two-stage revolution is required: "first" an anti-feudal alliance with the "progressive" national bourgeoisie to achieve democratic and national tasks, then "later" (i.e., never) a socialist revolution. But even the assumption is false! Chile, like most Latin American countries, achieved its independence from Spain in the national wars following the 1810 uprisings. These wars were led by men like Bernardo O'Higgins, Simón Bolívar and Antonio Sucre. They were *bourgeois* revolutionaries, most of them freemasons, closely tied to British imperialism. They represented the interests of a commercial, mining and landholding bourgeoisie, which was intimately connected with the world market. During this century this same class branched out into light industry, but without separating into agrarian and industrial wings, still less into "oligarchic" and "progressive" segments. The Edwards family in Chile, a symbol of the monopolists, is a large (capitalist) landowner, owner of several industries, major shareholder in the Bank of London and South America, owner of the newspaper *El Mercurio*, and an important power in the National Party.

Chile is a predominantly urban country with a strong, century-old labor movement. Already by 1907 some 43% of the population was urban; today it is more than three-fourths urban. The first union (railway workers) was founded in 1852, and the main base of the labor movement was laid in the "resistance societies" of the nitrate miners built in the northern regions during the 1890's. The first national labor federation, the Gran Federación Obrera Chilena, was established as early as 1909, and in 1912 the Partido Socialista Obrero was founded by Luis Emilio Recabarren, a Debs-like left socialist. In 1921 Recabarren led the party into the Communist International, becoming the first and largest CP in Latin America (approximately 50 thousand members before the Allende election). Today, some 35% of the employed workers are unionized (as compared to about 25% in the U.S.), and almost 20% are in the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT) federation, led by the CP with large SP and CDP minorities.

Contrary to bourgeois mythology, the history of the Chilean class struggle is permeated with violence. From the massacre of nitrate miners at Iquique in 1907 (more than 2,000 mowed down by machine guns) to the Christian Democrats' attack on strikers at the El Teniente copper mine in 1966, the Chilean ruling class has not hesitated to use the army and police to protect its class interests. Moreover, the CP was illegalized for much of its history, during 1925-35 and 1948-58.

Pop Front Government

Allende's UP government is the product of an electoral coalition of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Radical Party (Chile's classic party of the liberal bourgeoisie) and several minor petty-bourgeois parties (the MAPU, the API, the PSD). It is a classical *popular front*—that is, a coalition of workers' parties and "progressive" bourgeois parties. In spite of the working-class base of the UP government (the vote for the bourgeois parties is barely one-fifth of the combined votes of the workers' parties), the bourgeoisie is strongly represented. The coalition could not have won a plurality without the Radicals, including and especially the right wing. In spite of the Radical Party's small vote, Allende's first cabinet contained a majority of bourgeois ministers.

In order to take office Allende had to come to an understanding with the Christian Democratic Party, the dominant bourgeois party today. (The UP received only a plurality—36% of the votes—and Allende's election by Congress depended on CDP support.) This understanding was codified in a "Statute of Democratic Guarantees"—Constitutional amendments making it illegal to form private militias (such as workers' militias) or to appoint police and military officers who were not trained in the service academies (ensuring the firm control of the armed forces by the established military elite). In Congress, no Allende program can pass without CDP support, and since June 1972 the UP has repeatedly tried to induce the Christian Democrats to join the government. To top it off, Allende now appoints generals to head three key ministries, including Army commander General Pratts as Minister of the Interior (police).

The nature of the Allende government is best expressed by the Communist Party, the most consistent party of the coalition. In an important recent article, Orlando Millas, member of the CP Political Committee, writes:

> "Chile has achieved a People's Government corresponding to an advanced democracy which ensures conditions favorable to the struggle for socialism. In this advanced democracy and with this People's Government... a determined policy... of alliances with the popular masses of the city and the countryside and with the petty bourgeoisie and the small and medium bourgeoisie is required, in order to isolate imperialism, the landlords and the financial oligarchy.
>
> "The People's Government is the result of a patriotic process of tying the revolutionary process to democratic development, during the application of which the working class... has taken in hand the legitimate demands of all anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical classes and social strata."
>
> —*Punto Final*, 23 June 1972

Popular fronts are not new in Chilean history, as the country experienced several between 1938 and 1948, beginning with the CP-SP-Radical coalition under Pedro Aguirre Cerda (in which Allende himself was an SP minister). A number of social welfare reforms were carried through under these governments of class collaboration, but the net result for the Chilean working class was defeat: wages fell from 27% to 21% of the national income during 1940-53, while profits rose tremendously; the parties of the Right were strengthened and the unions disorganized. The beginning of the end came in 1947 when President Videla outlawed his CP coalition partners (supposedly because of a miners' strike) and imprisoned hundreds of labor leaders in concentration camps. (The SP helped to break the strike and then entered Videla's government.) During the whole period nothing was done about land reform.

Allende, of course, claims that this latest popular front is different:

> "... although it is true that there were the same parties as today, the Radical Party, the party of the bourgeoisie, was the dominant party, and this is what makes the difference between the Popular Unity today and the Popular Front; in the Popular Unity... there is a supreme class, the working class, and there is a Marxist Socialist President."
>
> —Debray, *The Chilean Revolution*

But this is hardly new. Exactly this situation existed in the Spanish Popular Front government under the "left socialist" Largo Caballero. As Trotsky pointed out:

> "Politically most striking is the fact that in the Spanish People's Front there was not in essence a parallelogram of forces: the place of the bourgeoisie was occupied by its shadow. Through the agency of the Stalinists, Socialists, and Anarchists, the Spanish bourgeoisie subordinated the proletariat to itself, not even troubling itself to participate in the People's Front.... In the republican camp remained... only insignificant splinters from the possessing classes, Messrs. Azaña, Companys, and their like—political lawyers of the bourgeoisie but not the bourgeoisie itself.... They represented no one but themselves. However, thanks to their allies, the Socialists, Stalinists and Anarchists, these political phantoms played the decisive role in the revolution. How? Very simply: in the capacity of incarnating the principle of the 'democratic revolution,' i.e., the inviolability of private property."
>
> —Trotsky, *The Lesson of Spain—Last Warning*, 1937

A popular front with the "shadow" of the bourgeoisie is still a popular front. The Spanish revolution died in its infancy, despite the heroic struggle of the masses, because the leaders of the traditional workers' organizations refused to break with the bourgeoisie and mobilize the proletariat for socialism.

It was the Social Democrats Scheidemann and Noske, the butchers of the German revolution, who called for the unity of exploiters and exploited. It was Stalin who invented the "theory" of popular fronts in his panic to obtain an alliance with the "democratic" bourgeoisies of Britain and France against Hitler. In 1917 it was the Mensheviks who allied with the bourgeois Cadets in the provisional government. Lenin denounced this betrayal sharply, demanding "Down with the Ten Capitalist Ministers"—for a government of the workers' parties alone. The Fourth Congress of the Communist International made the point quite clearly:

> "The parties of the Second International are trying to 'save' the situation... by advocating and forming a coalition government of bourgeois and social democratic parties.... To this open or concealed bourgeois-social democratic coalition the communists oppose the united front of all workers and a coalition of all workers' parties in the economic and political field for the fight against the bourgeois power and its eventual overthrow.... The overriding tasks of the workers' government must be to arm the proletariat, to disarm bourgeois, counter-revolutionary organizations, to introduce the control of production.... and to break the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie."
>
> —"Theses on Tactics"

Simply to state the Leninist position reveals how far removed from Leninism is the Allende government and its apologists.

UP Nationalizations

The Unidad Popular program calls for widespread nationalizations. The 1970 UP "Program of Government" declares:

> "The united popular forces seek as the central objective of their policy to replace the present economic structure, putting an end to the power of national and foreign monopolistic capital and of latifundism in order to begin the construction of socialism....
>
> "The process of transforming our economy will begin with a policy destined to make up a dominant state area.... into this area of nationalized activities will be integrated the following sectors:

Allende announces copper nationalization: "You have to work more, produce more, sacrifice more."

Punto Final

(1) the large mining companies of copper, nitrate, iodine, iron and coal;
(2) the country's financial system, especially private banks and insurance companies;
(3) foreign trade;
(4) the great distribution enterprises and monopolies;
(5) the strategic industrial monopolies;
(6) in general all those activities which determine the country's economic and social development such as the production and distribution of electrical energy; rail, air and maritime transportation; communications;... iron and steel production...."

And many of these nationalizations have been carried out. The large copper mines (El Teniente, Chuquicamata, El Salvador, Exotica) of the Kennecott and Anaconda monopolies are now state property. Also nationalized are the nitrate, iron, iodine and coal mines; virtually all private banks (domestic and foreign); foreign trade; several large paper, textile and auto factories.

But this program does not go beyond the bounds of capitalism. In fact, it *aids* sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie. The program itself makes it clear that only 150 out of 30,500 concerns would be nationalized—and they would be *paid for*. Industry would be largely untouched. The agrarian reform is simply the law of the previous Frei government (CDP), which exempts 200 acres of irrigated land (or its equivalent, which is 2,000 acres in the cattle regions), also providing for full compensation. Last spring, when SP Minister of Economics Vuskovic put forward a list of 91 large companies to be nationalized, it brought a storm of protest from the Christian Democrats and eventually his dismissal; the list was dropped. The UP program does not expropriate the bourgeoisie *as a class*.

We call, in the words of Trotsky's "Transitional Program," for the "socialist program of expropriation, i.e., of political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination." As the "Transitional Program" points out:

"The difference between these demands and the muddle-headed reformist slogan of 'nationalization' lies in the following: (1) we reject indemnification; (2) we warn the masses against demagogues of the People's Fronts who, giving lip-service to nationalization, remain in reality agents of capital; (3) we call upon the masses to rely only upon their own revolutionary strength; (4) we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers."

In Ghana under Nkrumah, or in Algeria and Egypt today, there have been large-scale agrarian reforms, and state control of banking, foreign trade and much of industry. In Italy most industry is in the hands of state super-trusts, the IRI and ENI, as a heritage from fascism. But as long as the bourgeoisie continues to exist as a class, in control of important means of production, no amount of nationalizations will change the nature of the economy: it is capitalist.

Class Nature of the State

The UP program calls for a "People's Assembly":

"A new political constitution will institutionalize the massive incorporation of the people into state power. A single state organization will be created with national, regional and local levels; the People's Assembly will be the superior governing body.... The members of the People's Assembly and of every representative organization of the people will be subject to the control and recall of the electors...."

—"UP Program of Government"

But this is only a gesture to channel the masses' hatred of the bosses' state into reformism. For so long as the bourgeois army and police reign supreme and the working class remains unarmed, so long as the proletariat is not organized in its own *class* organs of power (soviets) independent of the bourgeois state, not even dual power will exist, much less a workers state. A "People's Assembly" would be a streamlined bourgeois parliament, nothing more.

At the core is the question of *state power*. The Chilean example is the embodiment of the so-called "peaceful road to socialism." Allende refers to this as the essence of the "Chilean Road":

"The circumstances of Russia in 1917 and of Chile at the present time are very different....Our revolutionary method, the pluralist method, was anticipated by the classic Marxist theorists but never before put into practice....Today Chile is the first nation on earth to put into practice the second model of transition to a socialist society....

"The sceptics and the prophets of doom will say that it is not possible. They will say that a parliament that has served the ruling classes so well cannot be transformed into the Parliament of the Chilean People. Further, they have emphatically stated that the Armed Forces and Corps of Carabineros... would not consent to guarantee the will of the people if these should decide on the establishment of socialism in our country....

"Since the National Congress is based on the people's vote, there is nothing in its nature which prevents it from changing itself in order to become, in fact, the Parliament of the People. The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social organization which corresponds to the will of the people....

"If violence is not released against the people, we shall be able to change the basic structures on which the capitalist system rests into a democratic, pluralistic and free society, and to do this without unnecessary physical force, without institutional disorder, without disorganizing production...."

—"First Message to Congress"

There is nothing new about the "theory" of the "Chilean Road." Allende's paeans to a "democratic, pluralistic and libertarian society," Millas' description of Chile as an "advanced democracy"—how neatly these parallel the arch-revisionist Kautsky's statement that "the dictatorship of the proletariat was for Marx a condition which necessarily follows from pure democracy, if the proletariat forms the majority." Marx, however, disavowed the entire conception in one sentence:

"One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'"

—Marx and Engels, 1872 "Introduction" to the *Communist Manifesto*

And Engels might have been speaking specifically to the Chilean reformists when he wrote:

"Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—all of which are highly authoritarian means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries."

—Engels, "On Authority"

Chile—this "advanced democracy"—has the largest army, in comparison to its population, of any Latin American country, and one of the largest bureaucracies. Today in Chile there exists the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*, presided over by a popular front government which includes the major workers' parties. Until it is *smashed* by an armed and politically conscious working class, it will continue to repress the exploited masses in the interests of capital.

After the September 1970 elections, there was considerable activity from the Right to try to prevent Allende from taking power. As the ITT documents established, the U.S. ambassador and the CIA were in close contact with a General Viaux, who in turn was involved in the assassination of General Schneider, head of the armed forces, in an attempt to provoke a military coup. The Christian Democrats, however, put the emphasis on taming Allende. When the UP, after initial protests, signed the "Statute of Democratic Guarantees," even the rightist National Party supported his election in Congress. In his inaugural message to Congress, Allende promised to respect "legality" and called for "work and sacrifice" from the masses in the "new" Chile.

During 1971 the UP government carried out a number of progressive measures. With CDP agreement Allende nationalized copper, iron, saltpeter and other mines owned by foreign monopolies. Using laws left on the books since the early 1930's he decreed nationalization of several textile mills and U.S.-owned light industries. By negotiations the government bought up the shares of virtually all private banks, and by decree nationalized foreign trade.

Emboldened, the working class and peasant masses seized hundreds of farms and factories. A New Leftish pro-Castro group, the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) led more than 300 seizures of rural estates in the first months of the UP government, and organized numerous communities of urban squatters around the capital. Industrial workers, mostly under CP union leadership, seized several plants, notably a Ford assembly plant and fourteen textile mills. In early 1971 wages were increased while prices remained largely controlled, leading to a 30-40% increase in real wages.

But the UP government soon showed its real face: the agent of the capitalist class, defender of private property and bourgeois legality. In response to a rightist pressure campaign the government, beginning in mid-1971, has opposed peasant land invasions with force, leaving six dead and scores arrested in the province of Cautín alone. On May 22 of this year the Carabineros (state police) attacked an important anti-rightest counter-demonstration comprising the UP parties, the labor federation and the MIR and arrested 80, almost all MIRistas. The attack was led by the "Mobile Group," the elite tactical police force which the UP program had promised to disband. During recent right-wing riots the government again concentrated on arresting leftists, and placed the country under military rule. (At this very time the Chilean and U.S. navies conducted joint naval maneuvers just off the coast.) On the day after Allende had installed three military ministers, the headquarters of his own SP was raided by police "looking for arms," on a warrant obtained by the fascist Patria y Libertad group. In the face of these mounting attacks from the Right, the UP solemnly maintains that the main task is "winning the battle of production".

Allende has backed down on several points in the UP program, capitulating to rightist pressure. Bills calling for a "People's Assembly" and neighborhood courts were both shelved because of CDP resistance. In February 1972 Allende agreed to pay $85 million in bonds issued by the previous Frei government:

"The reason is that Chile is seeking rescheduling on debts of more than $2 billion with United States and Western European creditors....According to financial sources, Chile has reluctantly agreed to allow the International Monetary Fund to periodically review Chile's monetary, credit and trade performance, as part of a deal to obtain refinancing of her debt."

—*New York Times*, 26 February 1972

But Allende still refused to pay compensation for UP nationalizations. But two months later:

continued on next page

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Fidel Castro reviewing elite troops of Chilean army: "There was never any contradiction between the conceptions of the Cuban Revolution and the paths being followed by the left movement and workers' parties in Chile."

Continued from page 7

...Pop Front

"Tbe United States and 11 othsr creditor nations agreed early today to grant Chile a major degree of credit relief, while obtaining a promise of 'just compensallon for all nationalizations, in conformity with Chilean and international law.'"

—*New York Times*, 20 April 1972

Chile in Crisis

By the summer of 1972 the UP government had reacbed a crtsis situation, its support clearly dwindling, as ehown in congressional by-elections and a dramatic increase in Christian Democratic support in the main labor federation. While some in the Socialist Party urged an "acceleration in the pace of revolutionary transformation" (i.e., more nationallzatione), the Communist Party called for *more concessions:*

"It ts nscessary... to put the accsnt on the defense of ths People's Government, in its maintenance and the continuity of its work. It would be dangerous to continue expanding the number of enemies and instead we must make concessions, and at least neutralize some strata and certain social groups, changing our tactical mistakes."

—Orlando Millas, *Punto Final*, 20 June 1972

True to form, Allende dropped SP Economics Minister Vuskovic for a "less dogmatic" Socialist and shelved the list of 91 firms to he nationalized, in order to "reassure business circles." The *New York Times*, central organ of U.S. imperialism, had fulsome words of praise for these steps:

"President Allende has moved to resolve a severe crisis within his Popular Unity coalition by rejecting the radical counsel of his own Socialist Party and adopting the more moderate and conciliatory approach urged by ths Communists....[The Communists] urge consolidation, rather than rapid extension, of the Allende government's economic and social programs, negotiations on constitutional reform with the Christian Democrats and a working relationship with private businees.... This decision may force the president to crack down hard on the MIR...but this is infinitely preferable to a continuation of drift and polarization... It should alwaye be ths objective of Chils's now-united democratic opposition not to force Dr. Allende out of office, but to make his government play by well-establisbed rules."

—*New York Times*, 20 June 1972

Since then, the UP has repeatedly tried to entice the Christian Democrats into the coalition. The CDP, however, is moving steadily to the right as the situation polarizes. The growth of the fascist Patria y Libertad group, and anti-communist armed commandos in the countryside and wealthy urban neighborhoods, are further indications of this polarization.

Receotly, a protest by petty-bourgeois truck owners over agovernment plan for a etate transport company was escalated into an anti-government mobilization by store owners, doctore and other professionals, private buses, taxi ownere, construction companies and Catholic schools, in response to a "general strike" call by the CDP's "unions" and commercial associations. Their demands included: suppreesion of the neighborhood price control committees and the "committees for the defense of the revolution" (unarmed workers' guards); a Constitutional amendment prohibiting nationalization without Congreseional approval; expulsion of foreign "extremists"; dropping plans for a unified state bank and a state transport company; reopening rightist radio stations; annulmeot of all sanctions against the protestors.

Faced with this openly counter-revolutionary mobilization, Allende dropped the state transport company plan, brought the military into the Cabinet and called out the Army. In the midst of the crisis be announced:

"We are no longer on the verge of civil war.... If we wanted to, we could have 150,000 people here. The least word would bring 15 or 20,000 workers from the industrial periphery of Santiago to open ths stores. We told them no. Ths force of this government is in the respect for the Constitution and the law."

—*Le Monde*, 24 November 1972

"Don't scare the progressive bourgeoisie into the camp of reaction," scream the Stalinists and social democrats (apparently not noticing that the entire capitalist class long ago joined the reactionary camp). Allende is attempting a bonapartist balancing act atop a seething cauldron of overripe class antagonisms. But he cannot indefinitely wave a red flag at the charging Right. Like all bonapartists, Allende and his UP government are finding that they must cement their ties with one of the fundamental classes in society: the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

Only the independent revolutionary mobilization of the working class can defend even the bourgeois-democratic rights of the masses against vicious reaction. Revolutionaries must demand of the workers' parties: Break with the popular front—split it along *class* lines; for the formation of workers' counctis; only an independent proletarian policy can mobilize the support of the working masses for a workers' governmeot! The leftist-revisionists, in the U.S. and elsewhere, who initially professed agnosticism as a cover for chasing the UP's mass base (see "Chilean Popular Front," *Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970) may soon find the lesson written in the blood of the Chilean working masses.

The destruction of the popular front requires first of all a resolute struggle against the reformist policies of the CP and SP. Some might have expected this from the Castroites, who a few years ago were furiously proclaiming the need for guerilla warfare throughout the continent. The "General Declaration" of Castro's Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) in 1967 proclaimed:

"5. That armed rsvolutionary struggle constitutes the fundamental course of ths Rsvolution in Latin Amsrica; 6. That all other forms of struggle must serve to advance and not to retard the devslopment of this fundamental course, which ts armed struggle."

But when it counts they sing a different tune. Speaking before the CUT union leaders in Novemher 1971, Castro stated:

"In the numerous deciarations of the Revolution with regard to Latin America, we alwaye saw the Chilean situation as different in character.... There was never any contradiction hetwsen the conceptions of the Cuban revolution and the paths heing followed by the left movement and workers' parties in Chile."

Speaking to the workers at the Cbuquicamata copper mine of 14 November, Castro called on them to moderate their wage demands and to work harder since the mine was nationalized!

The MIR: Chile's New Left

In Chile itself, the major left political organizatioo standing outside the Allende governmeot is the MIR, until the UP elections a relatively small group. But as large masses of working people, their hopes roused by the UP victory, hecame disenchanted by Allende's conciliatory policies, the MIR began to experieoce significant growth, and established a "revolutionary peasant federation" (MCR) and a "revolutionary workers' front" (FTR). Although it has militantly led mass dsmonstrations and land take-overs, the MIR retains an ambiguous attitude toward the UP popular front and cannot provide any political clarity for the working-class movement.

Formed in 1965 out of a unification of Castroites, Maoists and ex-Trotskyists (United Secrelariat), the main positions of the MIR were opposition to elections and suppori for guerilla warfare. In 1967 the MIR formally aligned itself with OLAS, and in 1969 wsnt underground to prepare for guerilla-type operations. In April 1970 it characterized the UP program as "essentially leftist reformist." But following Allende's election it called for critical support to the same UP, demanding that the UP implement the program the MIR had condemned five months earlier.

Initially the MIR opposed any participation in electoral and parliamentary activity on principle (a position Lenin termed "infantile ultra-leftism"), with the slogan "Fústi, no eleccioocs" (a gun, not elections). In Aprti 1970 ths MIR National Secretariat declared that elections are "nothing more than a mechanism of self-preservation of the ruling class, a more refined method than hrute coercion," and called for abstention. But following Allende's victory, they adopted a different analysts:

"For at least three years mass movements in Chile have been growing and the electoral majority of Allende was hased on the heightened aspirations of the workers. Tbe electoral victory is a step forward for the masses in the defense of their interests, and the interests of the ruling classes, hoth national and foreign, are objectively hsing threatened."

—*Punto Final*, 13 October 1970

In the typical fashion of the radical petty-bourgeoisie, the MIR succumbed to "worship of the accomplished fact," flip-flopping from sectarian abstentionism to capitulation before a blatant example of "parliamentary cretinism."

The MIR has at times achieved a partial understanding of the fundamental task: the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class and the smashing of the bourgeois state. The MIR's elogans call for the "Conquest of Power by the Workers, For a Revolutionary Government of Workers and Peasants." In a speech MIR Secretary-General Miguel Enriquez declared:

"Thus, although the Popular Unity government has hurt the interests of the ruling class, although it has begun to taks positivs measures in the economic field in general..., by not incorporating the masses in the process and by not striking at the state apparatus and its institutions, it has...been weakened more and more. Now it is precisely these two measures, the incorporation of the masses in the process and blows against the stats apparatus, whicb defins a processas revolutionary...."

But the MIR consistently glosses over the popular front nature of the UP; it ignores the crucial fact that an alliancs with the Christian Democrats and the Radicals, whether opeo or indirect, ts a basic aspect of the UP program. Thus it makes such remarkable statemeots as, "in order to ally with the CDP it ts necessary to slow down the process." (*Punto Final*, 6 June 1972) It calls on Allende to carry out various aspects of the UP program; it criticizes him in comradely fashion. Instsad of exposing the SP and CP reformists as the most pernicious enemies of the Chilean masses, ths MIR vacillates and, ultimately, goes along under the UP banner: "The Movimieoto de Izquisrda Revolucioaria maintains that although we do not agree with svery step of the Popular Unity, that although we have differencss with aspects of its policies, this does not signify that we come to a definitive hreak with the Popular Unity." (*Punto Final*, 9 November 1971) The MIR does not forthrightly attack the illusion of a "peaceful road to socialism," merely stating in passing that at some point armed struggle will be necessary. In fact, the MIR does not even call for the arming of the workers!

The MIR hases itself primartiy on peasanis and squatters, not on the working class. In the countryside, it orients primartiy toward the indians and the poor and middle peasantry, not on the agricultural proletariat; among the workers, toward marginal sectors of the class rather than the great mining centers. Paralleling the Italian socialists in 1920, the MIR concentrates on factory occupations and land seizures, apparently ignoring the crucial need for political siruggle in the labor movement against the CP-SP misleaders. At bottom, the MIR is not a revoiutionary opposition to the popular front government, hut a militant pressure group (as the *New York Times* termed it, "a militant group operating on the fringes of the UP government"). Even the militant hacienda occupations in southern Chile were done with the approval of the land reform agency.

A Revolutionary Program for Chile

"The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership." These words of the program of the Fourth international, written by Trotsky almost 35 years ago, are fully confirmed in Chile today. The objective conditions for socialist revolution have existed for decades. Through land and factory seizures, by mass mobilizations against counter-revolutionary forcee, even in the initial waves of enthusiasm which greeted Allende's promises, the workers have repeatedly shown their desire for their own governmeot, their own clase rule. But the traditiooal leaders of the workers' movement seek above all to tie the masses to the clase enemy. What ts oeeded is a Bolshevik leadership, a proletarian vanguard party.

The achievement of this elogan would immediately pose point-hlank the total instant choice: the dictatorship of the proletariat or the hourgeois counter-revolution—open class wariare. A powerful weapon in hreaking the etranglehold of these class traitors is the demand that the workers' parties must "BREAK WITH THE BOURGEOISIE AND ITS PARTIES—FORM A WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT ON A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM." This slogan exposes the reformists' refusal to hreak with the class enemy. Expressing no confidence in the reformists' willingness to take power and rule in their own name, the Bolsbeviks must at the same time continue their own agitation for transitional demands which constitute a revolutionary program for a workers' government. Were such a workers' and peasants' government to he formed, hreaking with the bourgeoisie organizatiooally and programmatically, it would he only a shori episode (not a "etage") on the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat; the next step would he open class warfare.

In Chile today, as a result of more than a ceotury of capitalist development, the ruling class in the countryeide ts an agrarian bourgeoisie; out-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

French Pabloists Renounce Trotskyist Martyrs

A mass demonstration against the Vietnam war was held in Paris on October 15. Organized by the youth group of the Socialist Party, large numbers of militants also participated from the Communist Party, the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (semi-official youth group of the Organisation Communiste internationaliste) and the Ligue Communiste.

Both *Informations Ouvrières* (OCI) and *Rouge* (Ligue) reported physical violence between the AJS and FSI (Ligue-supported anti-war group) contingents—each blamed the other.

To counter the Ligue's slogan of "Long Live Ho Chi Minh" (the French Pabloists, like their U.S. co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party, uncritically adapt to the Vietnamese Stalinists), the AJS had made buttons commemorating Ta Thu-tau. Ta Thu-tau was a leader of the Saigon Trotskyists, who were murdered by the Stalinists after World War II because of their opposition to the reestablishment of the French colonial presence in Vietnam on Ho Chi Minh's invitation. Before Ho and his henchmen succeeded in wiping them out, the Vietnamese Trotskyists had achieved a substantial mass base in the Vietnamese proletariat in the cities. The Trotskyists were split into two wings, a more rightist tendency based in Saigon and a more leftist group centered in Hanoi.

The AJS raised the slogans "Long Live Ta Thu-tau" and "Long Live the Polish and Czech Workers." The *Informations Ouvrières* account quotes prominent Ligue spokesman Alain Krivine as proclaiming: "Those who invoke Ta Thu-tau in a united demonstration of solidarity with Indochina are splitters. Ta Thu-tau has nothing to do with this demonstration"!

Sentimental verbal ties to "Trotskyism" don't stand a chance when they get in the way of revisionist opportunism. It is an inexorable political logic which compels the Ligue to trample on the memory of martyred communists and laud their executioners.

As the Stalinists once again betray twenty-five years of revolutionary struggle by the embattled workers and peasants of Vietnam, the Pabloists must flatly repudiate the heritage and principles of the Fourth International. ■

Continued...

side of the Indian communities there are few feudal restrictions on landholding. The peasantry itself is characterized by a small middle peasant sector (19% of the agricultural population), compared to poor peasants (32%), semi-proletarians (inquilinos) (26%) and agricultural proletariat (14%). Thus the fundamental policy in the countryside should be the organization of the poor peasants, semi-proletarians and rural proletariat in alliance with the urban working class. The main slogan must be for the "IMMEDIATE EXPROPRIATION OF THE AGRARIAN BOURGEOISIE, NO COMPENSATION." The immediate form of exploitation of expropriated estates would be decided by poor peasant-agricultural worker committees, although it would most likely involve some form of collective production. (Most of the land reform asentamientos are farmed collectively, as are the invaded estates.)

An important point of contention in Chile today is the attitude toward the petty bourgeoisie. In the face of the bourgeoisie's attempts to win over the middle class through its reverence for private property, Allende only capitulates. As Marxists, we seek to win over the lowest, exploited sections of the petty bourgeoisie through a hold program of expropriations, posing the dictatorship of the proletariat as the guarantor of a stable and democratic society, as against the bureaucratic anarchy rampant in Chile today. We seek to neutralize other sections of the petty bourgeoisie, including the middle peasantry, with guarantees against forced collectivization and through cheap credit and cooperative marketing. Toward the bourgeoisie itself, however, there is only one attitude: "TOTAL EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE, BEGINNING WITH ALL KEY SECTORS, NO COMPENSATION."

But the key to a revolutionary program for Chile is the question of state power—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore we demand the creation of "ARMED WORKERS' MILITIAS BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS." Initially directed against the fascist bands, these will be crucial instruments in splitting the Army and bringing down the bourgeois state.

To mobilize the entire working class, and its allies among other exploited sectors of the population, we call for the creation of workers' and poor peasants' soviets, instruments for organizing the conquest of power, they will become the kernel of the proletarian dictatorship.

The road to victory will be arduous. The absence of a revolutionary vanguard party is today the fundamental problem facing the Chilean workers. This vanguard must be forged in sharp struggle for a class program, against the popular front and the UP reformists who are doing their best to strangle the revolution. As Trotsky wrote of Spain: "FOR A SUCCESSFUL SOLUTION OF ALL THESE TASKS, THREE CONDITIONS ARE REQUIRED: A PARTY; ONCE MORE A PARTY; AND AGAIN A PARTY." ■

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Baton Rouge...

side the building, where the confrontation and killings later took place. Netterville told the students inside to wait in his office while he went to see about the arrested students' release, saying he would return. At this point, sheriff's deputies, who "had gathered information Wednesday (the day before the killings) that the students would attempt to take over the administration building..." (*Times-Pacayune*, 17 November), surrounded the building. Thus the police "knew" of the takeover plans the day before the arrests which sparked the protest!

The deputies demanded that the area be cleared. When the students refused to move immediately, the cops invaded the building and fired tear gas into the crowd outside, which then began to disperse. A student leader who witnessed the shootings which followed said that the secretaries in the administration building were still working before the assault, and emerged later with the students—hardly likely in a "building takeover"!

The same student leader, speaking at a rally held the next day on campus, claimed that the two murdered students were shot accidently by the police, who were actually trying to hit particular student leaders as the crowd outside dispersed.

Students filed out of the building after the confrontation outside with their hands clasped in back of their necks, past a pool of blood on the sidewalk from one of the students.

Official Fabrications

At first, government spokesmen claimed that the two students had been trampled to death by the student "mob" trying to flee the tear gas. Yet the dead students were among the very last in the crowd escaping from the gas, as the news film of the incident clearly showed, and they both died of shotgun wounds to the head. Governor Edwards later claimed that they were killed by shrapnel fragments from either a student-made or student-thrown bomb or gas cannister.

Accusations that the students had overpowered a security guard and seized tear gas cannisters, and that the students had "fired first," made by Sheriff Amiss and Edwards, are blatant lies. Students reported throwing back a few of the tear gas cannisters. Even after admitting that no arms were found in the vicinity where the students had been, Edwards insisted on using the term "fired first" against the students throughout his press conference later in the day (*Times-Pacayune*, 17 November).

Television news film referred to by Edwards showing tear gas cannisters flying and the two students emerging from the building and falling on their faces completely failed to verify Edwards' claim that the students attacked the police first. In slow motion the film clearly demonstrated the opposite. Edwards' righteous talk about who "fired first," in a confrontation between unarmed students and a specially-armed detachment of riot police can inspire only rage. It was Edwards who, as a Congressman, called for the shooting of anti-war demonstrators during the "May Day" protests in Washington. In the press conference, when pressed as to his attitude if, in fact, it should be proven that the police had fired first, he replied that the students had broken the law and, "At that stage, it is immaterial who shot first"! Thus that the bourgeoisie is licensed to murder for acts of minor trespassing and dissidence, as at Kent State and Jackson State, is demonstrated once again.

Having committed premeditated assault and killed two students, the ruling class immediately sought to create the impression of an armed insurrection, by reporting a "run" on guns and bringing in over 700 National Guard troops and more police to "secure" the campus.

The confrontation was the direct result of a "get tough" decision by Edwards and Netterville, who had been attempting to derail a student struggle at three Southern University campuses. A building takeover lasting ten days at the New Orleans campus (SUNO) had resulted in the forced resignation of Dean Emmet W. Bashful. The protest had been for "student power": control over course curriculum, hiring and firing of teachers, the bookstore, and the right to fly the "flag of black liberation" as the campus flag, had been among the demands. A special issue of the *SUNO Observer* had characterized the system at Southern as a device to maintain the second-class status of blacks: "the foremost promoter of 'Uncle Tomism' and subservience." The student demands, however, could only strengthen the status quo against

Southern University students on campus building in protests before murders.

which they were aimed. Rejecting black nationalist separatism, the students must fight for the integration of the Southern University system campuses and for a policy of open admissions with stipend throughout the university system, the lack of both of which is responsible for the enforced inferiority and segregation of education for blacks.

Relying instead on the pressure of the black "community" on the ruling class, the student leaders made no attempt to bring the power of the working class, white or black, to bear against the school administration in the achievement of their demands or for defense against the ruling class' murderous attack.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth was the only tendency to present an organized face on campus after the murders despite the presence of members of the Black Panthers and SDS. The RCY distributed a leaflet on the New Orleans campus the next day which was instantaneously snatched up, calling for a working-class orientation by the students instead of their planned appeal to churches and the "community."

The RCY suggested an official approach to longshoremen and laborers, whose interests in struggling against the special oppression of blacks clearly intersect those of the students—to the union leadership, thus exposing it as a reactionary bureaucracy, and to the ranks—for a sympathy strike to protest the murders. This was met with enthusiasm in the committee, but not by its leaders. It was decided that teachers be assigned to contact union leaders instead.

Such an approach will be unsuccessful unless accompanied by a propaganda appeal to the ranks on the basis of a working-class program. The working-class orientation proposed by the RCY is the only strategy which offers not only a defense, but a road forward against the ruling class in the face of its inexcusable, vicious campaign of racist assault. ■

CWA, LOCAL 9415— Bureaucrats Exposed, Launch Gangster Attack on Caucus

OAKLAND, CA.—Ths bureaucracy of Local 9415, Communication Workers of America (CWA) bas qualitatively escalated iis attacks on Militant Action Caucus (MAC) opposition to the level of the groeeeet pbysical gangsterism. Following a membership meeting on 21 November members of the local olficialdom and their hangere-on eet upon and viciously beat MAC members in an unprovoked assault.

Though the prsvious local president, Loren Blasingame, was decisively defeated in recent local elections, his leseer-known cronies gained re-election by turning on him. This gangeter attack, then, was perpetrated by the eame bureaucracy whicb iesued the vile "Dear Mummy" letter in its local neweletter. Thie groeely male chauvinist slander of ths MAC, insinuating that its members are company agents, replete with the crudeet eexual innusndo toward the "feline cborus" and "your broads," refers to the union membership as "ehesp." (See *WV* No. 13)

Tbe atmospbere leading up to thie deepicable attack, lf not the attack iteelf, was fully prepared in advance by the bureaucrats. They neverthelese felt sale to confront and move on MAC membere only after the adjournment of the meeting and the departure of most in attendance. Tbe caucus militants denounced the incident to workers in a leaflet the next day and have been collecting written affidavits from witnesses.

The 21 November meeting was the first in over six months to obtain a quorum—the result of memberehip apathy due to the defeats suffered at the hands of the leaderehip. It was marked by an atmoepbere of confrontation, as both the MAC and the Bell Wringer's Committee for Elected Shop Stewards (CESS—supported by the International Socialists—ts an alliance of the Bell Wringer with aspiring bureaucrats, including Virginia Branning and Bobby Williams, who once enjoyed the favor of the International leadership of Josepb Beirne) presented long-proposed bylawe changee for the election of ehop stewards. Tbe local bureaucracy proposed a continued appointment system, modified for appearance's eake. Reflecting its grosely opportunist ectarianism the Bell Wrtnger group rsfused to support the MAC proposal, *counterposing* one eseentially identical, inetead of proposing amendments. This belped set the stage for wbat followed, in combination with the Bell Wringer'e failure to actively defend the MAC from the bureaucracy'e attacks almed toward eilencing, diecrediting and isolating it.

Motion of Censure

What followed apparently began at an informal meeting of the local executive committee, whicb had been held secretly to exclude MAC exec member Jane Margolis. A motion censuring the caucue wae preeented at the local meeting by Eleanor Hart, local Secretary-Treasurer, and supported in a speecb by Tom Sykes, one of the mlitant-poeturing black careeriets wbom the bureaucracy ueee in its attempt to emear the caucue by implication with the brusb of racism, in order to intimidate and silence its supporters.

Hart sald ths caucus had lied about local leaders scabbing on strikes in the past and about threatened and actual violencs against caucus members by local bureaucrats, charges whicb had been documented in a 15 November caucus leaflet, "Gangsterism in 9415." Because the charges were all true (the earlier physical abuse having taken place in front of 60 people at a special pre-election "candidatee night" meeting!), the bureaucrats, with lame-duck preeident Blasingame chairing, refused to recognize MAC members' rigbt to speak in their own defense! Ignoring a vote to continue diecussion, supported even by Sykes and Bell Wringer'e CESS, the chair railroaded the censure motion through amidst pandemonium in which it was unclear that voting was even taking place. Tbe mesting was then abruptly adjourned.

"How Does It Feel"?

Denouncing thie star-chamber proceeding as a "mockery" alter the meeting, a caucus member was told by Eleanor Hart, "Yes, you were railroaded; bow does it feel?"

Subeequent arguments between caucus members and local officiale turned into pbyeical attacks wben Karen Brown (the leadership-backed candidate for executive board alternate wbo bad been defeated by MAC'e Jane Margolie in an earlier elsction) eboved Margolis. When Brown was pulled away by friends, the attack was pursued by vice-president Alta White, and Mary Lou Kindem and Mike Budd, eteward-favorttee, cronlee and goons for the bureaucracy. In a maniacal fit of rage Budd struck at least three caucus members. Margolis was dragged down by the hair, and other caucus members were slapped, elugged and thrown to the floor before managing to extricate themeelvee. Preeident-elect Harry Ibsen, Eleanor Hart and Blasingame gleefully watcbed thie one-way brawl, while others present, including Tom Sykee, tried to break it up and protect caucus members from brutalization.

Violence of thie genre is the inevitable last resort of a cynical bureaucracy which ctinge to the backs of the workere only to betray them to the capitalist enemy at every opportunity. Every step of the way, the bureaucracy must mask its treacbery by denouncing, slandering and eilencing all opposition. No trade union leader can eecape the necessity for thie sooner or later, no matter how well-meaning he may be at first, except those wbose leadership is based on complete renunciation of the limitations of traditional trade unionism confined in a capitalist framework.

Only ths Troiskyist transitional program—not the special qualities or talents of individuals—can provide the basis for sucb ieaderehip. Only the transitional program combines the immsdiate needs and interests of the working class with revolutionary solutions which go beyond the bounds of the ieolated, economic struggle of trade unions—beyond the bounds of struggle under capitalism, preparing the way for eocialist revolution.

Tbe MAC has alwaye provided leadership on the basis of this program, whicb calls for abolition of all forms of racial and eexual discrtmination; a sborter work week at no loee in pay, with raisee linked to inflation; rank-and-file control of the unions; nationalization of major industry; immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. from indochina; and a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workere government.

It is this kind of leadsrship, threatening to sweep away the very basie for the bureaucrats' existence, which would transform the labor movement into a revolutionary struggle leading all ths oppreeeed, which the Loren Blasingamee, Elsanor Harts, *et al.*, must try to destroy to preeerve their venal little corner of the capitalist syetem, their crumbe, their "prestige." Workers do not need sucb vermin, nor their methods!

Before it can purge itself of class-collaborationist betrayere and inevitable defeats at their hands, the labor movement must put a stop to internal violence. An orderly, disciplinsd atmosphere of workere' democracy, in which all working-class tendenciee bave the opportunity to argue for their politice, is neceseary to arrive at political clarification and implement decieions.

MAC candidates (excluding Margolis, wbo did not run for re-election) had received from 12 to 33% of the vote in the election. Tbe caucus expects to expand and gain authority as the only alternative leadership based on a principled, political program. Further attempts by the bureaucrats to intimidate the caucus into submission will undoubtedly meet with determined resistance. Violent aseaults will be prevented, not by bringing the intervention of the bourgeoisie'e cops and courts into union affaire (the tactic of the bureaucrats), but wben the thumb of the fed-up rank and file crushes the bureaucrats like buge.

As the bureaucracy confirms its bankruptcy by such actione, it brings the day of its defeat and condemnation to the "dung-beap of history" that mucb closer. ■

Continued from page 2

... Leninist Faction

> vince them. Under such conditions it was not easy to confine the discussion to internal circles...The American Party has only a comparatively small number of members, the discuseion was and is more than abundant. The demarcation lines seem to be firm enough, at least for the next period. Under such conditions for the opposition to have their own public paper or magazine is a means not to convince the Party but to appeal against the Party to the external world."
>
> —*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 161

lf the LF leadership eees our current circumstance as parallel to those of the early Bolsheviks, ons can only lament such quixotic fantasies.

"But," it will he objected, "no one is proposing separate public papers, but only a separate column for minorities under the common party paper. Have we not already explicitly rejected along with Lenin, eeparate papers?"

Separate columns, howevsr, and separate papers are only a formal distinction. In both cases the attempt is for the minority to eeek a litigation before the court of bourgeois public opinion against the party. We can concretize what Trotsky means by, "... the opposition has its public papers, etc." wben we remember what Trotsky proposed as mutual guarantees for any future minortty in the SWP (*In Defense of Marxism*, p. 101):

> "(1) No prohibition of factions; (2) No other restriction on factional activity than those dictated by the necessity for common action; (3) the official publicatione muet repreeent, of course (!), the line established by the new convention; (4) the future minority can have, if it wishes, an internal bulletin destined for party membere, or a common discussion bulletin with the majority."

Notice in passing that Trotsky inststs the only restrictions on factional activities should he those "dictated hy the necessity for common action..." Here, Comrade G. would nod her approval, but not with what follows: "The official publications must represent, of course, the line established by the new convention." Are we not justifisd in concluding that it is precisely public debate in the Party prese which ts conceived as an obstacle to common *action*?

Here we touch upon the crucial premise behind the theory of public criticism. When ths Party discusees thsory it ls "creative," a maximum of dehate and disunity before the public, but wben it faces a common action hefore that public, it "closee its fist."

A closed fist becomee a mers slap, howsver, if we suppose that theory can be separated so neatly from action. We may cite Cannon's legitimate concern here for the costs to the wboie Party lf Shacbtman and Burnham were allowed to turn the Party's prese into an open discuseion bulletin. "Incidentally, all comradee wbo are doing serious work in the mase movement can undsrstand how ths agitational value of the *Appeal* will be destroyed lf it ie converted into a diecuseion organ at ths very moment we are undertaking to defend the Soviet Union against the whole world, including Stalin. It must bs pointed out that the campaign of ths *Appeal* in defense of the *Soviet Union* ie an *action*..."

Cannon, perhape, was overly anxious to conclude the discussion ovsr the Russian question, but on the other hand, we must apply the dictum to Cannon that Marx applied to philoeophy—the democratic centralism of Cannon muet be *realized* before it can be transcended. We must incorporate into our conception of democratic centralism the truth that theory and program is an intervention into reality. Tbe Party's program *guides* its action and a contradictory public program *necessarily* leads to contradictory actions.

We stress *necessarily*, for a minority would not feel constrained to demand public columns uniess it felt the pressure of immediate actions bearing down upon it. It ie precisely in cases wbere the disputed Party positions directly affect the activity of the Party that the minortty will consider the differences eignificant enough to warrant debate over ths heads of the Party majority.

Tbe separation between the theory and practics becomes all the more catastrophic on an intsrnational level, bowever. What ie "theoretical" to one national section becomes an activity to another section. lf we concede to the national eections the rigbt to public crtticiem of the international majortty we are propelled along the course toward a federated conception of the International.

We must be clear on the significance of the Leninist Faction'e Mensbevik backsliding on the matter of democratic centralism. lf ws deeignats as principled questions those questions whicb are life-and-death to the vanguard party, then surely the relation of the Party'e program to the class it represents is a "principled" queetion. When theory becomes separated from practice; when the proletariat as it is can be appealed to against the vanguard (the proletariat as it will becoms), then we are surrendering the vanguard to the empirical conditions of the ideological rule of the bourgeoisie. What other explanation can we olfer for Comrade Phil P.'s repeated emphasis that "the disputes of the Party are the disputes of the class?"

The second principled question at issue here is whether or not the SL, LF and VNL can be in the same organization, or more precisely can VNL and SL fuse. We think that the SL is correct in asserting that they cannot be in the same organization as VNL. We also helieve this to be the *official* position of the LF, one whicb the CC ignored. To completely undsrstand this we must return to the August 1972 Asbtabula convention, whicb has important ramifications for the LF-SL fusion discuseions. We will try to quickly deal with organi-

Continued from page 12

...AFSCME

managed to provoke a red-baiting response from Victor Gotbaum. Caucus supporters were also present at the Third California State Conference of AFSCME in July to raise the same points, calling particular attention to the fact that the struggle to build a labor party must go hand in hand with the struggle to throw out the corrupt, conservative union bureaucrats.

Workers League: Dangerous Absurdity

The marginal influence of the hopelessly opportunist Workers League, a frenzied, pseudo-Trotskyist sect, was visible at both these conventions in that certain so-called radicals *defended* the inclusion of the capitalist police and prison guards in the union! This reflects the Workers League's support of cops as part of the labor movement—just one example of their totally unprincipled adaptation to virtually any powerful force. Another example turned up at the state convention in July: the absurd and dangerous notion that George Meany can and should be urged to form a labor party. This goes hand in hand with the WL's pretentious efforts to substitute its own over-rated activity for the necessary real motion of the masses of workers for a working-class party, as in their fraudulent "conferences" for a labor party in Chicago and the Bay Area, which invited "all trade unionists" and then systematically excluded all tendencies and individuals not supporting the WL line.

Unable to satisfy its impatient appetites for bureaucratic control through its own activity, the WL, bypassing patient struggle on the basis of the transitional program, seeks to link up with the worst bureaucratic layers in the labor movement by pressuring them to form a labor party and to take other leading steps which they are completely incapable of taking. Thus the WL simply creates illusions about these bureaucrats.

This was made clear by the *Bulletin's* treatment of the building tradesmen's strike at the UC Medical Center in San Francisco, in which the bureaucrats were forced to undertake a few militant measures in order to save face. The *Bulletin* (17 July) interpreted this as real motion on the part of the bureaucracy, under the pressure of objective conditions, in the direction of political struggle:

> "...San Francisco trade unions are giving a fighting lead to the entire labor movement.... The Labor Council leaders are now forced to declare that their strike is political pointing out in their call that a defeat at UC is an open door to Nixon...These developments deliver shattering blows to the Communist Party who based themselves on a defense of the feeble protest tactics of Groulx and Childers..."

Unfortunately, the only "shattering blows" were the ones dealt to the building tradesmen and AFSCME locals because of the betrayal of the trade union "leaders."

The Bureaucracy Consolidates

As the loosely-knit organizing committee of the early Local 2070 became a local union, different relationships to the existing bureaucracy were arrived at by different elements. Those who rejected the militant defiance and political consistency of the Militant Caucus and oriented instead toward wooing the International bureaucracy have themselves hardened into a local bureaucratic clique, as revealed in key developments. After the election of Dodds as the local delegate to the international convention in Houston, on the basis of the full caucus program, money which had been unavailable to send him to the convention was somehow suddenly produced from the AFSCME Council 36 to send the local president, who was not a delegate. At the convention, the president solidarized with the Wurf bureaucracy by remaining silent while the caucus was under attack, and was later seen shaking Wurf's hand.

The October local meeting to discuss the elections gave further proof of the consolidating bureaucracy and the thrust of the CP positions in supporting the bureaucrats and class collaboration generally. A special newsletter had already been circulated with three positions: the caucus position for a labor party, and outright endorsement of McGovern, and a call to "defeat Nixon." This reflected CP double-talk for supporting McGovern under the cover of their own phony "campaign." In this meeting as everywhere throughout the labor movement, those elements sympathetic to the CP position openly called for support to McGovern and not to the CP "candidates."

The Militant Caucus position lost by 8 votes, and the meeting also endorsed the bureaucratic aspirations of the local president by backing her participation on the campus administration's "Affirmative Action" board for minority hiring—a diversion from the necessary union struggle for mass hiring—and the decision for the local to testify before the Staff Personnel Board, a powerless advisory body which all UC locals had agreed to boycott. Nevertheless, attempts by pro-CP bureaucratic flunkies to race-bait the Militant Caucus for criticizing the local president, who is black, have proven completely ineffective.

At the November local meeting, a resolution on the proposed "peace" deal in Indochina was put forward by the Militant Caucus and passed by the local. The resolution stated,

> "As members of the American and international working class, we realize our special obligation to denounce the government's attempt to halt that revolution.... The similarity between this agreement and the 1954 Geneva Accords is striking. It neither removes the exploitation that is at the root of the social conflict there, nor prevents a bolstered and re-armed Saigon government from ripping the agreement to shreds as they did with the promise of elections in 1954.... For our own part, we believe only the victory of the Vietnamese social revolution, with the construction of a workers and peasants government can represent a real step forward in the long struggle of the Vietnamese toilers. In solidarity with their fight, we denounce the latest U.S. ploys and call for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and supplies in Indochina."

The Demise of Marty Morgenstern

The Wurf bureaucracy fears and hates nothing more than the kind of leadership represented by the Militant Caucus of Local 2070 in the context of a militant, statewide organizing drive. In order to head off such a radical development, Wurf dumped one of his slickest servants, Marty Morgenstern. Morgenstern presided over the demise of the once-militant Social Services Employees Union (SSEU) of New York by leading it into unity with an old, conservative AFSCME local on the latter's sell-out terms. Having then transferred to California in search of a base, Morgenstern latched onto the potential gold mine of the burgeoning UC campus locals, and urged their formation into a state-wide council. Incidents such as the printing of Dodd's protest letter about the actions of the first state-wide AFSCME convention in the official paper convinced the bureaucracy of the danger of such a move, however, and Morgenstern was dumped for trying to form an independent—and too radical—power base. It was hardly he who was the radical as shown by his subsequent job—as spokesman for the company-union CSEA! To show who they were really after, the International bureaucrats also stopped providing *any* organizers for the giant UC campus system.

Having contained the left in this way, the Wurf bureaucracy is also maneuvering for unity with state and local "associations" like the CSEA in order to pick up large dues collecting blocs and freeze out radical organizing drives and leadership, thereby fulfilling its bureaucratic ambitions by helping preserve the apple cart of capitalism. Such a unity was narrowly won by AFSCME with the Los Angeles All City Employees Association on the basis of a conservative, "responsible" line. AFSCME's failure to vigorously oppose Proposition 15 on the November ballot, which creates the illusion of collective bargaining without the reality and favors the larger CSEA as "majority" employes representative can only be the beginning of a merger proposal. While the CSEA has been acting a bit more like a union under the pressure to counter organizing drives, it still retains its basically company-union outlook, as shown by its leading slogan in favor of Proposition 15: "End costly work stoppages"! It survives because of the spineless, cringing reformism of the AFSCME bureaucracy.

The Militant Caucus of Local 2070 provides the only alternative to this treachery, in the form of an example of what must be done by militants in all unions, not for the purpose of refurbishing the bureaucracy with new "progressive" faces and slimier sharpies like Morgenstern, but in order to completely root out all class collaborationism and basis for reformist conciliation of capitalism within the labor movement, and provide an alternative revolutionary leadership committed exclusively to the struggle for workers' power. ■

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zational aspects so as to get on to the more important political ones.

Despite the fact that Comrade Phil P. presented an amendment on extending discussion to VNL it was *never* implied that a three-way fusion was even remotely possible. In addition, a serious VNL fusion perspective was never presented by the Minneapolis comrades who appear to be in general agreement with VNL. But let us look closely at the wording of this amendment as their subsequent actions in the SL talks contradict the thrust of this:

> "...it is highly unlikely that we will continue discussing with both organizations for a lengthy period. The fact is that both organizations claim that there are fundamental reasons for their split. If we decide that is the case, *we will take sides*. If we decide that is not the case, then we must decide *which* organization affords the best opportunities for building the Trotskyist party, or whether we would be better off continuing to build our independent organization." (writers' emphasis)
>
> —Amendment to Perspectives Document on Vanguard Newsletter, by Phil P.

This statement does not imply that a three-way fusion is possible. This view was concretized by a motion by Rich G. which failed.

FROM THE CONVENTION MINUTES

Motion by Rich G. "That the LF, like the SL holds that there is no political basis for the existence of the VNL and the SL as two separate organizations."

Voting on Perspectives Documents

I) Rich G.'s motion on VNL/SL

For: 6 Against: 13 Abstain: 7 *Lost.*

One must ask where is the justification for presenting or defending the notion that SL, LF and VNL can be in the same organization. It is *not* from the Ashtabula Convention as this decision confirms the fact that formally the LF agrees with SL. The convention did not decide which organization was correct but it did decide that a three-way fusion was not in the realm of possibility. But the political arguments bear out this organizational conclusion and do in fact shed light on which organization is the principled one. That the LF CC put this proposal before the SL and continued to fight for it leaves us no conclusion to draw but that [it] is a totally unserious proposal. Did the LF leadership intend merely to wield VNL as an ax to chop off fusion discussions with SL?

Comrade Turner's tendency originated in an unprincipled bloc with the Kay Ellens faction inside the SL. This theme, one of blocs to make organizational gains, runs rampant in VNL. Many incidents have been discussed, Sherwood, Fender, Letter to Healy, etc. and while any one of these incidents taken by itself may not prove conclusively the opportunist streak that runs through VNL all of these incidents taken collectively do. They gloss over our differences on the trade union program (a principled difference); conveniently they agree with the majority position on Democratic Centralism. Overall, the VNL group is nothing more than a microscopic OCI-SLL bloc, certainly smaller, but nonetheless just as rotten.

But the LF CC is not unaware of this and had this to say in the most recent Faction Report:

> "...VNL still maintains that it can be in a common organization with us even though we would not have their trade union program. VNL also gives full support to the trade union document written by Fred and Steve, and not to the document of the majority. We discussed Turner's letter to Healy. Turner tried to explain it by saying that the letter clearly indicated he could not be in a common organization with WL. We felt the letter in no way indicated this—if it was meant to indicate this, it was entirely too soft. In general, VNL is pushing for immediate fusion, but we would agree only to further discussions. Our greatest criticism of VNL is their accommodationism, ranging from CRFC work to Turner's letter to Healy to their relations with us (they seem to agree with us too quickly on most questions)."
>
> —LFR No. 17, 10/15/72, p. 1

An organization must be judged not only by what it says, but also by what it does. On the next page of the very same report cited above we read:

> "At our next meeting with VNL, the CC will propose that in order to learn more about VNL, we begin working with them in the areas where this is possible (perhaps joint interventions).
>
> —LFR No. 17, p. 2

Despite the fact that this report claims that this is not a proposal for fusion with VNL we can only see the logic of this leading the faction in this direction. The LF is no longer, and perhaps never was, a homogeneous political tendency. The centrifugal forces exerted by the now three or four different tendencies within the faction will soon tear it apart flinging the pieces in the direction of VNL and independent existence. The emergence of the state capitalist position will either drive the faction in the direction of VNL or result in not one independent organization but two.

We find none of these alternatives as acceptable. We have felt that the faction *was* on a fusion course with the Spartacist League and openly advocated such an action. We felt the D.C.-Oakland split was premature and the decision to discuss with VNL did not definitively represent a movement away from the SL.

We emphasize the fundamental character of the disputes over democratic centralism and VNL. The notion that contradictory positions can be presented to the working class reveals a dilettante's conception of theory. A sign of "creativity" in a Leninist Party is on the contrary a homogeneous understanding of its tasks, and as a consequence the creation of a new consciousness in the proletariat. From this perspective it follows that when the LF accepted a Shachtmanite model of party building, the LF turned its face toward the past and not toward the future; it codified itself as a *centrist* tendency and counterposed itself to the revolutionary politics of the Spartacist League. The same centrist opportunism reveals itself in the policy of peaceful coexistence toward the VNL. We have no other alternative at this time but to resign from the Leninist Faction.

Fraternally,

Dave E., Boston; Pam E., Boston;
Sam H., Milwaukee; Tom T., Milwaukee

California AFSCME:

Militants Organize as Wurf Consolidates Sellouts

The deepening economic crisis of American capitalism, with the associated crunch in revenues for city and state governments, has resulted in massive assaults and cut-backs on the living standards and jobs of government employees through inflation, hiring freezes, layoffs and speed-ups. This in turn has spurred the growth of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) as government workers seek the protection of unionization.

AFSCME is the fastest growing union in the U.S., with a rate of 1,000 new members per month. Its membership is over half a million and it represents a million workers in bargaining and negotiations. This is a powerful and lucrative base for the liberal bureaucracy headed by Jerry Wurf, which seeks to channel the newly-organized workers into a carefully controlled lobbying bloc and dues-collecting agency.

The role of the AFSCME bureaucracy in breaking militant class struggle was made very clear by Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37, when he headed off a potential general strike in New York City in June 1971. Calling on the bridge tenders to lock the bridges open in a move designed to let off steam, he sent them back to work for nothing more than empty promises. Wurf's strategy of class collaboration and labor peace is explicitly outlined in his pamphlet, "From Confrontation to Cooperation," and was reaffirmed at the international Convention of AFSCME in Houston in June, at which the bureaucracy consolidated its position and wooed Humphrey and McGovern (see *WV* No. 10).

Rightward Shift

The problem for Wurf and Co. is that in this period of crisis, the capitalists are not very cooperative. While AFSCME swells with an angry rank and file, including many black and Spanish-speaking workers, the bureaucratic leadership must retreat and move rightward in order to compromise with the attacking capitalist class.

This rightward shift combined with local militancy is especially evident in California, where state and city workers are mostly unorganized or members of the company-union California State Employees Association (CSEA). State workers have suffered sharp blows under Reagan, who has restricted hiring severely and allowed only 5.5% salary increases this year, after vetoing increases for two consecutive years.

The Meyers-Milias-Brown Act allows state workers to "meet and confer" and find "reasonable means" to settle problems, but of course the state, and particularly the University of California Regents, interpret this to mean that regular collective bargaining is prohibited. Thus the urgent need for unionization requires a direct confrontation with the state. The AFSCME International bureaucracy has been desperately maneuvering to head off the growing struggles and strangle militant new leadership in the crib by sabotaging organizing drives and maneuvering for unity with the old, company-union employee associations like the CSEA. Furthermore, Wurf and Co. have been trying to balance the radical California locals by recruiting, mainly in the East, more cops, prison guards (the butchers of Attica!) and other armed agents of the capitalist state into the union!

New Attacks

The focus of much organizing activity in California has been on the sprawling and economically important University of California campuses, some of which have fledgling AFSCME chapters —no thanks to the AFSCME International—as well as other unions. In addition to all that has gone before, these unions face new attacks this year from Reagan and the Board of Regents. While no state workers have legally recognized contracts, the building tradesmen, having strong unions, have long had informal arrangements which provided them with the prevailing wage rates. Last spring, after toying with the idea for years, the Regents launched an offensive against the tradesmen at the Berkeley campus: a new "maintenance" would be set up with rates much lower than prevailing construction trades wages. If the building trades were defeated, the Regents would have little trouble with AFSCME and other unions.

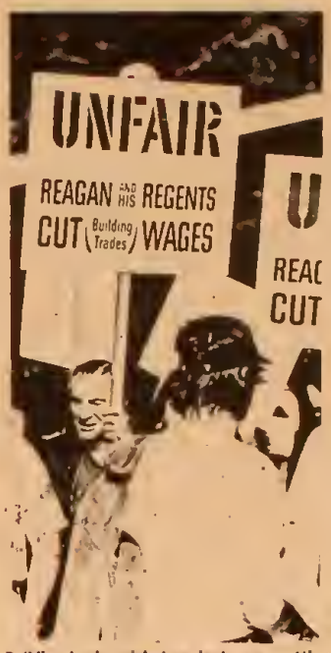
The attack on the craftsmen coincided with the campus upsurge in response to Nixon's mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbors, providing an excellent opportunity for direct agitation around demands raised by the Spartacist League: General strike against the war and the wage freeze! For a union of all state workers with signed contracts! All state workers out!

Predictably, the local labor council and building trades bureaucrats called only the most minimal picketing, isolated the strike from the student strikes, and tried to confuse the workers as to the nature of the state itself by calling for arbitration by state legislators! These bureaucrats dared not mobilize the working class for fear of being swept out of office in the struggle. In the end, they accepted a compromise, worked out in secret, which in effect allows the Regents to institute the "maintenance" rates on a delayed basis. The same disaster was soon repeated at the San Francisco Medical Center, where Local 1650 of AFSCME is based. Although the building tradesmen hung out longer there, the result was the same, and the AFSCME local virtually collapsed with the help of a red-baiting campaign conducted by the local bureaucracy against oppositionists. The Regents are now proceeding with this attack elsewhere in the state.

AFSCME on Campus

The growth of AFSCME on the UC campuses is a product of the upsurge of student struggles in the late 1960's as well as the worsening plight of campus employees. *Employee Press* of Local 1695 (Berkeley) notes that the local originated with office employees who were sympathetic with a student strike against Navy recruiters on campus in early 1967. This political atmosphere provided a testing ground for working-class political tendencies and the unmourned New Left.

At Berkeley, some of the original organizers were sympathetic to the views of the international Socialists (IS). These organizers sought affiliation with AFSCME because AFSCME "seemed" to meet the criteria that the international union "must not restrict the autonomy of the local; especially with regard to strike action." (*Employee Press*, April 1971) But by the time the local became involved in serious struggle over the issues of speed-up and layoffs of low-paid maids in early 1971, it found that the cherished autonomy supposedly provided by AFSCME was in the hands of Richard Groulx of the Central Labor Council, who would not release strike sanction. The result of this disillusionment with the realities of trade union politics was capitulation, in the local's acceptance of "staff reduction" and further retreats up to the present.



Building trades picket against wage-cutting attack by UC Regents.

The IS orients toward non-political shop floor groupings which emphasize "rank and file control" in answer to the heavy-handed bureaucrats, but precisely because of their low political level, in combination with conscious IS opportunism, these groups invariably become involved in blocs with new "progressive" bureaucrats against the old, as in the Teamster TURF caucus and the "Committee for Elected Shop Stewards" in CWA (see *WV* No. 13), both supported by IS. It is not surprising then, that the leadership of AFSCME Local 1695 was unceremoniously dumped by forces supported by the hopelessly reformist Communist Party, with no discernible change in the reformist face of the local or its downhill direction.

The point missed by the IS is that there can be no "autonomy" or independence for militant workers as long as the bureaucracy as a whole remains in power, and only a struggle based on a full working-class program designed to bring the working class to power in society can accomplish the task of throwing out the bureaucracy. Anything less merely feeds and renews the bureaucracy with fresh forces. A genuine working-class program must include the demand for a break with the two capitalist parties to which the bureaucracy is tied and construction of a working-class political party based on the trade unions. Though the IS favors this demand on paper, groups supported by it in the unions invariably drop it in order to conciliate bureaucratic forces with which they seek to bloc.

Militant Caucus in Los Angeles

The only consistent, political focus for the militant surge toward organization of California state workers has been provided by the Militant Caucus of Local 2070, UCLA, and its predecessor grouping. Partly because of the lack of an entrenched bureaucracy in California State AFSCME, and because its program represents the real interests of the newly-organized and radicalized workers, this local caucus has achieved some notable accomplishments despite its small size, and has been partly responsible for the more lively, radical political life of California AFSCME compared to the more conservative, older AFSCME in the East.

Local 2070 on the UCLA campus emerged under similar pressures as at Berkeley, but originated with the largely black custodians in the medical center rather than radicalized office workers. It has since spread to the dorms and library, and now has about 350 members. The May 1970 upsurge of student struggle boosted the original organizing, which was led by pro-working class New Left militants.

Very early in the organizing, disputes broke out over a militant political strategy vs. straight, reformist unionism. The latter approach, pushed by those who were influenced by the views of the CP, cripples any militant struggle by accommodating to the reformist bureaucracy. Some of the militants, such as Keith Dodds, who was heavily involved in the organizing, raised a series of issues within the union which were vital to the success of the struggle: the need for explicit labor opposition to the war, the need to break from the capitalist parties and form a labor party, the need to expel all cops, prison guards and other armed agents of the capitalist state from AFSCME, and the need for a militant struggle against the rotten international bureaucracy.

These issues were raised by Dodds and others as delegates to the first California State Conference of AFSCME in September 1971. To the embarrassment of the international, this convention passed a motion made by this militant group calling for a general strike against the wage freeze, and opposing labor leaders sitting on wage boards. When the *AFSCME Californian* failed to report this vote, Dodds sent a protest letter, approved by his local executive board, which was printed in a subsequent issue.

The militant grouping held a series of sharp political discussions, including a head-on clash with proponents of class collaboration expressing the formula for an "anti-monopoly peoples coalition" (read "support Democrats") and supporting Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), an alliance of "progressive" bureaucrats backed by the CP. By mid-1972 the group had resolved these issues in favor of the need for organized, militant leadership in the unions based on a full working-class program. It formed the Militant Caucus, and declared, in its initial program introduction,

> "Our goal is to establish a pole in our unions, via our caucus and its program, that can point the way forward for the increasing number of discontented rank and filers, that can mobilize a militant movement around their collective interests, and that can sweep aside those who stand in the way of such a movement."

Vital elements of the caucus program include:

> "For the right of public employees to organize and strike. For one militant union of state workers. No cops in our union!
>
> "For a sliding scale of wages and hours—30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Jobs for all!
>
> "End all forms of racial, sexual and national discrimination. For international working-class solidarity!
>
> "No government interference in labor affairs! Repeal all anti-labor legislation!
>
> "For a general strike against the wage freeze! Labor leaders off the Pay Board for good! Freeze prices, not wages!
>
> "For immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces and supplies from Indochina. For labor political strikes against the war! Defend the Vietnamese revolution!
>
> "For workers control of basic industry. Open the books!
>
> "Break with the capitalist parties, for a labor party! Forward to a workers government!"

The caucus intervened with its program at the international convention in Houston in June, placing special emphasis on the need for a labor party as opposed to bureaucratic wheeling and dealing in the election year, and the need to expel cops from the union. It

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 15 X-523 January 1973

"Peace" Fraud Exploded!

Nixon Launches Mass Terror Bombing

UPI photo

Members of the Saigon puppet army line up in front of 162 new M48 tanks rushed to Long Binh, Vietnam.

Little more than a month since his election victory, which was based on Kissinger's phony "peace is at hand" promise, Nixon has re-opened the bombing with the heaviest and most vicious raids of the war in Vietnam. Shrouding itself in secrecy, but using only the flimsiest and most transparent of lies for an excuse, this regime of savages has unleashed the entire B-52 fleet on the population centers of North Vietnam. The massive bomb tonnage—already many times more than the force of the Hiroshima blast—can have but one target: the obliteration of civilization in North Vietnam—"Bomb them back into the stone age."

The Fruits of Betrayal

The opportunity for this monstrous barbarity was handed to the U.S. by the gross betrayal of the Stalinist bureaucratic regimes in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. Having refused to provide adequate, modern, military aid to the Vietnamese throughout the war, the Moscow epigones signalled to the world their willingness to let the Vietnamese be destroyed when they refused to protest the mining of Haiphong harbor and welcomed the mass-butcher Nixon to the Moscow summit meeting shortly therealter. Peking, too, remained discreet. Hanoi's agreement to the terms of Nixon/Kissinger followed in due course, with no more than a hostile glare in the direction of its "fraternal" betrayers.

The Nixon acceptance of the deal was a delaying action designed to assure the "proper" outcome of the election. The ruling class wanted better "terms." Though the original deal guaranteed the indefinite continuance of the Saigon regime, Nixon insisted that the sovereignty of the U.S. puppet-creatures be so visibly etched into the treaty that its acceptance would have grossly discredited the NLF/DRV.

But in the poker game of power politics, a deal is a deal. The U.S. is no longer world policeman, and accepting one deal only to re-open the war to obtain even harsher terms is an act of supreme imperialist arrogance which even the U.S. will have trouble getting away with in the present period.

The U.S. has lost its hegemonic dominance of the world imperialist camp. Its European and Japanese rivals are already dividing up portions of the former American empire. The U.S. is now simply the most powerful among several imperialist powers. As such, it still has great advantages, which the Nixon government has been putting to use. But the high-handed, dictatorial expectations of the U.S. bourgeoisie, acquired durings its long, basically uninterrupted climb to the heights of world stewardship, are ill-suited to the balancing act of the present world configuration of forces.

Drive Toward New World War

Thus, lacking all self-restraint, the swinish masters of the U.S. under Nixon have taken a big lurch forward in the inevitable drive toward a third inter-imperialist war. Like the imperialists of Germany before World War I, who decided to reconcile their competing appetites for plunder in a mad drive

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UAW Is Target in '73 Contract Battles

GMAD Rampage Continues

Woodcock Prepares Defeat for Auto Workers

In 1973 contracts for 4.1 million of the 10.6 million workers under major union agreements will expire. These contracts are in the most crucial capitalist industries: auto, railroad, rubber, electrical machinery, food, printing and publishing, gas and electric utilities, construction, trucking and airlines.

Thus the trade unions face a crucial battle in 1973. The U.S. capitalists, competing with each other and with the bourgeoisies of the other capitalist countries for profits and markets around the world, have already thrown down the gauntlet. Nixon has ominously warned that the "era of permissiveness" is at a close, and that he will not "indulge" his "children," the American people. In this he is joined by his liberal bourgeois colleagues in the Democratic Party, who will undoubtedly renew Nixon's authority to impose wage controls, which expire on 30 April 1973.

Knowing Nixon will need their help to secure this renewal, the labor bureaucrats are already offering to make a deal. At the merest hint of cooperation from Nixon, George Meany led his AFL-CIO cronies back onto the National Productivity Commission, the business, government and "public" members of which are currently assessing opinion in the capitalist class to determine what form of controls can be gotten away with in the coming year to curb union demands. Meany and friends had walked off this Commission when they walked off the Pay Board. Now, in a private meeting at the White House, they have offered to end opposition to the controls in exchange for more "equity," i.e., a better show at "controlling" prices (*New York Times*, 21 December 1972).

As if to underline the point—in case anyone doubted—that there are no basic differences between liberal ex-pro-McGovern bureaucrats like Woodcock of the UAW and Nixon-backers like Meany, the UAW sent vice-president Greathouse to "represent" auto workers at Meany's private White House meeting. Woodcock, in fact, is one of the few labor bureaucrats who never left the Productivity Commission, despite the UAW's pre-election pretense of militancy and opposition to the controls and the Pay Board (see *WV* No. 12).

Under the so-called "wage-price" controls thus far, wage increases have been kept below the 5.5% annual limit, while food prices in particular have been allowed to soar to new heights, up 10% in 1972 alone. And if controls can't be maintained, the chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce,

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The IS School of Labor Reformism 4

Labor and the Common Market 6

Spartacist League Third National Conference 12

Letters

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand,
Wellington.
11 December, 1972.

The Editorial Board,
Workers Vanguard.

Dear comrades,

In the article "Nixon Reaction Wins in Vietnam, U.S. Elections" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 14 there is a description of the quantitative increase of U.S. economic intervention in the deformed workers' states. It then goes on:

> "Thus the continued rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic usurpers in the Soviet Union and China... now directly threatens to lead to deep imperialist penetration undermining the nationalized economy itself. Aside from the unpleasant prospect of Soviet workers being directly exploited for the profit of U.S. investors, this threat will ultimately pose the question of the very existence of the basic conquest of the October Revolution, the state-owned planned economy. As the economy becomes more and more linked up with and dependent upon imperialist capital, the bureaucracy will more and more tend to become merely the administrators for the foreign capitalists. Only the construction of Leninist vanguard parties... and a program of spreading revolution to overthrow the world bourgeoisie and place the world economy in the hands of the working class, can prevent the eventual final betrayal and the ultimate return of the Soviet Union and China, etc., to direct capitalist rule."

You will note the omission from this paragraph of the Trotskyist position on the deformed workers' states. By this omission the possibility is posed of the gradual reversion of the workers' states to capitalism without a social counter-revolution, and conversely a bourgeois state could become a workers' state as a result of reforms. Were this in fact the case considerable reassessment of the Marxist analysis of the class nature of the state and of our shared revolutionary perspectives would be necessary. This oversight can undoubtedly be readily corrected in a future issue.

Warmest comradely greetings,

Bill Logan for
Executive Committee,
Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.

■

Editor *[Workers Vanguard]*,

I read with interest your article on the elections *(Workers Vanguard* No. 14) and agree essentially with your analysis and conclusions. However, I would like to comment on two ideas contained in your article in hopes of clarifying them for our benefit and the benefit of the revolutionary movement in general.

1. One point has to do with your abstentionist position on the left parties that were on the ballot. I, too, agree that it's a tactical question dependent upon whether these parties are capable of advancing the movement toward working class power. Voting for the sake of voting—whether socialist or capitalist—doesn't raise the class consciousness of the working class, in fact, it helps maintain illusions in the "peaceful, legal" road to socialism.

But there is another side to the question. It is true, as you say, that the votes for the CP and SWP candidates "were an index of a hunger for some kind of alternative." Most workers who have become politicized in the last 5 years are seeking *electoral* alternatives to the two major capitalist parties. To vote for a socialist or communist represents therefore a big step for these workers in the direction of seeking *leadership* alternatives. They are not so much voting for the *entire* program of one of these parties as they are registering their vote for change, for a different system than the one they've got —for Socialism.

In this sense, it is incumbent upon revolutionary Marxists to guide the working class through its stages of development to *full* class consciousness. Until the working class is prepared to organize itself into mass organizations—labor party, communist party, or Soviets—a vote for the SWP, CP, and SLP, or any reformist working class party, rather than being a step backward, represents a real step *forward* in the changing consciousness of the workers. Any criticisms we have of these organizations will only sink in when the class *as a whole* is ready for organizational leadership, i.e., is ready to choose between the SWP, CP, SL, etc. But that will only be determined by *what* organization is *rooted* in the class, leading the workers on a day-to-day level, and gives the correct answers to their problems.

2. The second point has to do with one paragraph under the heading "Soviet/Chinese Subservience," I found to be confusing. It reads on page 3: "This competition [between the imperialist powers] will lead directly and inevitably toward a new, third world war for the redivision of world markets, *with the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states* choosing sides between sets of international pirates on the basis of whose capital investments and trade their economies are most dependent on. Only the intervention of the international revolutionary proletariat can halt this process." (my emphasis)

This statement sounds like a new slant on the Pabloist theory of "War-Revolution" with the USSR, China, the deformed workers states and the colonial world on one side, and world imperialism on the other. The main difference, however, is that while Pablo saw the colonial bourgeoisie playing a revolutionary role (along with the Stalinist CP's), you, on the other hand, see only a completely reactionary role for the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states. Interestingly enough, this very same question arose before, during the discussions in the Fourth International over the "Buffer States."

Your statement fails to take into consideration the *class* lines which divide the imperialist states from the deformed workers states. What class basis would China, for example, have for lining up with Japanese imperialism against the USSR and U.S. imperialism? Any third world war would most likely be fought not only for the "redivision of world markets," but also to re-establish *capitalism* in China and the Soviet Union! Capitalist investments can penetrate just so far into the workers states before a new *dual power* is established, and then civil war would be combined with imperialist war. But in such a case the proletariat of China and the USSR would be fighting *side by side* against bourgeois restorationists from within, and imperialism from without.

The bureaucracies must of course take a position. In case of civil war, the bureaucracy will most likely be divided: one section lining up with the proletariat, and the other with the bourgeois restorationists. In the case of imperialist war, the bureaucracies will again play contradictory roles. Basing themselves as they do on the proletariat, the more farsighted will see in the war a threat to their privileges and oppose the imperialists; another section may line up with the imperialists against another workers state. But if the latter does occur, it will only be

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IS/SL EXCHANGE ON VIETNAM

For Unconditional Military Defense of the Vietnamese Revolution!

The following exchange was initiated when former members of the Communist Tendency of the SWP, now representing the Boston International Socialists, delivered a proposal for a "joint" public meeting to the Spartacist League in Boston on 2 November. To center around the nature of the supposedly imminent peace settlement in Vietnam this meeting was proposed in the guise of a united front—a "united front" around the program of the IS! The SL's comments on the program of the IS, as well as our alternative proposal for a united-front contingent in an upcoming peace march, are reprinted below in our 13 November letter of response to the IS. No response was forthcoming from the IS, despite repeated attempts by the SL to solicit its participation on a principled united-front basis, nor has there been an answer to the political criticisms raised in the SL's letter. Elements of the former Leninist Faction of the SWP, in alliance with Harry Turner of Vanguard Newsletter, took part in the SL-proposed joint action.

Nov. 1, 1972

Dear Comrades:

The imperialist character of the impending "peace" settlement for Vietnam requires that all who profess to be socialists unite in action to expose this betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution. We therefore propose that a joint public meeting be held, each group under its own banner, with the following points of agreement to provide the principled basis for such a meeting.

1. No imperialist deals—no imperialist commissions.
2. Complete, immediate, and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops—disarm the ARVN.
3. For the military support of the NLF insofar as it defends the Vietnamese people from imperialist forces.
4. Immediate release of all war and political prisoners.
5. For the immediate expulsion of the U.S. puppets from the coalition government or authority.
6. For full democratic rights of the Vietnamese people.
7. Workers' control of production—land to the peasants.
8. Arm the workers and peasants—for workers' and peasants' defense guards to defend their organizations and their land.
9. No political support to the coalition government or the PRG—for a workers' and peasants' government.

International Socialists
Boston, Mass.

■

Spartacist League
Cambridge, Mass.
13 November 1972

International Socialists
Boston, Mass.

Dear Comrades:

While the Spartacist League completely concurs that the impending "peace" settlement is indeed a gross betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution, we cannot agree to your proposal for a united front public meeting. Your "nine points of agreement" which are to constitute "the principled basis for such a meeting" are in fact a call for a *propaganda bloc* around the question of the Vietnamese "peace" settlement. As the "nine points of agreement" proposed by the comrades of IS represent at once an adaptation to social patriotism and the Vietnamese Stalinists, are full of "third camp" vacillations, and fundamentally opposed to the internationalist, Trotskyist programmatic thrust of the Spartacist League, it would be deeply unprincipled for us to enter into such a bloc.

Instead, to the comrades of International Socialists we propose a bloc for practical action to oppose this sellout by the Stalinists of the workers and peasants of Vietnam to U.S. imperialism. We propose that on the upcoming demonstration on November 18 against the Vietnam War we march separately, each under our own banners in a contingent politically based upon the demands of:

1. Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from S.E. Asia.
2. Unconditional exclusion of the bourgeoisie and its political representatives from the anti-war movement.
3. For the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution! Defeat to U.S. imperialism! No Coalition Government!

The "nine points" you propose to us vacillate on these fundamental class issues in such a way as to be politically unacceptable as the basis for a united front.

Most fundamentally, the International Socialists have an obligation to clarify their use of the term imperialist. Nowhere have you repudiated your historic position that Stalinism is a new form of *class rule*, that there is "Stalinist imperialism" as well as the imperialism of the bourgeoisie, and that politically both are equally reactionary. Nowhere have you rejected your historic position of refusing *unconditional military defense* of the deformed workers' states against the capitalist states. In the case of Vietnam you have timidly given military support to the struggles of the NLF against U.S. imperialism and its ARVN puppets by slurring over the social revolution taking place in southern Vietnam, by slurring over the fact that a deformed workers state is under attack by U.S. imperialism. Instead, along with the Vietnamese Stalinists, you have emphasized that the struggle in Vietnam is one for "self-determination." Comrades, *what is your position?* Your state capitalist and/or bureaucratic collectivist theories of Stalinism

temporary once it becomes clear that the real aim of world imperialism is to *overthrow* nationalized property relations.

Every war is fought in the interest of classes: either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Any future wars, imperialist, colonial, or revolutionary, will be no different. A new world war will be initiated and fought by imperialism for one purpose: to restore capitalist relations *everywhere*. In that sense a "redivision of world markets" will certainly take place.

The international revolutionary proletariat will, in the process of overthrowing capitalism, overthrow the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states too. In fact *it must!* Because if the revolutionary proletariat falls, the Stalinist bureaucracies and revolutionary communists alike will be swept away by bourgeois reaction in its insatiable drive to "redivide" the world to meet its bloodthirsty needs.

Comradely,
J. Melt

P.S. As you know the Panthers are running a campaign here in Oakland. I would like to know your position on it. Thank you.

EDITORS' REPLY

We are indebted to Comrades Melt and Logan for responding to *Workers Vanguard* No. 14. Both comrades make, each in his own way, the correct point in clarifying *WV*'s partial and therefore incorrect handling of the question of the political and economic pressures of world imperialism upon the bureaucratically deformed workers states. These letters give us another opportunity to deal briefly with this question.

The USSR, the product of the Stalinist degeneration of the 1917 October Revolution, as well as those states in which capitalism was uprooted under Stalinist or other petty-bourgeois leaderships whose immediate social base resided in a military mobilization of the peasantry, is characterized by the class contradiction between the proletariat, whose state power is embodied, in a deformed way, in these states, and the bourgeois world order, which exerts a qualitatively deforming pressure upon them. This contradiction is manifested in the existence of a conservative and fundamentally nationalist bureaucratic caste which, in the interests of its own parasitic self-preservation, can in toto neither liquidate the economic gains of these revolutions in favor of a return to the capitalist mode of production, nor can it open the road to socialist development.

As Trotsky recognized, this caste which usurps the political power of the proletariat is, in the historic sense, fundamentally *unstable*, lacking the economic prerequisites, social cohesion and ideological superstructure which characterize a ruling class. Thus these states cannot endure indefinitely as deformed workers states. Either the decisive victory of proletarian revolutions internationally will sweep away these bonapartist regimes and permit the construction of a socialist society on a world scale, or the intensifying inter-imperialist rivalries in this period of imperialist decay must inevitably destroy all of human civilization and which would certainly wipe out the gains of October through imperialist reconquest.

But, as Trotsky pointed out emphatically, to posit a peaceful transition back to capitalism for the deformed workers states would be merely to unwind the film of reformism in reverse. It will require a political revolution to establish direct proletarian political power in the deformed workers states; it would require a social counter-revolution (most likely in the context of the wrenching social disorganization of an inter-imperialist war) to return these states to direct capitalist exploitation.

In this context, it is clear that the paragraph quoted by Comrade Logan in his letter omits a crucial analytical step in explaining the very real threat of "deep imperialist [economic] penetration undermining the nationalized economy itself," which does indeed "*ultimately* pose the question of the very existence of the basic conquest of the October Revolution" (emphasis added). Any economic foothold gained by capitalist imperialism in the economic structure of the deformed workers states is a danger because it accelerates the pre-conditions for the crystallization, among a *section* of the bureaucracy, of the appetite to become a capitalist ruling class through social counter-revolution to return these states to the capitalist mode of production.

The tendency of the Stalinist bureaucracies to polarize and fragment in situations of profound social crisis in which the fundamental class choice of modern society (the bourgeoisie or the proletariat) is posed was demonstrated most clearly in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, although Trotsky insistently anticipated this development when he spoke of embryonic fascist (Butenko) and Bolshevist (Rsiss) wings from within the bureaucracy itself. Yugoslavia, under the aged Marshal Tito, today stands near the brink of such social polarization as the result of two decades of increasing penetration by the world market.

This the process, assumed rather than stated in the *WV* article, is one of the gradual undermining of the foundations of the planned economy through the penetration of capital. In a situation of acute social crisis, quantitative erosion can be transformed into a qualitative historic leap backward, that transformation from quantity into quality requiring for its consummation the outbreak of civil war within the deformed workers states and the reconquest and consolidation of state power by the aspiring bourgeois elements and foreign imperialists.

The formulation to which Comrade Melt's letter correctly objects is one of qualitative overstatement. The narrow nationalist bureaucrats are *subjectively* fully capable of playing the power politics game, seeking immediate diplomatic advantages through alliances with one or another imperialist power at the direct expense of the other deformed workers states as well as of the international working class. Thus Stalin himself was certainly not averse to allying the Soviet Union (successively) with both imperialist camps arrayed for battle in World War II, just as the "de-Stalinized" Russian Stalinist bureaucracy aided capitalist India's side against the Chinese deformed workers state in the 1962 border war.

But faced with direct imperialist military threat to a deformed workers state, the element which must become decisive to its bureaucracy is the defense of its own state, including the proletarian state power, against imperialism (having however already called into question that defense through its destructive counter-revolutionary policies of class collaboration). It is by no means inconceivable that the outbreak of World War III would find the deformed workers states split between the contending imperialist camps and counterposed to one another; however the bureaucracies would be compelled at some point to recognize that one basic imperialist aim in such a war must necessarily be the overthrow of nationalized property relations (to which world capitalism can never be reconciled) wherever they exist, in the context of the bureaucratic polarization which Comrade Melt's letter describes.

The bureaucrats, whose appetite for gross and monumental counter-revolutionary diplomatic maneuvering is confirmed daily from Chile to Ceylon, are circumscribed by their objective social position as the simultaneous betrayers and defenders of anti-capitalist property relations within the deformed workers states.

In response to Comrade Melt's first point, we can only refer our readers again to "Fake Lefts Push Protest Vote for Socialist Lesser Evil" in *WV* No. 13, which adequately expresses our position.

It is the immediate responsibility of the *WV* Editorial Board to ensure that articles in the paper incorporate correctly and sufficiently fully the programmatic positions of the international Spartacist tendency, as currently codified mainly in resolutions of the SL/U.S. Clearly, we failed in this case to include the essential point which the two letters illuminate. Our paper is not a one-way street; it is gratifying and reassuring to function in the context of a vigilant Marxist readership.

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would compel you to label the Vietnamese Stalinists as "imperialists" or puppets of Soviet and/or Chinese "imperialism" and would compel you to be neutral if you took your political conceptions seriously. *Where do you stand?*

Your "nine points" are filled with political evasions and "third camp" vacillations. You call "for the military support of the NLF insofar as it defends the Vietnamese people from imperialist forces." Do the imperialist forces include those of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)? Or, do you call "for military support" in any manner of the DRV or its armed forces? Do the "Vietnamese people" include only those residing in the southern half of Vietnam? Your position is a "third camp" evasion of a firm stand on this fundamental question. Only the *unconditional military victory* of the NLF/DRV over U.S. imperialism can open the road to the victory of the Vietnamese revolution!

Marxists are irreconcilably opposed to the formation of any coalition government with the bourgeoisie, which would necessarily betray the revolutionary struggle and aspirations of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The Spartacist League calls upon the Vietnamese Stalinists to break with class-collaboration and *seize the power in its own name*. We call for the political and economic unity of all of South East Asia under the dictatorship of the proletariat! All Indochina Must Go Communist! We call upon the Stalinist bureaucracies running the various deformed workers states to give real military aid to the Vietnamese revolution. We say to the workers of these states: "The Stalinist bureaucracies are an obstacle to international communist unity against imperialism, an obstacle to the victory of the Vietnamese revolution! Victory of the workers and peasants in Vietnam, defense of the social conquests embodied in the deformed workers states requires political revolution to oust these bureaucrats! This is the way forward."

In contrast, you have nothing to say to the Vietnamese workers and peasants, to the Soviet and Chinese working masses. You simply call the maximal demand of the Vietnamese Stalinists in your call for "immediate expulsion of U.S. puppets from the coalition government." To tack on "no political support to the coalition government" does not help the matter. You implicitly accept the political division of North and South Vietnam. Your demands imply an impulse to *pressure* a treacherous popular front formation instead of calling for a clear break with the class enemy.

Indeed, we need only look at the International Socialists' performance in the popular front National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) to get an idea of what you mean by "no political support to the coalition government." In gross opportunism you entered the NPAC Pop Front as the "Militant Action Caucus," operating as a "left" pressure group. You solidarized with the ex-Trotskyist SWP in their physical exclusion of the Spartacist League and the Progressive Labor Party from the July, 1971 NPAC meeting for protesting the presence of the bourgeois politician Sen. Vance Hartke on the platform.

Comrades, in the absence of a call for a clear break with the bourgeoisie the call for the "Workers' and Peasants' Government" becomes transformed into nothing more than a figleaf for an opportunist adaptation to a reformist popular front government!

The demand for "immediate release of all war and political prisoners" must be placed in a class context. The correct demand is for the immediate release of all *military and political prisoners held by the Saigon government and the U.S. military*. The release of U.S. prisoners must be made contingent upon the total withdrawal of all U.S. forces. *A blanket call for the immediate release of all prisoners constitutes an adaptation to social patriotism.*

The demands for "full democratic rights of the Vietnamese people" and "workers' control of production—land to the peasants" can only be met, according to the Trotskyist conception of Permanent Revolution by a socialist revolution leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. Likewise the demand for "workers' and peasants' defense guards to defend their organizations and their land" is meaningless without the demand for socialist revolution. *Who* will arm the workers and peasants, and *for what political ends?* Does the IS call upon the Soviet and Maoist bureaucracies to give real military aid to the DRV/NLF, to lift the blockade of Haiphong? How can the workers and peasants "defend their organizations and their land" without ultimately seizing power? The IS has no answer.

We reiterate: your "nine points" show a cowardly vacillation and opportunism on the most basic issues of the Indochinese struggle. For us to accept your proposal would commit us to a fundamental betrayal of the working class internationally, and especially the workers and peasants of Indochina. For us to accept your proposal for a propaganda bloc on these "nine points" would require us to drag the irreproachable red banner of Trotskyism through the fetid centrist swamp of "third camp" social patriotism.

We are always willing to engage in *principled* united fronts and direct your attention to our proposal for November 18. But we will never accede to a propaganda bloc based on the opportunist politics of the IS.

Fraternally,
Spartacist League
Boston Local

From the Swamp of Social Democracy...

The IS School of Labor Reformism

A central tenet of New Left ideology, part of its rejection of the "old left," was the denial of the necessity of a *conscious vanguard*, i.e., a Leninist party of the proletariat, in mounting the assault on the capitalist system. To New Lefters in the 1960's the revolution was seen as a more or less spontaneous conclusion to a series of spontaneous outbursts, in which they participated directly or tailed along as an enthusiastic cheering squad of radical phrase-mongers.

These "spontaneous" movements were largely petty-bourgeois (Guevara's guerillas, Mandel's student youth struggles, etc.). New Left petty-bourgeois radicalism proved bankrupt to achieve reform, much less revolutionary change, in the face of mounting social crisis. The organizational disintegration of the American New Left in the late 1960's, most significantly SDS and the Black Panther Party, coupled with the rising tide of working-class struggles in the U.S. and Europe (French general strike in 1968, U.S. strike wave in 1970-71), caused remnants of the New Left to attempt to apply their old ideas to the new situation, completely missing the point as to the lessons of their failure.

The Turn to Spontaneity and Workerism

They have rushed to the working class, not with a Leninist strategy of building the party of proletarian revolution, but in order to bury themselves in the class, to rub elbows with militant workers, to participate in their way of life and tail alter their just struggles. The petty-bourgeois radicals of the 1960's have been transformed into the labor reformists and "workerists" of the 1970's. What Lenin had to say about the workerists of his day, the Economists, is very much to the point:

> "[to the Economists,] that struggle is desirable which is possible, and the struggle which is possible is that which is going on at the given moment. This is precisely the trend of unbounded opportunism, which passively adapts itself to spontaneity."
>
> —Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?*

Typical of this "left" turn is the recent working-class orientation of the International Socialists (IS). In the 1960's the IS (then the Independent Socialist Clubs or ISC) scorned even the propagandistic mentioning of the working class as "sectarian," as it embedded itself in the ephemeral petty-bourgeois movements centered in Berkeley, California. One gross example of its petty-bourgeois orientation was the ISC's creation of the abortive Peace and Freedom Party, based solely on the war and race issues. At the founding convention of the PFP the ISC, while claiming to be for a labor party, helped *vote down* Spartacist proposals for a working-class program, including the call for a labor party, in order not to alienate the liberal Democrats upon whom the PFP was based, and whom the ISC sought to pressure into a "break" with capitalist politics through a *non-class* rejection of the Democratic Party. This vote precipitated the walkout of Spartacist and other pro-working-class elements from the PFP.

Hardly naive New Leftists, the ISC's pseudo-Marxist predecessors have a long (though completely unsavory) history in the working-class movement. Yet the ISC fought to prevent all talk of a working-class perspective in the mushrooming petty-bourgeois struggle of the time out of pure opportunism. When the turn to the working class became a fad in 1969-70, the IS was quick to sense the new wind blowing and began to re-orient. Suddenly *Workers' Power* began to appear, and in late 1970 the IS moved its center to the Detroit area.

"Shop Floor" Economism

The general outlines of the IS strategy in the trade unions appeared in an article by Sy Landy and Kim Moody, "The Trade Unions Under Monopoly Capitalism" (*WP* No. 6, May 1970). Discussing at length union bureaucratization and the linking up between the bureaucrats and the capitalist state, the article proposes that workers must regain control of their unions through the organization of shop floor committees:

> "The first step, therefore, is to organize shop floor workers' committees, controlled directly by the workers and independent of the union structure. Let the workers choose representatives who are free from the duty to enforce labor peace on management's terms....
>
> "Such an organization of shop floor struggle on a permanent basis can begin to shift the balance of power from management and the union bureaucracy to the workers on the shop floor, and this shift in power can be the basis for re-establishing union democracy and moving towards workers' control of production."

But the problem has not been the form of trade union organization, or its lack of "closeness" to the rank and file, but the lack of a cohesive, conscious vanguard, rooted solidly in the working class, able to seize the opportunities and lead the working class to power. This is the lesson of Leninism, demonstrated in Lenin's struggle against the trade union spontaneists and Economists, documented in *What Is to Be Done?* Significantly, nowhere in the above *WP* article is there an assertion of the need to build a Leninist party!

Workers' Power

IS "rank and file" conference: collecting trade unionists on a lowest-common-denominator level

As for program, the article throws in a bodge-podge of union demands: one-year contracts, open the books, 30-for-40, and special emphasis on the "unlimited right to strike." While the IS has now expanded this (on paper) to include the call for a labor party and other political demands, its central strategy remains: shop floor organizing divorced from the need to build a Leninist party. As such the IS strategy amounts to pure-and-simple trade unionism on the basis of whatever will "get the workers into motion," the implicit assumption being that motion by itself will impel the workers toward revolutionary politics.

There is nothing revolutionary about trade union struggle *per se*. In *What Is to Be Done?* Lenin correctly quotes Kautsky to the effect that socialist consciousness arises "only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge." Under capitalism "the vehicle of science is not the proletariat but the *bourgeois intelligentsia*," some of whom can be won to the proletarian cause (like Lenin and Trotsky). Antonio Gramsci, who made contributions on the role and development of communist consciousness, also noted that trade-union types of proletarian organization are "specific to the historical period dominated by capital...that they are in a certain sense an integral part of capitalist society, and have a function which is inherent in the regime of private property."

The proletariat develops only trade-union consciousness through spontaneous struggle. No matter how militant, it is limited to the confines of bourgeois ideology and to action within a capitalist framework. A Marxist, scientific world-view, making possible a revolutionary program for struggle, is brought to the working class from without by conscious communists.

It is no accident that *What Is to Be Done?* links the devastating criticism of the Economists with an assertion of the need to build an organization of professional revolutionaries, a vanguard party. The party is the concrete *embodiment* of communist consciousness; without it, there can be no talk of successful revolution. As Gramsci noted:

> "The decisive element in every situation is the force, permanently organised and pre-ordered over a long period, which can be advanced when one judges that the situation is favourable (and it is favourable only to the extent to which such a force exists and is full of fighting ardour): therefore the essential task is that of paying systematic and patient attention to forming and developing this force, rendering it ever more homogeneous, compact, conscious of itself. One sees this in military history and in the care with which at all times armies have been predisposed to begin a war at any moment."
>
> —Gramsci, *The Modern Prince*

With this in mind one sees that the IS' low-level shop floor organizing approach is fundamentally anti-Leninist. The IS, for instance, does not conceive of trade-union caucus activity as *necessarily* representative of the party and its program in the trade unions, even while providing a strategy for immediate advances in day-to-day struggle. Instead, IS-backed trade union caucuses are always coalitions of socialists with left-wing trade unionists, would-be bureaucrats, etc., on the basis of a common denominator program. This reliance on petty-bourgeois and bureaucratic forces replaces any notion of struggling for power and leads the IS straight to betrayal.

Against this opportunist strategy the Spartacist League counterposes the building of caucuses in the trade unions on the basis of the transitional program—in practice, not on paper—as a strategy to consolidate the forces of Bolshevism in the working class. Only struggle around a full program, which poses the interests of the workers in a class framework, attacking the root of the problem, rather than the symptoms, can begin to assemble the cadres for intervention in struggle to topple the bureaucracy and mobilize the working class for the revolution.

The IS and Shachtman

The historical roots of IS politics reach into the Shachtmanite movement, which in its final years was only a branch of American social-democracy. After an initial "left" phase during World War II, the Independent Socialist League of Max Shachtman, Hal Draper and Co. hardened into an increasingly right-wing, anti-Leninist and anti-communist organization which quickly welded itself to the bureaucrats in the trade unions and to the imperialists' foreign policy. The final culmination, under the pressure of isolation and the Cold War and witchhunt, was capitulation and the total liquidation of the ISL into the wretched Norman Thomas, pro-State Department Socialist Party in 1958, on the latter's terms. When the New Left emerged in the 1960's Draper, Sy Landy (current IS National Secretary) and others broke off to form the ISC.

To see the thread of continuity with Shachtmanism and social democracy is the key to understanding IS' politics. The methodology is one of the crudest empiricism; its response to every pressure is capitulation. Just as the Second International embraced national chauvinism and social patriotism in 1914, so did Shachtman crumble under the pressures of bourgeois public opinion, rejecting communists' most elementary responsibility to defend the Soviet workers state, despite its bureaucratic deformation, against imperialism in World War II. IS' third-camp position is the heritage of Shachtman's "bureaucratic collectivist" theory—the cover for his definitive break from revolutionary Marxism in favor of reconciliation with the U.S. bourgeoisie.

So does the IS capitulate to every pressure, even the most petty—to the point of contradicting itself shamelessly. Thus we see the IS contorting its "theories" to arrive at a contrived formulation about self-determination as the justification for supporting military victory in Vietnam by the Stalinist NLF/DRV. With the popularity of the NLF among petty-bourgeois radicals (itself a reflection of bourgeois defeatism rather than of class solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution) the IS is too opportunist to defend a neutralist stance toward the Vietnam war, although that is precisely what its "theories" should require. The denunciations of "Soviet imperialism"—so useful for the third-campers during the Cold War period—are now counter-productive from the IS' opportunist point of view. Therefore, in regard to Vietnam the IS prefers to support a victory for "Soviet imperialism," rather than defend its third-camp neutrality in the Vietnam war to the contemporary left.

To the extent that the ISC ever had working-class politics, it was Shachtmanite politics of the worst sort. One of Draper's few virtues, not shared by the IS, was his belief in the necessity

to know one's own political history, which led him to put out an ISC pamphlet containing a series of articles from the old *Labor Action* of the ISL. In one crucial article in this "Independent Socialist Clippingbook No. 1," Shachtman outlines his labor policy:

> "Our comrades soon learned how to make it clear that their ideas are in fullest harmony with the true interests of the unions, that they differ from other unionists only in that they are socialist unionists who represent a movement that does not seek to weaken or replace or dictate to the unions but to help in every possible way to achieve their own stated objectives so that, thus fortified, they can advance to objectives of a higher and more durable kind... We long ago ceased to counterpose the socialist movement to the labor movement, or to set up the former as the latter's rival. Socialism in this country will advance only to the extent that it is an effective and respected educational and political force among *all* democratic elements in the country, but primarily and above all a force in the labor movement. Short of that, it will be a sect, a big sect or a small one, a good sect or a bad one, but a sect nonetheless. And to become such a force, it must work not *on* the labor movement but *in* it, loyally and responsibly, with utmost comradeliness, sympathetic understanding, patience, and without a trace of supercilious demands, ultimatums, hostility and 'outsidedness.'" [emphasis in original]
>
> —from *Labor Action*, "Socialists in Trade Unions—The ISL Experience," 1958

Trotsky noted and emphasized the *dual nature* of trade unions—on the one hand, basic organizations of the workers for economic struggle; on the other hand, disciplinary organs for the capitalists through the intermediary of the reformist union bureaucracies. Resolving this contradiction by smashing the class-collaborationist bureaucracy and replacing it with revolutionary leadership, which was a necessity for Trotsky, is an alien concept to the IS. Shachtman effectively erases this duality, seeing a socialist program as completely *harmonious* with trade unionism. Inherent in trade unionism as an ideology is an acceptance of capitalism; the task of communists is to enable the working class to *transcend* narrow trade unionism. Tactically, of course, it is necessary to work within the only organizations the workers have at present, the unions—to work within them in pursuit of communist policies, recognizing that the inherent contradiction between trade unionism and revolutionary politics can be resolved only when workers no longer must sell their labor-power in the capitalist market.

Trotsky said in *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* that it would be fundamentally incorrect to dismiss out of hand the possibility of the existence of independent trade unions in the imperialist epoch, positing instead that:

> "Impossible are the independent or semi-independent *reformist* trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism. In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution. In this sense, the program of transitional demands adopted by the last congress of the Fourth International is not only the program for the activity of the party but in its fundamental features *it is the program for activity of the trade unions.*" [our emphasis]

The present-day trade union bureaucracies are not only stockholders of imperialist policy but the very existence of trade unions as organs for proletarian struggle is threatened by the attempt to gradually incorporate them into the capitalist state.

IS members are masters at excusing individual betrayals. Refusing to recognize or admit the political implications of their acts, they excuse them as *tactical*, a result of the need to be "realistic." Individual IS members frequently avoid taking responsibility for the policies of the organization as a whole by claiming that they personally disagree with a particular policy. This organizational Menshevism gives the lie to their avowals of their "democratic centralist" functioning, but reveals something deeper as well: to the IS, hard Bolshevik discipline is an inhuman anathema which must be combatted to preserve personal softness and the ability to adapt politically whenever popularity dictates.

The IS' opportunist changes in position lead to political dishonesty: not only does IS reflect a slimy evasiveness about its present practice, but about its political history as well. It adamantly refuses to come to grips with its past. Worshipping the political "here and now," they see no need to explain their political development—to frankly acknowledge and repudiate past errors, providing an explanation of their roots in the interests of political clarification and avoiding the repetition of the mistakes of the past. Without such an attitude toward their own history, the IS reveals its own unseriousness and cynicism toward the role of consciousness; unless errors are clearly confronted, they are revealed to be not mistakes, but betrayals.

An article in *Workers' Power* (No. 68, Nov. 24—Dec. 7, 1972), eulogizing the deceased Shachtman, went so far as to claim that Shachtman's role in guiding the ISL into the Socialist Party (which the article refuses to refer to in specific terms) was a capitulation made possible only after a break with a phantom group, referred to only as "us," supposedly representing the future IS: "To do so, he broke with us, with his past, and with revolutionary Marxism." This is a fabrication designed to cover the cowardly political records of the leading ISC/IS cadre. The "us" can only refer to the fact that at least Draper (unlike Landy or Weir) wrote one dissenting document and verbally objected, without organizing a struggle, to the SP entry. But Draper's objection purposefully contained no alternative, since he preferred personal retreat to a hard fight for the revolutionary Marxism from which Shachtman had departed (much earlier, of course). Thus despite Draper's prominent position in the organization, there were no delegate votes and no support whatsoever for his objection at the 1957 ISL convention, which ratified this capitulationist course. Later Draper, too, joined the SP.

This reference to Draper is deceitful, too, since usually the IS tries to deny its Shachtmanite history with the dodge, "Draper is no longer in the IS." (When he was in the ISC and IS, the line was that he was just another member for whose political actions the organization was not to be held responsible!) But Draper *quit* (in January 1970), he was not expelled, and there has never been any public IS evaluation of Draper's and Shachtman's political histories. Draper found the IS' pseudo-radical workerism a little too upsetting for his tastes, but there was no *fundamental* difference in outlook. In fact, the IS still lavishly pushes pamphlets and books by both Draper and Shachtman.

The fact that members of the Draper group such as Anne Draper held important posts in the labor bureaucracies was always accepted by the IS. Indeed, their politics leads ultimately to such practice. Even today the IS maintains friendly relations with the Draper group.

Current IS Policy

While there are differences in tactics between the present IS "majority" of Sy Landy and Co. vs. the "minority" of Geler and Co., there is essential unity on fundamentals, which is why there is no large-scale fight in IS over its concrete trade union *practice*. The central thesis which permeates the organization is the idea that the primary role of the Marxists right now is to set the workers in motion through the mechanism of shop floor committees. This will, somehow, provide the environment for building a party in the vague futu , i.e., never.

The Menshevik theory of stages is no more applicable to building a Bolshevik party than it is valid as a strategy for bringing the proletariat to state power. The "democratic phase," accompanied by economic reforms, and the ultimate socialist goal cannot be programmatically separated. The mobilization of workers in economist struggle around reformist illusions under the control of left-posturing bureaucrats does not set the stage for building the party, but is an *obstacle* to its construction. The attempt to assemble Bolshevik cadre *now* is considered "sectarianism," "ultimatism," etc. by the IS. Thus the document "IS Labor Perspectives" by Brian Mackenzie, which was adopted by the 1972 IS Convention, states:

> "The Spartacist League, which also has a marginal presence in industry, is more serious. In some respects their political positions are quite close to ours. Yet, the Spartacists insist on applying these positions in a purely sectarian fashion. Disciplined trade union caucuses in which membership is based on total agreement with a rather long program characterizes their union work. Theirs is an intellectual matter of winning workers to a program, rather than one based on intervention and leadership in an expanding struggle. The Spartacists cut themselves off from workers without socialist consciousness, that is, almost everyone, and from continuous action possibilities. They isolate themselves unnecessarily. For this reason the rank and file groups organized by the Spartacists do not have the potential to lead a dynamic rank and file movement. We favor united front action with Spartacist-led groups, but we are not for building these groups—since this would mean placing potentially active rank and file militants under the sectarian discipline of the Spartacists."

Since the IS considers it "sectarian" to insist on the transitional program as the basis for a caucus, even though they claim to adhere to it, then presumably the shop floor committees are organized on something "less sectarian," i.e., more popular and respectable, namely ordinary trade unionism. This of course is exactly what is meant and it comes out over and over in the *practice* of IS supporters in the unions.

IS Blocs With Opportunists

An examination of IS trade-union practice, even limited in scope, is useful not simply as an exposure of individual betrayals, but primarily insofar as it allows one to generalize as to the nature and logical conclusions of IS politics—to see the thread of common appetites and methodology that binds together into one swamp a most politically heterogeneous collection of monsters.

Its betrayals are obscured by the fact that its practice contradicts its program and socialist principles to which it pays regular and even articulate at times lip-service. These social-democrats capitulate to both threats and opportunities to tail-end the workers and future bureaucrats. The IS bargains away the principles to which it pays lip-service in exchange for a safe arrangement with reformist forces toward which it may exert some pressure—mildly, of course. Its program is a paper ornament behind which it hides its actual practice.

The IS' vigorous and uncritical support to the United National Caucus (UNC) in the UAW is a good example of this. The UNC is a hodge-podge of many different half-formed tendencies, combining cynical, opportunist ex-radicals such as Art Fox with individual careerists and frustrated bureaucrats like Simms and Kelly. Its membership is not defined by programmatic agreement, yet *Workers' Power* coverage of the UNC limits its "criticism" to tactful suggestions from time to time.

The UNC's practice is limited to gimmicky, agitational campaigns around particular democratic demands, completely ignoring its semi-radical, paper "program." At the last UAW convention the UNC limited its intervention to pushing for the referendum election of officers as opposed to election by delegated conventions, a meaningless measure which is popular with a significant cross-section of local UAW leaderships. Most recently, the UNC has concentraled on an effort to end retiree voting in union elections through legal action against the union in the bourgeois courts, making use of a reactionary court decision restricting union control over pensions (see *WV* No. 12).

The demand for referendum elections will only increase the bureaucrats' control over the elections, and the use of the bourgeois courts against the union is utterly reactionary, giving the capitalists one more handle with which to intervene in internal union affairs. These measures are useless to the workers, but helpful to the UNC, which, by proving that program is to it entirely secondary, thereby proves that it can be no more than a new bureaucracy on the make. For the IS, of course, neither of these issues is sufficient to call for hard criticism and a split, since it is not interested in providing working-class leadership, but seeks only to help place a slicker, smoother, more "left-wing" set of fakers into office in the labor movement!

IS sponsored a forum in New York City following the UAW Convention for Art Fox, who was the sole speaker. Fox made much out of the ouster of Western Regional Director Paul Schrade, saying a major rift in the bureaucracy was emerging which represented a great opportunity. He said he might critically support the Schrade wing in the bureaucracy, would admit Schrade to the caucus "if he does what he says" (return to the shops to reform the union), and mentioned secret feelers from Schrade to the UNC. Prominent IS spokesmen asked Fox to advise them on how to orient toward "splits in the bureaucracy," and when Fox threatened to walk out of the meeting to protest one IS member's response to political attacks from NCLC members in the audience, the IS forced its own member to shut up and sit down in order to preserve the "non-sectarian" atmosphere and pacify the arrogant Fox!

What unites the IS with Fox, Fox with Woodcock, etc., is a common thread of social-democratic trade unionism, which oozes out of *Workers' Power*:

> "Woodcock's reputation and mark in history will be the same as Reuther's unless he is willing to break with the past and lead the fights that those who pay his wages want him to make...For top leaders to be able to feel the presence of the ranks at all times there has to be a new *structural* design for the unions." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Workers' Power* No. 54

Having failed to break Woodcock from his past (the Socialist party), the IS is looking for some other bureaucrat or would-be bureaucrat to latch onto (Schrade?, Fox?) to revitalize the reformist trade union movement. When (and it is only a matter of time) the UNC, in pursuit of its "main chance," engages in some gross new betrayal, the IS may find itself compelled to back off and seek to hide its full complicity, but without changing its fundamental opportunist policies one iota.

Perhaps the most blatant example of the rottenness of the IS-type strategy is in the West Coast CWA Local 9415. There the IS supports the *Bell Wringer* (*BW*), a newsletter with a few supporters in place of a caucus based on a program. *BW* explicitly rejects a political struggle to throw out the bureaucrats on the basis of a transitional program like that of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a political caucus in the same local. Disingenuously defining themselves as "just a few people putting out a bulletin for our fellow workers...[with] no pretense of being the leadership of anything," the *BW* was initiated by former MAC supporters who *claimed* to agree with the transitional program supported by the MAC. Yet the *BW* does not struggle for this program. Instead, it pushed low-level trade-union demands and attacks the

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Capitalist Conspiracy in Europe-

Labor and the Common Market

The defeat of the Common Market referendum in Norway is a victory for the international working class. Throughout Europe the EEC is profoundly unpopular with the working masses, who correctly see it as a device to solve the acute economic problems of the monopolies at the expense of the exploited. This hostility would have long since destroyed the bourgeois Common Market, and opened the road to a united revolutionary mobilization of the European working class, if it had been clearly expressed at the political level by the dominant workers' parties. However, the agents of the bourgeoisie who lead the Communist, Socialist and Labor parties of Western Europe have managed to distort, fritter away or simply ignore the mass rejection of the EEC at every crucial point. Thus the struggle against the bosses' Common Market, for a united socialist Europe, is at the same time a determined battle against these treacherous misleaders of the working class.

The Rich Man's Club

Since Marxists have generally regarded the international integration of capitalism as providing the material basis for socialism, it may not be obvious why the destruction of the Common Market should be a major goal of the European labor and socialist movements. In the imperialist era, alliances between capitalist states, including their economic aspects, are directed against other states, advanced as well as backward states. The Common Market is essentially an unstable alliance between French and German capitalism on the basis of the most reactionary economic policies. Common Market trade policy is highly protectionist, particularly in defending backward French and Italian industry from the imports of backward countries. Thus, while 25% of the U.S. textile and clothing consumption is imported from backward countries, less than 10% of Common Market consumption is. And textiles is a critical industry for backward countries, one of the few that can effectively compete with the advanced capitalist countries.

An important "achievement" of the Common Market is the Common Agricultural Policy which is thoroughly reactionary. Designed to benefit the big European grain producers, notably the French, who have rallied the remnants of Europe's peasantry to their cause, the Common Agricultural Policy means artifically high food prices supported by government subsidies and an impenetrable tariff. Thus, Common Market food prices have normally been 50% higher than in Britain, even though Britain imports most of its food. Adjusting to the Common Agricultural Policy has been the most important single cause of the current rampant inflation in Britain.

The Common Market is a plan for the economic integration of West Europe on explicitly capitalist grounds. Article 52 of the founding Treaty of Rome calls for "freedom of establishment" and "the right to engage in and carry out non-wage earning activities." Article 67 calls for the abolition of "restrictions on the movement of capital." Any workers' party which signs or endorses the Common Market agreement is explicitly committing itself to maintain a capitalist economic system. With the British Labour Party's acceptance of the Common Market, the right wing of the Labour Party finally succeeded in invalidating, in effect, the famous Clause IV of the Labour Party constitution (adopted in the revolutionary high tide of 1917) calling for the nationalization of the key sectors of the British economy.

A workers' revolution, or even a sufficiently left-wing reformist government under capitalism, would face massive economic retaliation from the rest of the Common Market. It is true, of course, that any anti-capitalist or even reformist government is subject to international capitalist reprisals. However, by entering the Common Market, a nation links its economic structure more closely to the other capitalist member-states and encourages foreign investment, thus making it more vulnerable to international capitalist reaction.

Fragile Partnership

The Common Market is based on agreement between the parties to undertake their plunder and exploitation jointly as long as the current expansionary wave lasts for all concerned. As soon as one or more of the participating capitalist classes begins to suffer from the effects of free trade competition with the others, however, the entire edifice will collapse and protectionist nationalism will reemerge.

Already the more nervous bourgeois forecasters in Europe stand in fear of the coming American economic offensive in the European market (viz: the French arms manufacturers are looking for a deal with their European counterparts to ward off an expected U.S. dumping of new arms as the Vietnam war absorbs less), and of increasing competition for shrinking markets between the European "partners" themselves, leading inevitably to new crises. This process will bring collapse to the Common Market bazaar tent, along with a general economic slump and increased class struggle. As the crisis develops, it will be the same social-democratic parties and their CP allies which will form the last bastion of defense of the capitalist order itself, as did the CP in France in 1968. Recognizing the dual nature of these parties as workers' parties with bourgeois leaderships, the revolutionary vanguard must seize every opportunity to set the base against the top, carrying on a merciless criticism of the sellouts by these misleaders of the working class.

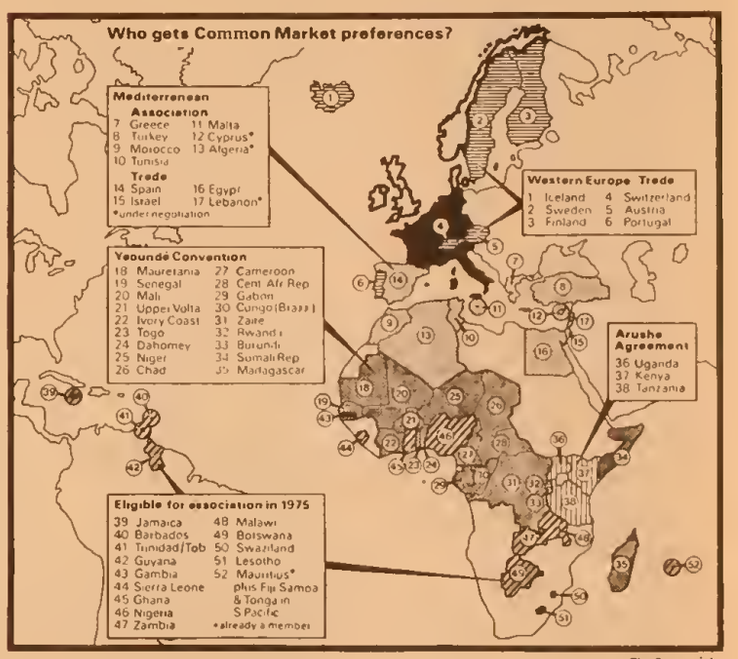
U.S. Imperialism and the Common Market

The two political bases for the Common Market's existence were the desire by the U.S. to strengthen West European unity against the Soviet Union and the desire of the French ruling class to take advantage of Germany's political weakness stemming from its defeat in World War II. While the Common Market facilitated U.S. investment in Western Europe, American government support for the Common Market was based on strategic political considerations. The American ruling class wanted to suppress that historic economic conflict between the European powers for fear it would disrupt the military alliance against the Soviet Union. John F. Kennedy said this quite openly:

> "The success of our foreign policy depends in large measure upon the success of our foreign trade and our maintenance of Western political unity depends in equally large measure upon the degree of Western economic unity."

In its early period, the Common Market was very much part of American-dominated Europe. Thus, Walter Hallstein, then head of the Common Market Commission and the ex-foreign minister of West Germany who engineered the diplomatic isolation of East Germany, could tell a group of NATO parliamentarians in 1962:

> "European integration is at present limited to economic subject matter, but potentially is a major political contribution to the strength of the Free World. That, not a common stake in 'imperialism' as Premier Khrushchev alleges, is the true link between the EEC and NATO."



The Economist

Over time, U.S. political support (including support for British entry) has eroded, while its opposition to Common Market economic policy has increased. There are several reasons for this, centering on the growth of the European imperialists as economic rivals of the U.S. Having decided to put Europe and Japan back on their feet in 1947-48 in order to forge the Cold War alliance against the Soviet Union and preserve capitalism, the U.S. is now faced with the loss of its hegemonic position as the dominant imperialist power. Instead it is merely the strongest among many rival imperialisms. This is reflected in the shift in world trade during the post-war period. Between 1947 and 1965, the U.S. (and Canadian) share of world trade dropped from 27% to 18%, while that of Western Europe as a whole rose from 34% to over 40% (these figures are modified by the fact that foreign trade is more important to the economies of the European countries than it is to the U.S.).

But while Europe experienced recovery, the U.S. continued its initial heavy investment in European industry, its capital assets increasing from $4 billion in 1958 to $14 billion in 1965. The imposition of capital export curbs by Johnson in 1965, rather than reversing the trend, increased the tendency of U.S. capitalists to finance their ventures on the European money market (see "American Empire Shaken, *WV* No. 2, November 1971). Partly reacting to the American investment invasion, Gaullist France pursued a semi-neutralist foreign policy, which involved pulling out of NATO. Johnson's 1965 measure was a partial concession to France, but in general, U.S. capitalism is increasingly less able to make short-term economic sacrifices to secure long-term strategic goals.

Challenge to the U.S.

The U.S. has fought a basically unsuccessful battle to prevent the expansion of the Common Market's commercial sphere of influence through tariff manipulation. Gradually the U.S.-dominated free trade area under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has been undermined as the Common Market has set up its own area of special agreements, based primarily on the former colonies of the European countries. The current French campaign to turn the Mediterranean into a Common Market lake is probably over-ambitious, partly because it is a direct challenge to U.S. foreign economic policy. The proliferation of preferential trading and associate agreements, which began with 18 former African colonies, chiefly French (Yaoundé Convention), and is now taking in most Mediterranean countries and some Caribbean countries, angers U.S. capitalists especially because it tends to include preferences for European capital investment as well as trade, and because it is extending beyond the "traditional" imperialist spheres of influence of the European countries: i.e., the "Six" of the Common Market are doing a little poaching on what the U.S. considers to be "its" territory. If successful, these agreements would destroy GATT, further marking the decline of the American empire. "If the EEC keeps this up,"

said a Nixon Administration trade expert, "they will have a system that effectively fences out all competition from the U.S. and Japan." (*Newsweek*, 27 November 1971)

This is the context behind the talks on European security which are already in a preliminary stage in Helsinki, the strategic arms limitation and balanced force reduction talks (SALT and MBFR), and the planned trip of Nixon to Europe next summer to discuss trade. The Nixon Administration is attempting through these negotiations to play its Western "allies" off against the Stalinist deformed workers states by utilizing the considerable *relative* superiority which U.S. capitalism still enjoys. Lying chiefly in the greater size, resources and technical superiority of the U.S. corporations, this relative superiority will enable the U.S. to move more massively and more rapidly than its rivals into the newly-opening market in the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states. European capitalists are already having panicky visions of U.S. automobiles, made with cheap labor in Eastern Europe, flooding West European markets. Shortly after the huge wheat deal, which alone quadrupled Soviet-U.S. trade (to about $1 billion), the U.S. announced impending agreement on another deal which dwarfed even it: three U.S. companies would build a $10 billion natural gas piping system to transport $45 billion in natural gas from Siberia.

The U.S. will attempt to blackmail the West European bourgeoisies into providing more favorable terms of trade for the U.S. through a limited threat of U.S.-Soviet cooperation. U.S. negotiators at the arms talks, particularly MBFR, are in a good position to ensure a favorable balance of military forces in Europe for the Soviet Union, through an extensive withdrawal of U.S. troops, which European rulers oppose. The holding of the conference on European security in the first place is seen as something of a diplomatic victory for the USSR, which has been calling for it for years, although it is mainly a function of the capitalist drive to exploit new markets. The U.S. will wield its diplomatic club so as to extort concessions from the European capitalists without handing any qualitative victories to the Soviet Union.

France vs. Germany

In addition to the original U.S. grand design, the Common Market is a product of the French bourgeoisie's attempt to take advantage of the disparity between German economic strength and political and military weakness. The forerunner of the Common Market, the European Coal and Steel Community, originated from Allied occupation of the Ruhr steel complex. There is no doubt that the French bourgeoisie would have opposed returning the complex to direct German sovereignty. On one level, the Common Agricultural Policy is a subsidy to a section of French capital reminding one of the post-World War I Versailles reparations exacted from Germany.

However, since the fifties, German economic strength has gradually overcome the effect of its defeat in World War II. The balance of power in the Common Market shifted slowly, but clearly, to the disadvantage of France. British entry marks a partial victory of Germany over France. The fragility of the German-French economic alliance was clearly demonstrated during the 1971 international monetary crisis which destroyed the utopian project of a unified West European currency system. The Germans unilaterally upvalued the mark and forced the French to devalue the franc, thereby demonstrating that when the fundamental interests of its member states conflict, Common Market agreements are worth less than the paper they are printed on.

Reformist Betrayals

There are few more significant proofs of the rotten reformist leadership of the West European labor movements than its failure to combat the Common Market. While in the first years of the Common Market, the French and Italian Communist Parties ritualistically denounced it, they never mobilized their mass base against it. And paralleling Soviet support for Gaullist-style neutralism, the West European Stalinists have adopted an attitude of benign neutrality toward the Common Market. The Social-Democratic labor parties of Europe are being relied upon heavily to drag the working class along by the nose.

In Denmark, the Social Democrats managed to secure a "yes" vote for entry into the Common Market, but only at the expense of desertion of the party by the core of its working-class base. A trade union bureaucrat was then brought in as premier to help prevent a deepening of this split and subordinate the workers' movement more securely to the government policy.

In Germany, the election between Brandt of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and Barzel, witch-hunting anti-communist of the Christian Democrats (CDU-CSU), was a key test for U.S. as well as German strategy and Common Market policy. Brandt ran on his record in office of opening up ties to the East: *Ostpolitik*. With a little help from the Soviet Union and the East Germans, who granted new concessions just before the elections, Brandt won handily and secured the parliamentary majority (together with the small, bourgeois Free Democrats) required for the passage of his treaties. Rather than a shift to the left, Brandt's election was simply a confirmation of the German bourgeoisie's plans to penetrate its old markets in Eastern Europe once again, this time through deals with the Stalinist bureaucrats, who are desperate for capitalist trade, technology and even capital investment. The election also confirmed the German ruling class' partnership with the U.S., in which the German mark has been re-valued upwards (a sacrifice of competitiveness on the world market) several times and backing given to the dollar in exchange for U.S. support for the Ostpolitik.

German workers, however, are paying for this partnership and the economic expansion through very heavy inflation. West Germany has the highest inflation rate in Europe, 6.4%, up from 2.7% during Brandt's three years in office alone. (The Common Market countries generally have high rates of inflation compared to the U.S.—France: 6%, U.S.: 3%.) Barzel attacked the inflation, but supported the same basic policies, which rendered his criticisms irrelevant. Brandt won support in the working class by appearing to be moving left, away from the Cold War hysteria represented by Barzel (whose political history is strikingly similar to Nixon's). The bourgeoisie stuck decisively with Brandt (except for the right wing represented by Barzel's chief ally, Franz Josef Strauss) because of the SPD's demonstrated ability to tame the demands of the workers through the trade unions upon which the SPD is based. If Barzel had been elected with inflation continuing, the trade union bureaucrats would have lacked a good excuse to keep holding down the wage and other demands of the workers.

British anti-Market demonstration: 73% oppose entry. France Nouvelle

British Labor and Entry

However, it is in Britain that the clash between the labor movement and Common Market has been most intense. Any attempt to understand the Labour Party's policy toward Market entry must begin with the fact that the Wilson leadership's opposition to entry is completely phony. The Wilson leadership is just as committed to British entry as the Conservative Party and did everything possible to get Britain into the Market while the Labour Party was in power. In fact, pro-Market Labour politicians regularly bait Wilson that it was he who won them over to British entry in the first place. The Wilson leadership only came out against joining the Common Market after it had been voted out of office, i.e., when the Labour Party could "oppose" entry in words without affecting entry in fact. Wilson's "opposition" to Market entry is designed solely to recoup the popularity the BLP lost while governing and to prevent the anti-Market campaign from being dominated by the Labour left and reds. (An opinion poll in 1971 showed 73% of the British population opposed to entering the EEC). Even now, the Wilson leadership is careful the Labour "opposition" does not present a real threat to British entry. While the Trades Union Congress (TUC) voted to oppose entry *on principle*, the Wilson-Benn leadership pushed through a resolution at the last Labour Party conference merely to re-negotiate the terms of entry.

But this was not enough for these traitors. When the pro-Market wing of the BLP, led by Roy Jenkins, threatened to break party discipline in the October 1971 vote on affiliation in the House of Commons, Wilson okayed it in exchange for a promise to support the leadership in filibustering against the specific enabling legislation later on. Then, when the filibuster was staged last March large numbers of Labour MP's, including several party leaders, were conveniently absent at the voting, leading to the collapse of the maneuver.

The TUC resolution opposing Market entry on principle is a victory for the British working class, but a hollow one. The leadership of the British labor movement has a history of supporting noble-sounding socialist resolutions at conferences and then ignoring them (the 1959 Labour Party conference resolution in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament being a classic example). The leadership of the British unions must be forced to stand up for its "principles." The British working class has shown its ability to overcome parliamentary cretinism and resort to industrial action when its fundamental interests are attacked. Common Market entry is a fundamental attack on the British working class; the trade unions should meet British entry with a general strike. By demanding that food prices be reduced to pre-Market levels, the British labor movement can attack the Common Market at its weakest point and gain widespread popular support for an anti-Market strike.

French CP Defends the Fatherland

The French CP provided a virtually identical example of sham opposition, adding to it a typical Stalinist "theoretical" explanation. Faced with a surprise referendum on the expansion of the Common Market by Pompidou, the CP leadership called for a militant-sounding campaign on the slogan, "No to the Europe of the Trusts." However, the CP was in the middle of negotiations for an electoral alliance with leaders of the Socialist Party, who had for years favored the EEC in general and British entry in particular. Rather than fighting it out over this crucial class issue, the CP agreed to let the SP call for abstention, while formally calling on its own supporters to vote "no." A month later they signed the joint, popular-front program with the SP, naturally leaving the question of the EEC unresolved.

Even more interesting is the CP's justification for its reluctant "no" vote. It seems that the expansion of the Common Market is one of the "dangerous aspects" (as opposed to the "positive aspects," perhaps?!) of Pompidou's foreign policy, because it is "contrary to independence and the national inter-

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...UAW

Carl H. Madden, warns that the government must be prepared to curb "monopoly labor power." Clearly the U.S. capitalist class is gearing up for a decisive confrontation to break the back of working-class resistance, and in this endeavor they have the complete cooperation of all the misleaders of labor!

Bureaucratic Response to GMAD

Crucial to the battle in 1973 is the contract of 750,000 auto workers in the UAW, which comes up for negotiation in July. Already in 1972, the UAW faced a determined assault led by the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). Aggressively pushing its policy of speedup and harrassment, GMAD provoked major strikes at Lordstown and Norwood, Ohio, by deliberately violating national and local contracts, laying off hundreds of workers and forcing the rest to work long hours of overtime at back-breaking speed. By focusing their attack on the workers in one plant at a time, the GMAD "efficiency experts" goaded them into isolated, demoralizing strikes, hoping to exhaust their morale and resources before the 1973 negotiations begin in earnest. The international played directly into this strategy, deliberately leaving the locals at Lordstown and Norwood unaided, in order to avoid a nationwide showdown with GM—they did not mobilize even as little as one additional local to back up these strikes.

The UAW leadership's behavior in these strikes is completely consistent with everything it stands for. These bureaucrats consider themselves in partnership with the giant corporations, not as representatives of the workers against the companies. Their concern is to *help* make U.S. industry more competitive on the world market so that workers, as well as the companies, will presumably receive a share of the "prosperity." But that is not the way it works in a system in which the interests of profit are necessarily counterposed to those of the workers. This was revealed in an interesting comment made by UAW vice-president Irving Bluestone in a *Newsweek* interview (23 October 1972) in which he conceded to GMAD the right to lay off workers, provided the bureaucrats were consulted first! "There's a certain amount of manpower they had a right to save. But this in effect was recanting what they had told us," said Bluestone. In a period of large-scale unemployment and foreign competition, the program of U.S. capitalism can only be more unemployment, more work from ever fewer people at as low wages as they can get away with paying. There can be no "partnership" with the imperialist bourgeoisie except that which is based on precisely this kind of betrayal in favor of all the essential interests of the bosses.

The strikes achieved nothing—even Woodcock was forced to admit that Norwood was at the same place it had been six months earlier. The UAW let Lordstown and Norwood become sacrificial lambs, patsies for GMAD's union-busting experiments. But around the country, militants at other GMAD plants came up against the same company tactics. Moreover, plants such as those in Mansfield, Ohio and St. Louis, which were getting restless to go on strike themselves, would have been much more likely to cripple all of GM in a long strike. The bureaucrats needed new tactics to prevent such a confrontation while creating an illusion of militancy.

"Apache Strategy"

Local bureaucrats, including many committeemen (plant floor representatives), returned from meetings with the international misleaders in Detroit toward the end of the Norwood strike full of enthusiastic reports that a series of short mini-strikes, provided they were "legal" (according to the contract), would bring GMAD to its knees over Norwood, speedups, safety violations, and its disciplinary layoffs (DLO's) and firings. This "Apache strategy" was the best thing from the international in years, so they sang the song.

In fact, the Norwood workers were quickly and quietly sold out shortly afterwards. In its own terms, the "Apache strategy" was never carried out. Local leaderships called off strikes at the last minute, and only a few plants held short strikes. They returned to work with nothing settled, often in complete disregard of expressed desires to continue striking by the workers, as at St. Louis. GM was able to transfer work to other plants in the system by working them overtime. Sales and production are at record levels for GM, as they are throughout the auto industry. In spite of seven strikes, GM missed its October production goal of 497,000 cars by only 11,000—hardly a crippling blow.

But for Woodcock and his two-faced local minions, the "Apache strategy" was successful. Bluestone was quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* (17 October) as saying that the strategy had probably "helped avert walkouts" at GM's Van Nuys and Flint Buick plants. Furthermore, it had the advantage of curbing the rising line of local militancy without dipping into the International strike fund, since no benefits are paid until after the first week of a strike. The "Apache" strikes were never intended to last longer than this, and to be sure that they didn't, the bureaucrats made clear in advance that they did not intend to have the strikes arrive at any agreement with the company. Thus these "strikes" were designed to be completely demoralizing; simply consisting of loss of income for a pre-arranged total lack of accomplishments! This helped to make 1972 one of the most "peaceful" years in "labor relations" since 1946, and set GM workers up for acceptance of rotten terms in the 1973 contract, and without a strike, since the bureaucrats have decreed that it must be Ford's "turn" if there is a strike over the next contract.

"30 for 40" and the Contract

The UAW tops have begun to toss around the proposal for "36 for 40" as a sop to militants in the union, and to anyone who might be influenced by the outside petition campaign for "30 for 40" of Progressive Labor (PL). The bureaucracy's bastardized version of "30 for 40" is cynical rhetoric designed to cover up its intention to capitulate on whatever wage guidelines are set by Nixon's Pay Board and to continuing selling out the struggle against layoffs, unemployment and compulsory overtime. While the proposal for a shorter workweek is pointed to as a major aim in the Ford negotiations, the international has no real intention of fighting for it, as revealed by vice-president Bannon, who "outlined as one possibility for cutting work time, a 10% reduction in working hours, emphasizing that this was an idea for discussion and *not a collective bargaining proposal...*" (*UAW Solidarity*, November 1972, our emphasis).

The slogan "30 for 40" was originally raised by the Trotskyists as a concretization of the demand for a "sliding scale of hours," through which work would be divided evenly, the workers would benefit from improvements in productivity and unemployment would be eliminated, at the expense of the capitalists. Always trying to avoid a serious fight for this anti-capitalist demand, the UAW bureaucracy under Reuther counterposed the slogan of "Guaranteed Annual Wage" (GAW), which in effect meant little more than glorified dole for everyone, and in practice meant only increased unemployment payments for auto workers (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits—SUB) and no real struggle at all against unemployment itself.

The struggle for a sliding scale of hours is fundamentally anti-capitalist, and raises revolutionary implications pointing towards a socialist reorganization of society, but only if it is linked to other essential corollaries and the demands of the transitional program. As proposed by the bureaucracy, "36 for 40" is simply a proposal for slightly altering the calculation of overtime pay, since it is not accompanied by a struggle against compulsory overtime. As proposed by PL, "30 for 40" is converted into a phony panacea through isolation from the broader program in which it was raised. For instance, every auto plant in the country has thousands of unresolved grievances, reflecting not only speedup but also the other results of capitalist exploitation of labor. Without the demand for workers control of production, beginning with a non-negotiable insistence that the speed of the line be in the contract, "30 for 40" is a reformist gimmick just one step removed from Woodcock's propaganda. PL has always insisted on raising only those demands it thinks can be won under capitalism, thereby rendering its verbal support of socialism a farce—completely abstracted from any real struggle to achieve it. It is thus reduced to enthusing over elemental militancy and winds up tail-ending the bureaucracy: playing advisor to local bureaucrats and begging Woodcock to make "30 for 40" a contract demand.

Economism of the CP/YWLL

Like ostriches, Woodcock and Co. bury their heads in the sand in the face of the coming attacks on labor, trying to call a ceasefire in the class struggle just as the capitalists are gearing up for the battle. And while they claim to provide alternative leadership, all the ostensibly revolutionary and socialist groups in the U.S. wind up, like PL, with their heads up the tail of the Woodcock ostrich. The CP and its youth group, Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) are particularly consistent in this respect, making little pretense of opposition to the bureaucracy. The CP's *Daily World* always plays up the phony tactics of the "liberal" labor fakers, advertising them as though they were genuine. "Hit-Run Strikes Meet Challenge of GM Speedup," proclaimed its 19 October headline. Similarly, the CP supports Woodcock's fake call for "industrial democracy" under the slogan, "humanize the production line." Woodcock's position is

The Woodcock ostrich.

simply a cover for union participation with management on such things as committees to control absenteeism, i.e., a pretense at workers' "participation" in the system of their own exploitation. This harks back to Walter Reuther's demands that the union bureaucracy have the right to participate in running war production so as to make prosecution of the imperialist World War II more efficient. In the context of support for Woodcock's strategy clearly expressed by the CP (see *Daily World*, 2 November 1972), "humanize working conditions" can only mean a few reforms to make exploitation more tolerable. Such reforms cannot "solve" brutal and inhuman working conditions, since exploitation will remain, always intensifying.

The assembly line is inhuman not because the workers are psychologically "alienated," lacking a sense of participation or bored with the nature of the productive process. The workers' discontent reflects the actual power relationship—they are forced to sell their labor power and enter into bondage to the capitalist, hence the term "wage slavery." "Alienation" refers to the forcible expropriation by the capitalist of the fruits of the workers' labor. Even the most well-meaning capitalist is forced to "dehumanize" the work through speedups, lengthening the working day, etc., in order to maximize this expropriation and successfully compete with other capitalists.

The working class must struggle to wrest control over the entire production process from the hands of the exploiters under the slogan, "for workers control of production." But the demand for "workers control" is also completely useless to the workers, and serves only as a diversion to the struggle, unless it is part of a program to *expropriate* all of industry and put the working class in power, under the slogan for a "workers government." This perspective is never raised by the CP/YWLL. Instead, it restricts its work to pushing for narrow, piecemeal reforms, which never challenge the power of the capitalists. The YWLL strategy was summed up in its paper, *Young Worker* (March 1972):

> "To gain the confidence of the workers...whether they are young, old, black, white or Spanish-speaking—one important thing is to give leadership on economic issues. That way you create a base to draw out the most advanced workers who are willing to move on political issues."

These latter-day Economists were answered long ago by Lenin, who pointed to:

> "...the basic error that all Economists commit, namely, their conviction that it is possible to develop the class political consciousness of the workers *from within*, so to speak, from their economic struggle, i.e., by making this struggle the exclusive (or, at least, the main) starting point....Such a view is radically wrong."

Lenin attacked them for:

> "...reducing the working-class movement and the class struggle to narrow trade-unionism and to a 'realistic' struggle for petty, gradual reforms... in practice it meant a striving to convert the nascent working-class movement into an appendage of the liberals."
> —*What Is to Be Done?*

The "Dump Nixon" campaign and the CP's open support for McGovern in the last election were just the most recent manifestations of this betrayal Lenin pointed to. And it continues to involve virtually uncritical endorsement of the Woodcock liberals in the labor movement; presumably these are what the same issue of *Young Worker* defends, in a polemic against "Trotskyite" criticism, as "...those few labor leaders who do want to fight back"!

The ostensibly Trotskyist Workers League (WL) has such a deep opportunist orientation toward the trade union bureaucracy that it is completely divorced from virtually any political consistency. Thus during the last election, the WL tried to orient toward both the pro-Nixon and pro-McGovern wings of the split labor "leadership." Hailing Meany's neutrality statement as a break from capitalist coalition politics, the WL criticised the CP and the liberal bureaucrats for trying to maintain the link with the Democratic Party, ignoring the real racist and pro-war motives of Meany's disguised support to Nixon. However, the WL also echoed the CP's concentration on Nixon as labor's "main enemy," going easy on the Democratic Party by not mentioning it.

This is now reflected in the way the WL raises the demand for a labor party, which, for the WL, is never a tactic of the revolutionary vanguard party, but always a part of the real interests of the trade union bureaucracy, which it is the duty of the WL to push the bureaucrats

into adopting. The WL's *Bulletin* (11 December 1972) reprinted without criticism the following motion adopted recently at the UAW local at the Southgate GMAD plant in Los Angeles:

> "Therefore be it resolved that we call on leaders of the American trade unions, the AFL-CIO, Teamsters, UAW and Independents, to immediately convene a Congress of Labor to formulate policy and program in order to prepare to answer Nixon's anti-union program....This Congress of Labor must begin right now the organization of a labor party using all the resources of the unions for the next election....Be it finally resolved that you Brother Woodcock and the entire International executive board of the UAW use the prestige of your office to call for a Congress of Labor...."

Now that Nixon has just been elected to a second term promising to lead a vicious, all-out assault on labor, such talk of a "labor party" is cheap, and could be rhetorically adopted by the extreme left wing of the bureaucracy without much difficulty. Already the CP, wincing at the miserable showing of its former hero, McGovern, is daring to engage in a little self-criticism of its own role in the election and call for a more "independent" stance. This WL-backed plea to Woodcock, whom the WL formerly attacked as worse than Meany, is thus the most dangerous sort of opportunism. Woodcock actually must base his very strong ambitions in capitalist politics on pseudo-leftism and the appearance of militancy. Such a labor party, formed by a section of the present labor bureaucracy, *on the basis of its pro-capitalist program*, could only serve to tie the workers more firmly to class-collaborationist politics.

BWC Pushes "Third World" Bureaucrats

The demise of the Panthers as an ostensibly revolutionary organization, and the shrinking into right-wing nationalist irrelevance of DRUM and other League of Revolutionary Black Workers caucuses in the UAW in Detroit, left a gap which James Forman's Black Workers Congress (BWC) is attempting to fill (see *WV* No. 10, July-August 1972). The BWC's eclectic inability to break from myopic black nationalism, despite a pretense of pro-working-class "socialist" politics, however, prevents them from clearly perceiving even what it is they are struggling against. Thus, the BWC-backed United Black Workers (UBW) caucus at the Ford plant in Mahwah, New Jersey gave blanket, uncritical support in the last local union elections to "most Third World and black candidates," as their paper, *Black Voice*, explained. Conlusing the workers' class enemy with the more backward, racist sections of the working class itself, the UBW chose to ignore the fact that the black and Spanish-speaking candidates, as well as the whites, completely lacked a working-class analysis and program around which to fight.

After helping to elect the new set of officers, the UBW openly admitted that "90% of these officials have betrayed the trust of the people..." (*Black Voice*, November 1972). But the UBW, still blinded by color, proffers these bureaucrats another chance to betray the workers they represent: "Those of you who wish to clean up your s--t and start doing the job you were elected to do have a little time to start T.C.B." Rather than counterposing a revolutionary alternative to the reformist, racist trade union bureaucracy, the BWC/UBW program is merely a cover for the incorporation of more black faces into that bureaucracy.

The UBW made a similar error in giving credit to Imamu Baraka (formerly Leroi Jones) for "providing the black community of Newark with an *alternative* to the hopelessness it was feeling," i.e., black Mayor Gibson. This was the same "brother" Baraka and Mayor Gibson who tried to bust the Newark Teachers strike by breaking the union with vicious race-baiting and goon-squad attacks against the strikers. At a recent meeting organized by the Newark Teachers Union (NTU) to build support against a new round of union-busting attacks, for which Baraka's Newark Community Coalition is being used as the "community" cover, the UBW expressed "neutrality" in the NTU-Baraka conflict. This position did not prevent them from co-sponsoring a forum of black solidarity and education with Baraka's group, thus giving back-handed support to the attacks on the union and violating elementary workers' solidarity in the name of the "community." Baraka has been well paid by ruling-class agencies such as the Ford Foundation to sell the black workers of Newark the idea that since he's black he's got the answers they need. Baraka's job is to pacify the black workers with lies about "community" with the black petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeois agents so that they can be pitted against their black and white brothers in the teachers union and the rest of labor.

Like the CP, the BWC uses a version of Stalinism as a "socialist" cover for its opportunist appetites, although its more eclectic approach is openly based on the "wisdom" of bourgeois nationalists such as Nkrumah and Fanon, giving them equal authority with Marx and Lenin. Its theoretical hodge-podge is designed to incorporate any bourgeois or opportunist impulse under the rubric of "revolutionary" politics. It should come as no surprise that pro-working-class rhetoric surrounding its initiation immediately became combined with such unashamed bureaucratic careerism as exemplified by the UBW.

Attempts to pressure the union bureaucracy to take up a political struggle are necessarily a fraud. Even honest militancy based on a simple trade unionist perspective, however vigorous and "left-wing," is also hopeless in the present epoch of imperialist degeneration. Trade unionism inevitably leads to subordination of the workers to the imperialist state unless transcended through revolutionary leadership based on a full working-class program—the transitional program. The Spartacist League calls for the formation of caucuses in the unions with such a program as the only basis for an alternative leadership capable of uprooting the present reformist bureaucracy. Such a caucus in auto must fight against nationalism as well as all forms of discrimination against blacks, other minorities and women and all attempts by the company or bureaucrats to pit these groups against one another; it must call for complete workers control of production, a sliding scale of wages and hours, no compulsory overtime, opening the books of the corporations, expropriation of major industry, and an end to the wage freeze, Pay Board, and all labor cooperation with such capitalist schemes; it would support the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants as opposed to the sellout deals of the Stalinists with U.S. imperialism; and it would call for the formation of a labor party based on a full working-class program to struggle for a workers government. ■

Continued from page 1

...Bombing

to fulfill *all* of them, the U.S. ruling class seems bent on its own destruction—and that of the rest of the world with it.

In a speech after the resumption of the bombing, Soviet party chief Brezhnev hinted, ever so gently, ever so mildly, that Nixon's action released Moscow from its half of the bargain. For the first time (!), Brezhnev stated that "Soviet-American relations" depended heavily on the outcome of peace negotiations in Vietnam. Brezhnev also called for the first time for "a basis for some form of business relations" between East and West Europe. The U.S. is entering a crucial period in competition with its European and Japanese rivals for trade and investment opportunities in the deformed workers states (USSR, China, East Europe) and elsewhere. The European capitalists will not hesitate to take over, if they can, should the Soviet Union become reluctant to push ahead with plans for big deals with the U.S. (such as the unprecedented $55 billion Siberian natural gas pipeline project). In addition, the weakened diplomatic position of the U.S. will hinder the efforts it is planning to bring pressure to bear on the European capitalist states for trade concessions by playing East off against West in Europe. Any significant setbacks in the world imperialist economic rivalry will bring the usual aggressive response from the U.S., which is uniquely unaccustomed to setbacks or even the slightest thwarting of its supreme imperialist will.

The Nixon government represents a step in the direction of bonapartism. In its vicious terror bombing, beefed up police expenditures, attacks on the (bourgeois) press, invasion of opposing (bourgeois) parties' offices, it represents an appetite for "strong government." However, this still takes place within the framework of formal bourgeois democracy and, if successful, spells a continuation of this form of capitalist government over the next period. What use does the bourgeoisie have for the uncontrollable antics of some psychopathic Nazi when it can get right-wing politicians like Nixon "legitimately" elected? With Nixon in power, and the cowardly labor bureaucrats meekly cringing before every new union-busting move of the bosses, the bourgeoisie has no need at present for a reactionary mass political movement (i.e., fascism) to smash the working-class movement.

Bourgeois democracy has always been simply the most secure and efficient form of rule by the bourgeoisie. An election every four years or so—under circumstances easily controllable by the capitalist class and its superstructural institutions—is only a slight false front on the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

War on "Permissiveness"

Nevertheless, under Nixon, the ruling class seeks to make this dictatorship more efficient and the "democracy" a little less onerous. Sensing the grovelling prostration of the established leadership of the working class on all political and economic questions, and the defeat and demoralization of the miniscule left and impotent liberal critics, the bourgeoisie is emboldened to strip away even the veneer of bourgeois morality covering its rape of society. Disowning even its most established and trusted liberal apologists and spurning deals with labor bureaucrats even for the sake of sanctifying official wage controls, the government under Nixon stands arrogantly asserting its sovereignty on the basis of naked power alone. Nixon's warning of the end of the "era of permissiveness" expressed this. The ruling class has simply announced its intention to crush any defiance of its will, whether by black students in Baton Rouge or by Vietnamese Stalinists in Hanoi. In addition, through Nixon the bourgeoisie seeks to politically discipline the press, mass media and academic institutions, to enable the state to shoot down dissidents in relative secrecy and prepare new national chauvinist moods as a basis for future war hysteria.

Thus, for having agreed to terms, but not to open prostration, the bureaucrats in Hanoi are to watch their cities and people be destroyed. For having dared to gather and protest the secret, early-morning arrests of their brothers, the black students of Baton Rouge are to be gunned down in cold blood. And for having been viciously assaulted by the police, the victims of Attica are to be tried by their tormentors while their murderers go free! (The brief rebellion at Attica, hopelessly doomed from the beginning, was a thousand times more peaceful than the vicious, hysterical suppression it evoked. It was the only chance for freedom and the only real "rehabilitation" the beleaguered prisoners are ever likely to receive.)

Meany, Woodcock, and the rest of the labor lieutenants of capital, in choosing this moment for their traitorous offer to bargain with Nixon (in private!) over the terms for new wage controls, are worse than despicable.

Thus the Nixon regime represents the extreme intolerance to opposition of the masters of American corporate wealth. But unlike the era of the "American Century," the world now has more than one set of would-be imperialist masters, and the pretenders to the throne are just as arrogant, just as violent as oppressors, and all searching hungrily for the soft underbelly of the U.S. empire. Since the international monetary crisis and declaration of trade war in 1971, the U.S. has won the first round. But Nixon's current die-hard line may forfeit the advantage, as well as drive the world closer to world war.

Build a Worldwide Vanguard Party!

The workers and peasants of Vietnam have fought valiantly for decades—more than heroism! They are uneasy; the "peace" terms did not sit well with them. They were betrayed by their leaders, only to be assaulted more violently than ever by the imperialist butchers. Without a party which politically embodies the lessons of past class-collaborationist betrayals of the Stalinists—1945, 1954, 1972—without a party which seeks political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy in the name of international communist unity, the working masses will be betrayed, in the face of mounting assaults, to suffer defeat after defeat.

The American working class, victor of many of the world's bloodiest labor struggles, has been guided to defeat and impotence by the path of social patriotism and trade-union economism. Without a party which can smash both class collaboration and "workerist" opportunist cretinism, it will remain tied to the global chariot of its slave-masters, the imperialist bourgeoisie, until dragged into the next holocaust.

The Nixon administration, locked in again to a hard line on Vietnam, emboldens its imperialist rivals to chip away at the U.S.'s international position. The shifting webs of imperialist alliances, facilitated by the Sino-Soviet bureaucracies' prostration, can attain only temporary equilibrium. Only the forging of the world party of the proletariat—the Fourth International, rebuilt with the program of Trotsky—can reverse the tide toward ever more brutal class oppression and imperialist war. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Labor and the Common Market

ests." Lest anyone should imagine that the CP preserves any vestige of Leninist proletarian internationalism, the CP explains:

> "The European conceptions of the French Communist Party, as with any responsible policy concerning the national interests of France, attempt... to determine the scientific ways and means of authentic national independence. We refer to the thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* where Marx indicated that the liberating struggle of the workers begins in the national framework.... The founders of scientific communism stood opposed to national nihilism. For them the fatherland is a powerful factor in the class struggle led by the proletariat."
>
> —"Le manœvre européenne de M. Pompidou," *France Nouvelle*, 28 March-3 April 1972

This is a fundamental betrayal of the most elementary principles of Marxism, a betrayal common to all Stalinists, who seek to accommodate to the "progressive sectors" of the bourgeoisie. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels wrote, "In form, though not in substance, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is primarily national." To make their meaning even clearer, they state, "the workers have no country." Revolutionary internationalism, not reactionary French chauvinism (or any nationalism), is the only basis for consistent, working-class opposition to the bourgeois Common Market. The CP position is a direct reflection of the class interests of the wealthier sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, who are threatened by the domination of the big trusts and are in need of national protectionism for their enterprises. The CP makes clear that its opposition to the Common Market is *not* on the basis of principle: "[CP] hostility to the Treaty of Rome...is naturally accompanied by a positive alternative....The refusal to imperialist integration and supranational institutions necessarily requires...a revision designed to democratize the EEC, where workers' and democratic formations must be represented with real rights." The CP position is not "down with the bosses' Common Market," but for a petty-bourgeois Common Market!

This betrayal on a fundamental class issue is, of course, typical of international Stalinism since its inception. It was Stalin himself who branded the slogan, "For a Socialist United States of Europe" a Trotskyist position. This led naturally to the French CP's "defense of the fatherland" position in World War II, to the refusal of the West European CPs to oppose the Marshall Plan in the post-war years, to the French CP's support to French colonialism in Algeria, and to the recent declaration by Enrico Berlinguer, head of the Italian CP, that it is not necessary to demand immediate withdrawal from NATO! It is the same logic which led the reformist social-democrats throughout the world to support their own bourgeoisies in World War I—the logic of class collaboration.

Smash the Bosses' Common Market!

Both the impulse toward supranational capitalist institutions and toward proletarian internationalism share one objective base—that the national state now constitutes an obstacle to the expansion of production. It is, therefore, a question of fundamental importance for the socialist movement whether capitalism can overcome its national limitations or whether these limitations must lead inevitably to inter-imperialist war, with the concrete possibility of the annihilation of the human race. When this question attained decisive political importance for the socialist movement, in the Second International, Kautsky answered it with the theory of *ultra-imperialism*. The theory of ultra-imperialism projected the peaceful integration of the international monopolies leading to the creation of a genuinely international bourgeoisie and an effective (capitalist) world state system:

> "Cannot the present imperialist policy be supplanted by a new, ultra-imperialist policy, which will introduce the common exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of the mutual rivalries of national finance capital? Such a new phase of capitalism is at any rate conceivable."
>
> —Kautsky, quoted in Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*

For Kautsky, the role of the proletarian socialist movement was to act as a pressure group on the more progressive, far-sighted sections of the bourgeoisie. The concept of ultra-imperialism was the theoretical basis for Kautsky's pacifist-reformist policy toward inter-imperialist war. Lenin compared Kautsky's view with that of the English liberal J.A. Hobson, who sought to console the English middle class after the exhaustion of the Boer War with a vision of new, united world imperialist order (be called it *inter*-imperialism) which could ensure peace.

Ernest Mandel, leading spokesman for the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat and bourgeois academia's candidate for the foremost "Marxist" theorist, has emerged as a somewhat agnostic believer in ultra-imperialism, at least regarding Western Europe. Just as Kautsky contributed nothing new to the pious wishes of the liberal Hobson except the new prefix, "ultra-" instead of "inter-," so Mandel adds nothing to Kautsky except another new prefix; this time it is "super-imperialism." Mandel's *Europe vs. America* contains the following speculations on a possible "super-imperialist" capitalist united states of Europe:

> "Once private property becomes extensively internationalized it cannot be effectively defended within the framework of a French, German or Italian state. European Capital demands a European bourgeois state as an adequate protector and guarantor of profit....As soon as the EEC finds itself in the grips of a general recession,...'European' companies will therefore be forced to demand anti-recessionary policies on a 'European' scale. In other words, they will tend to demand that national governments lose their right to take decisions in critical areas of economic policy and hand these powers to the supra-national authorities of the European Community."

Mandel's reasoning is as follows. Since international economic and political integration is in the best historic interests of capitalism, it is, therefore, *possible*. This is rationalism gone berserk! It is also in the best historic interests of capitalism to expand production in the face of a falling rate of profit. In the most general sense, it would be in the best historic interests of the bourgeoisie to carry out the program historically associated with revolutionary Marxism thereby eliminating working-class discontent and the very possibility of proletarian revolution! But it cannot, and neither can the various national bourgeoisies, in the epoch of imperialist decay, amalgamate their economic and political interests.

The belief that the Common Market is leading to a bourgeois European state is a utopian fantasy fit only for EEC bureaucrats, pacifist politicians and revisionists like Mandel, who are taken in by superficial phenomena. Superficially, the Common Market appears to be heading toward greater political integration, since the first summit meeting of its new nine-state membership in October reached new agreements on legal and fiscal policies and declared a "European Union" with a parliament based on universal suffrage to be a goal. However, the real material bases for this pompous illusion are, if anything, *weakening*. Mandel assumes that the need to meet American competition will increase the tendency toward supra-national companies and capital accumulation, which will in turn require political union. He admits, however, that the term "multi-national corporation" is misleading, since many remain clearly under the control of the original families in their base countries (the twenty biggest are all in this category). For

Time

Pirelli—head of failing half of Dunlop-Pirelli, a crumbling "European" company.

Mandel, true "interpenetration" of capital occurs when two or more companies merge into one across national lines without dominance on either side. Yet it is precisely these mergers, such as Dunlop-Pirelli and Fiat-Citroën, which are proving most unstable. Inevitably, one "partner" or the other proves stronger, while the weaker attempts to maintain existence on the basis of the original equality. Thus the Dunlop-Pirelli combine, in which management is by consensus between the two original companies, is shaky because Pirelli's losses are threatening to submerge Dunlop's profits. Such mergers will crumble along with the rest of Mandel's pipe dream (he expected the common European currency to continue) at the first general downturn, as all the European capitalists scurry back to their nation-states for self-protection from each other. Thus Mandel merely aids in the spreading

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...IS Labor Reformism

MAC for "hassling with other small groups in a clique-like and know-it-all fashion." (5 September 1972) In order to be certain it is not being "sectarian" (meaning politically consistent), *BW* wsnt so far as to print a "Minority Position on McGovern," calling for votes for the Democrats in the last elections (*BW-Yellow Pages* joint issue, 30 October 1972)!

BW has tried to artificially counterpose itself for petty organizational advantage wherever possible, as it did in the fight for the election of shop stewards by presenting a motion whose essence was identical to the MAC's long-standing motion, instead of waging a unified fight with the MAC on this issue. While MAC supported the *BW* motion, which passed, *BW* refused to support the MAC's. (see *WV* No. 14, December 1972). *Workers' Power* then has the effrontery to accuse the MAC of "sectarianism"! In fact, the actual sectarianism of *BW* was (and is) merely a cover and protection for their opportunist bloc with would-be bureaucrats in the Committee for Elected Shop Stewards.

The *BW's* attacks on the MAC have intersected nicely with those of the Blasingame bureaucracy, aimed at isolating and discrediting the MAC. This reached the lowest level of atrocity in a gangster physical attack on MAC leaders after the 21 November membership meeting. The 30 November issue of *BW* belatedly claims to unconditionally defend the rights of opposition caucuses, including the MAC, but then goes on to direct at MAC a caution against "irresponsible" criticism: "...criticism must be made in a way that cures the sickness and doesn't kill the patient." The article goes on to query, "If we can't deal with differences among ourselves, how can we expect to work together against the company?" Thus *BW* thinks that there is a way of resolving differences with the parasitic bureaucrats short of their ouster, and assumes that the bureaucrats' goal is to fight the company! Talk of unity from the mouth of *BW* refers only to unity with the bureaucracy. Criticism that "cures the sickness and doesn't kill the patient" can only be interpreted to mean that the bureaucrats can be cured, i.e., pressured into ceasing to be bureaucrats. In effect the *BW* apologizes for the bureaucrats' gangsterism.

Thus the IS has come from the Peace and Freedom Party to the working class. While its politics look superficially different, it has made no break with the past. This organization will adopt any position that will allow it to be in the mainstream of the movement for the moment—black nationalism, feminism, and now workerism—every petty-bourgeois current has its effect on the IS. Its appetites have broadened somewhat, whetted by the thought of the gains to be made by tying its wagon to the massive power of the working class. But all links between the IS and the class pass through the bureaucrats: IS' policy is a "sensible," "respectable" approach, applying pressures on the right bureaucrats and bureaucratic aspirants, at the right time and place—humbly beseeching the "labor lieutenants of capital" to move over and make room for workers' power, or at least for a few IS advisors.

In this period of generalized rank-and-file discontent and rising class struggle the mammoth labor bureaucracy is no longer monolithic and stable. Its central core, having exhausted its historic usefulness, has responded to new labor rebelliousness by moving to the right of the liberal bourgeoisie. As a whole it is increasingly fragmented and isolated from its base. This allows the possibility for a new leadership to come to the head of mass labor struggles, displacing sections of the bureaucracy and threatening its continued existence, qualitatively altering the relationship of forces in the labor movement. The question is whether the bureaucracy will be defeated by communism or by renewed labor reformism, i.e., by revolutionists or by a new bureaucracy of slicker labor fakers. The IS has already opted for the latter.

While on the surface starting from different and polar points of departure, the Stalinists and social democrats employ the same methodology and arrive at fundamentally similar class-collaborationist practice—poison to the workers movement. No less than those of the Stalinists and labor bureaucracy, the politics of the social democrats, in their right (SP) and left (IS) variants, must be decisively defeated in the labor movement as an obstacle in the path of proletarian revolution. ■

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

War witchhunt which decisively cut the ties between the labor movement and the radicals and established in power the bureaucracy which runs the unions today, the reporter noted the emergence of a new generation of young workers, with a heavy component of blacks and other minorities, in basic industry and the brittle character of the heavy-handed union tops, socially isolated from the workers and lacking the reformist sophistication of their European counterparts.

The reporter stressed the need to build caucuses on the basis of the transitional program. Rejecting the workerist conception of work in the class, the SL sees the programmatic ally-based caucus as a link between the vanguard and the class, carrying out the unique political line of the party in the labor movement and ultimately winning real authority for the vanguard in the class. At the same time, the SL must intervene directly to reinforce the work of its fractions through sustained sales of *WV* at the plants.

The party press is an important component of our trade union work. The press functions as an organizing tool and reinforces the work of the party fractions in all aspects of work. The accretion of human resources and the increase in SL intervention into all areas of social struggle have made both necessary and possible the struggle to achieve a regular bi-weekly *Workers Vanguard* within a year. The SL press will retain its highly polemical and propagandistic character. It is aimed at the advanced workers and militants of the domestic and international left and seeks to further the process of revolutionary regroupment as well as individual recruitment. It does not call itself a "mass press"; as Trotsky wrote in 1935:

> "This task cannot be effectively solved except as a function of the growth of the organization and its cadres who must pave the way to the masses for the newspaper—since it is not enough, it is understood, to call a publication a 'mass paper' to have the masses accept it in reality."
>
> —"What Is a 'Mass Paper'?"

Our conception is directly counterposed to that of the Workers League, for example, which uses a paper as a substitute for winning political authority through real struggle. Unless the press reflects the actual intervention of the party, it cannot be concrete and can only win for itself discredit from militants.

The trade union reporter also noted that most of the ostensibly revolutionary organizations are currently on a workerist kick. The intensification of inter-imperialist rivalries and the need of the bourgeoisie to cut costs through increased exploitation of labor has led to a heightening of the class struggle, compelling the left to again take notice of the working class. These opportunist organizations are now tailing after the workers with all the zeal that earlier characterized their attempts to locate the main revolutionary force in students, lumpens, the colonial peasantry, etc. Thus the SL's union work will increasingly intersect the presence of such tendencies.

Because of time limitations at the conference, an additional national gathering devoted to SL work in the labor movement was scheduled.

Which International?

A comic sidelight to the work of the conference was provided by the distribution of a leaflet to the participants by the "Vanguard Newsletter" of Harry Turner and the "Class Struggle League" (formerly Leninist Faction of the SWP). The leaflet criticized the SL for its "ultimatistic posture" that principled union work requires the building of caucuses based on the full transitional program. In an attempt to square the SL's past and present work in the labor movement with Turner's chronic characterizations of the SL as "petty-bourgeois" and "student-oriented," the leaflet characterized the SL's emphasis on colonization of the unions as "camouflage" to impress student radicals (perhaps then, Turner, the SL will make the proletarian revolution—think how much *that* would impress them!). The leaflet was titled, "Build the World Party of Trotskyism!"—no doubt its authors considered very clever their evasion of the question, *which* world party of Trotskyism?, since the LF/CSL calls for a "Fifth international" while Turner presumably still stands for the reconstruction of the Fourth!

WV photo

The international report noted that the SL is in the process of concentrating in the national center several highly qualified comrades constituting the necessary division of labor to achieve for the first time the ability to carry out systematic and sustained international work. SL/U.S. comrades and foreign supporters have produced two issues of a French edition of *Spartacist* and have already translated the SL "Declaration of Principles" into French, German and Spanish. In addition, large quantities of international material have been translated into English for the information of the SL membership.

The conference reviewed the SL's international work over the past period and discussed and adopted tactical proposals for the SL's continuing struggle for the program and perspectives necessary for the rebirth of the Fourth international. As a part in this perspective, the conference ratified the intention to seek to transform the *Spartacist* into the organ of the international Spartacist tendency.

A fraternal representative from the Spartacus Bolshevik-Leninist group of Germany presented the greetings and views of her organization to the conference, and much of the ensuing lively discussion focused upon the question of the class character of the German SPD. The SL has offered the Spartacus B-L group space in the *Spartacist* to further present their views on this question. The German representative also presented her organization's views on democratic centralism and their impressions of the positions and work of the SL.

Black Commission

An important part of the work of the conference was the holding, between conference sessions, of commission meetings, which included Press, Colonization, Black Work, Trade Union and Financial. In particular, the commission on Black Work noted the breakdown of the stranglehold of black nationalism, as exemplified by the split and disintegration of the Black Panthers. This development—the displacing of separatist ideology and petty-bourgeois multi-vanguardism in the face of general class motion—opens renewed opportunities for the recruitment of black workers and young militants to Trotskyism. The SL, which had earlier carried out successful exemplary work in this field, was cut off from consolidating and deepening this work by the rise of black nationalism; we must recognize our loss of continuity with the theoretical and practical aspects of this work for most comrades. The key to a breakthrough is the recruitment of an initial black nucleus, a process which has already begun and will continue, especially in the labor movement and through polemical intervention among black radicals. The development of hardened black communist cadres is the key to re-developing exemplary mass work among blacks, a crucial precondition for the struggle for class unity in this profoundly racist country and thus an urgent responsibility for the proletarian vanguard.

Communist Work Among Women

The reports and lively discussion on the woman question stressed the virtual hiatus in communist work among women and noted that the SL had in the course of its own work been forced to rediscover and apply the experience of the Communist international, especially of its Russian and German sections, as the model for our own intervention. The conference noted that while the struggles of any particular section of the oppressed, other than the proletariat itself, necessarily have an episodic and partial character, it is a principled responsibility for the communists to seek to intervene in these struggles as a principled communist pole, in clear opposition to petty-bourgeois utopianism and bourgeois ideology. The conference reaffirmed Lenin's insistence on the need to seek special organizational forms, linked to the party, for work among oppressed women, noting that the program for such organizations must be the full transitional program of the party which embodies the crucial needs and historic tasks of the entire proletariat.

The SL's intervention into the petty-bourgeois women's liberation movement on this principled basis has been responsible for the recruitment of many serious activists who—repelled by both the economist abstentionism of tendencies such as the Workers League and by the pandering to anti-class feminism on the part of the SWP and IS—found in the SL program the concrete application of their subjectively working-class impulses. The conference affirmed its determination to continue this field of exemplary activity through the publication of the journal *Women and Revolution* under the supervision of the SL Central Committee, noting that in the current period the SL's work on the woman question will have a dual aspect: as part of our polemical approach to the ostensibly revolutionary left and as an important component of our program for the labor movement.

Following the organizational reports and the election of the incoming Central Committee, the conference was adjourned with the singing of the *Internationale*. ■

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of pacifist illusions among the European working classes. This is indeed one of the goals of the Common Market bureaucrats.

For a United, Socialist Europe!

The Common Market is in no sense progressive. It is originally the product of U.S. imperialism's mobilization against the Soviet Union. It is an arena in which the European national bourgeoisies bilk one another and the rest of the world. It is a vehicle for capitalist collaboration against the European labor movements, which have shown little international solidarity.

Despite the national divisions of the capitalists, the increasing interconnectedness of the world market and international socialization of the means of production are real. The greater rationality of large-scale, centralized units of production and distribution is offset under capitalism, however, by the even greater irrationality of the competition between world-wide oligopolistic monsters driven for the sake of profits only. Thus unity under capitalism is not only a myth, which will be shattered in the first serious economic downturn, but must necessarily be directed against the working class, as each national capitalist class attempts to become "competitive" through a policy of "rationalization." This requires rigid wage freezes, massive devaluations, strike-breaking, the liquidation of whole industries, large-scale unemployment and inflation. It is hard to shove such policies down the throats of organized workers, so the bourgeoisies in the respective countries are forced to resort to center-left and labor governments in order to implement them. Such viciously anti-working class governments have been in power in Britain and Italy, and now in Germany, and it is this role which a CP-SP-Radical popular front coalition will play in France if elected.

Only unity on a *socialist* basis, accomplished by proletarian revolution and the expropriation of the giant monopolies, can institute rational world-wide economic development without exploitation. A socialist united states of Europe can only be created on the basis of the most vigorous struggle against the capitalist Common Market and all it stands for. And only under united control by the workers themselves can the productive capacity of Europe be put at the service of the entire world's working peoples. ■

SPARTACIST LOCAL DIRECTORY

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND.....(415) 848-3029
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON..... (617) 661-8284
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO..... (312) 548-2934
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

LOS ANGELES.....(213) 467-6855
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90038

NEW ORLEANS.....(504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

SAN DIEGO..... (714) 272-2286
Box 22052, Univ. City Sta.
San Diego, CA 92122

SAN FRANCISCO.....(415) 863-1459
Box 40574
San Francisco, CA 94140

WASHINGTON, D.C.-BALTIMORE.....(202) 223-1455

SPARTACIST LEAGUE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

WV photos

Toward Construction of the Leninist Vanguard!

The third National Conference of the Spartacist League, highest body of the organization, was held November 25-27, following a National Conference of the SL's youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth. The conference was attended by 178 members and disciplined supporters, which marked a twofold increase in attendance over the heavily-attended expanded Central Committee Plenum of September 1971. The conference provided fresh evidence of the continuing transformation of the SL into the nucleus of the vanguard party and demonstrated the organization's increased ability to intervene as the communist pole in major arenas of political struggle: the trade unions, the black and women's movements, the campuses, the ostensibly revolutionary organizations, the international movement.

Unprecedented Growth

The report from the Credentials Committee noted the unprecedented growth of the SL/RCY over the past year, as evidenced by the fact that 67% of the members of the organization had joined within the past year. However, 61% of those attending the conference identified themselves as former members of an ostensibly revolutionary organization. Most of these were from SDS, the Buffalo Marxist Collective, PL and its periphery, the Communist Working Collective or local New Left and Maoist groupings. Other organizations represented by ex-members were the SWP/YSA, the IS, the Black Panthers, the Socialist Party/YPSL, the Revolutionary Union, the Communist Party, the Black Student Union, the SLP, the Labor Committee and the IWW.

The conference delegates repeatedly noted that this wave of recruitment brings with it a challenge to the organization to transform these comrades—through political struggles, involvement in the labor movement and critical study of the history of the Marxist movement—into fully-rounded communist cadres rooted in the living continuity of Leninism. Without this undertaking the SL, painfully thin in tested and experienced cadres, can only squander this precious human capital.

Many of these new comrades joined the SL/RCY as part of a series of regroupments from the Maoist/New Left milieu, beginning with the fusion with the former Communist Working Collective of Los Angeles in September 1971. Following the CWC fusion, the politics of the SL won hegemony over the semi-syndicalist Mass Strike group of Boston and pro-working-class women's groups in New Orleans and Oakland. In addition, 10 comrades from the Socialist Workers Party/Proletarian Orientation Tendency/Leninist Faction were won to the SL over a period of several months. At the conference leading members of the Buffalo Marxist Collective—which had just fused with the RCY—applied for SL membership as well. Several members of the Cleveland Marxist Caucus also attended.

These regroupments were in the main the result of the SL's intersection with subjectively pro-working-class groupings of New Left-derived ex-students who were pragmatically attempting to implement a proletarian perspective. Leading comrades of the BMC, for example, had been associated with Progressive Labor, whose hard but deformed proletarian line had forced an empirical break with the Stalinist theory of "two-stage" revolutions. It was in the context of political confrontation with mainstream Maoism, PL and the social-democratic Labor Committee that the BMC comrades began an investigation of Trotskyism, rejecting the cynical and sterile pro-bureaucratic opportunism of the Workers League to embrace the program of the SL as the expression of authentic Trotskyism. The East Oakland Women intersected the SL primarily in the labor movement itself, while the New Orleans grouping was first attracted to Trotskyism primarily on the basis of the SL's exposure of the bankruptcy of Maoism as a "revolutionary" strategy, as well as by the SL's anti-feminist intervention in the women's liberation movement. The SL's demonstrated ability to win over subjectively revolutionary and serious young comrades from diverse political backgrounds in principled regroupments stands out in sharp contrast to the stark failures of the fake-Trotskyist WL.

Political Report

The main political report to the conference discussed the evolving world relationship of forces characterized by the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalries and the U.S.'s loss of uncontested hegemony as the economic and political policeman of world imperialism. The reporter noted that the bureaucratic leaderships of the deformed workers states are hampered in their appetites to simply play the power-politics diplomatic game by their social position as bonapartists representing the interests of the world bourgeoisie but resting atop the economic conquests of a workers state.

The continuing transformation of the SL is intimately linked to the transformation of the international working class: the emergence of the new generation of young workers whose outlook has not been shaped by World War II and the monumental betrayals of the mass-based Stalinist leaderships from Greece to Belgium in its aftermath. In the U.S., the anti-communist hysteria which gripped the labor movement during the "Cold War" period appears mainly irrelevant to the young workers. The reporter characterized the present situation as "a profitably uneven period" for the SL of a generalized leftward shift internationally. The "new Nixon" policy has apparently bought some time for the U.S. ruling class by defusing the war issue, thus allowing domestic fears and racial tensions to come to the fore, but within the context of the generalized crisis-ridden instability of the bourgeois order, which had exhausted its possibilities of economic development at least since 1914. The predominant mood as evidenced in the U.S. elections was a shift to the right and the threat of a new anti-red campaign to highlight the end of "permissiveness"; however at the same time the intensification of exploitation as the bourgeoisie drives to compete on the world market, combined with seething social discontent over racial oppression and the war, means that sharp class struggles will continue to increase.

The report noted that many of our regroupment opportunities over the past year have been a result of the "crisis of Maoism"—the Nixon-Mao alliance sorting out the U.S. Maoists into two components: the potential revolutionaries vs. the virtual "U.S.—China friendship associations" which are the analogues of the old Pop Front CP apologists for the Russian bureaucracy.

In the current period, variants of radical workerism are becoming the predominant anti-Bolshevist current, replacing petty-bourgeois multi-vanguardism. The inability of the main core of the SWP/POT/LF grouping to transcend centrist workerism was characterized as a defeat for the SL, undercutting our intention to establish the SL as the Trotskyist alternative in the minds of dissidents breaking from the revisionism of the SWP.

"Freedom of Criticism"

Just as the SWP dissidents represented the only significant opposition in eight years to emerge within the SWP, so the several ostensibly anti-Pabloist groups internationally which have emerged from the United Secretariat represent the post-war accumulation of subjective Trotskyists in several major industrial countries, but lacking real continuity in the Leninist movement. For instance, several groupings have taken up Lenin's formulation from 1906 (when he was still a revolutionary social-democrat, not yet a communist) of "freedom of criticism, unity of action." This is to negate the experience of the October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International. For a Bolshevik, this formulation is applicable to a united front, not to a democratic-centralist party; the impulse toward its resurrection flows from a workerist impulse which looks to the non-party workers to intervene to correct the party—at bottom a clear denial of the concept of the vanguard.

A key point of centrist disorientation continues to be the question of communist policy toward mass reformist working-class formations. There are those who continue the old Pabloist-type "deep entrist" policy (whose variants include the OCI's position of calling for a "strategic" united front at the expense of program and for a workers' government without Bolsheviks); the "no entrist" posture of denying the working-class component of the mass-based reformist parties is merely opportunism standing in fear of itself, a New Leftist reflexive reaction which wishes away the need to shatter the authority of the established organizations in the eyes of the workers through polarization and split.

Remarking that the Spartacist tendency had been born over an international issue—Pabloism as manifested in the Socialist Workers Party's capitulation to Castroism—the reporter stressed the urgency of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. "The SL/U.S. urgently requires disciplined subordination to an international leadership not subject to the deforming pressures of our particular national situation," he stated, noting that although the Bolsheviks had been able to make the October Revolution before the birth of the Communist International, had they not been struggling for that International they would have been just another collection of Mensheviks.

Trade Union Work

The recruitment of new forces and the stabilization of a monthly press has enabled the SL to undertake further colonization and concentration in industry; the percentage of SL/RCY comrades involved or becoming active in this work has already more than doubled. The trade union report reviewed the current work of SL fractions in the labor movement and noted the increased opportunities for SL exemplary work in the labor movement, aimed at demonstrating the capacity of our political line to focus and lead mass struggles, despite our present inability to directly vie for leadership of the class as a whole. Referring to the past experiences of communists in the unions and to the legacy of the Cold

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 16 X-523 February 1973

THERE IS NO PEACE!

The Civil War Goes On

Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League

The American ruling class has reached a temporary bargain with the leaders of North Vietnam, in the form of an in-place ceasefire and withdrawal of U.S. troops. But neither in Vietnam nor at home does the Paris treaty mean real peace. In Vietnam the basic issues of the civil war remain unresolved. In the United States the Nixon regime is already stepping up its wave of repression, while wage controls place the burden of inflation squarely on the working class.

For the working masses of Vietnam the war goes back more than a generation, a war which has cost already more than 2 million lives, an incredible balance sheet of suffering. And yet, over the years, these heroic fighters have time and again demonstrated their resourcefulness and determination to carry the struggle against the forces of colonial and capitalist rule through to a victorious conclusion. We salute the workers and peasants who have fought and died bravely in this historic class conflict! Long live the Indochinese socialist revolution!

An Imperialist Gamble

Especially since the massacre of hundreds of thousands of workers and communists in Indonesia in 1965 accomplished a major imperialist aim in Southeast Asia, key sectors of the American bourgeoisie have favored an end to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Distorting the domestic economy, undermining government authority at home, leading to repeated international monetary crises, worsening the U.S. bourgeoisie's competitive position vis-à-vis the other imperialist powers, and weakening the U.S. militarily, the war has increasingly appeared to the ruling class as a diversion from more pressing tasks. At the same time, U.S. imperialism has undergone a significant change in its global role, reducing it from the hegemonic worldpoliceman to only the first among equals, leading to renewed sharp inter-imperialist economic rivalry and the first faint anticipations of World War III. The "American Century," not three decades old, has foundered in Vietnam. Recognizing this new position, and with promises of important new deals with the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies, the Nixon regime has decided to gamble against the possibility of an NLF/DRV victory in the South by agreeing to an "in-place" ceasefire in exchange for U.S. military withdrawal.

On the other side, the Viet Cong and the Stalinist leaders in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi are continuing contradictory policies based on their position as parasitic bureaucracies reflecting the pressures of the world bourgeoisie, but also forced, in the process of defending their own rule, to offer a real but limited defense of the workers' conquests when the very existence of the deformed workers states is threatened by imperialism. The actual policies vary somewhat according to the national interests of the bureaucracies. Thus the Soviet Union has for years been trying to force an open sellout, a liquidation of the struggle in the South, in the interests of a global entente with U.S. imperialism. This was expressed in part in the totally inadequate flow of Soviet aid to North Vietnam, vastly inferior in quantity and quality to that supplied to the bourgeois Nasser regime in Egypt, where oil, not revolution, was at stake.

The Chinese, who in the past had only shown a minor interest in the Vietnam war, have taken the same line as the Russians following the Nixon-Mao talks, which whetted their appetites for a diplomatic bloc with the U.S. The policies of these traitors today is the same as in 1954, when Chou En-Lai and the Russians shoved an open sellout down the throats of the Vietnamese, who were forced to abandon vast areas of the South already under their control.

The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong face somewhat different pressures. On the one hand, from the very beginning they have followed a fundamental strategy of betrayal, beginning with Ho Chi Minh's support for French colonialism during the French popular front government of 1936-39. In 1946 it took the shelling of Haiphong harbor to convince the Vietnamese Stalinists that a deal with DeGaulle was impossible (at the time, they called for limited independence within the French Union!).

In South Vietnam, after abandoning the workers and peasants to the mercies of Diem, it took more than two years for the Hanoi bureaucracy to begin giving real support to the resistance struggle which began as early as 1956. Not only has the NLF consistently failed to organize the workers in class struggle against the capitalists, foreign or domestic, but their program calls not for socialist revolution but instead for a "democratic" *bourgeois* government, with firm guarantees for foreign investment and "free enterprise." The NLF/DRV peace program of a coalition government of class collaboration between workers and capitalist parties is only the icing on the cake.

Social Revolution

However, in spite of this appetite for betrayal on the part of the Stalinist

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Venceremos Is Target of New Repression Wave

The meaning of Nixon's call for an end to the "era of permissiveness" is being graphically illustrated in a wave of brutal police repression, of which the murder in Baton Rouge of two protesting students was just the beginning. Most recently, in California a campaign of open police repression is being waged against the members of Venceremos. This group originated largely as a split-off from the Revolutionary Union which gave uncritical support to "Third World" nationalism and counterposed "armed struggle now" to the openly reformist workerism of the present RU. The vicious police crackdown followed the escape of Ron Beaty, a former Venceremos member and convict at Chino State Prison, during which one prison guard was killed and another wounded. The FBI and local police in California and Arizona launched a series of illegal raids, breaking into private homes without warrants, conducting massive searches, confiscating legal weapons, and arresting a total of 14 people. The defendants include five Venceremos members, among them Bruce Franklin, member of the Venceremos central committee, and an ex-professor at Stanford, who was fired last year for "fomenting campus violence."

The following leaflet, calling for the unconditional defense of the Venceremos group against these attacks, was distributed by the Bay Area Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth. The SL/RCY has been the only group on the left to actively exercise its principled revolutionary duty to defend all left and working-class victims of ruling-class attack, despite political disagreements.

DEFEND VENCEREMOS -- BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

We in the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Communist Youth pledge our unconditional support to Venceremos in the face of the present brutal anti-communist witch-hunt. As revolutionary Trotskyists we are firmly committed to the defense of the working-class movement against attack by the bourgeoisie and their agents and raise high the banner of international working-class solidarity. Efforts of the ruling class to smash the left must be expected as long as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie lives and breathes, nevertheless militants must be aware that the Nixon landslide victory based on its blatant appeal to racism and anti-welfare sentiment has given the green light to the local police and opened a period where attacks on the working-class movement may well become the norm rather than the exception. Unless all left tendencies stand united against the present outrage, the campaign against Venceremos will be only the beginning. Unconditional defense of the left against the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state is a principle that must be upheld regardless of support for the program of the tendency involved or even the history of that tendency on the question.

The SL/RCY alone among the ostensibly revolutionary left, has consistently upheld this principle. Likewise we oppose hooliganism and thuggery within the left as it undermines the strength of the working-class movement and opens up the left to bourgeois attack. It is not with our fists but with our ideas and organization that the SL/RCY attempts within the workers movement to demonstrate the correctness of our program in the Bolshevik tradition of ideological struggle. Venceremos itself while still part of the Revolutionary Union participated at the 1969 Panther UFAF conference in physical attacks on the SL and Progressive Labor Party members for their criticisms of the Panthers for turning from militancy to a reformist community control of the police campaign. Two years later, after the Newton wing had fully consolidated its right turn to black capitalism and the Church, Venceremos finally issued a public criticism of the Panthers ("Against Revisionism: A Defense of The Black Panther Party 1966-1970") but failed to even mention let alone repudiate their previous gangster activity.

Not Third Worldism, But Revolutionary Internationalism

The Venceremos group arose as one product of the profound demoralization resulting from decades of Stalinist betrayals and the abandonment of revolutionary Trotskyism by the Socialist Workers Party. Common to the many New Left, Maoist, anarchist and terrorist organizations has been a search for an alternative to organizing the only revolutionary force in capitalist society—the working class. While mouthing phrases of proletarian revolution, the heart of Venceremos' program is the identification of "Third World" peoples as the revolutionary vanguard. However, peoples, nations and communities are made up of antagonistic classes and the attempt to cover over this reality with Stalinist-Maoist formulas leads directly to abandoning the proletariat to left-sounding bourgeois reformists and nationalists.

Third Worldism is organizationally embodied by Venceremos' rule that on leading bodies a majority of the members must be Third World people. In a Leninist organization leaders arise and are chosen for responsibility on the basis of their political and organizational capabilities regardless of race, nationality or sex. Venceremos instead has built in petty-bourgeois white guilt by holding racial rather than class distinctions as primary. In this way, it finds fundamental conceptual agreement with the Ku Klux Klan in determining leadership by race and nationality. The inevitable result of such practice must be white paternalism and race-baiting as the method of political struggle.

Peoples War vs. Class War

Peoples War or the "military strategy," combined with grossly reformist serve-the-people social welfare projects is the sum total of the Venceremos program. Counterposed to the painstaking work of building a Bolshevik vanguard party through building communist fractions in the labor movement and on campuses, the "military strategy," as all adventurism of the indignant petty-bourgeois intellectuals, seeks a short-cut to revolution by replacing the struggle of the masses in revolt with the heroic but small blows of individuals. Such a strategy of struggle not only opens the way to government suppression of the adventurists, but as a "by-product" opens the way for the FBI and the police to have *all* communists witch-hunted out of the labor movement.

Not Social Work But Social Revolution

Serve-the-people programs side-step the core of the proletariat by glorifying the unorganized, the most poverty-ridden, the most oppressed as a "natural vanguard." This form of workerism caters to the present backward prejudices of the masses by abandoning the revolutionary program for minimal social welfare reform demands. Venceremos recently even went so far as to support McGovern, the liberal imperialist under the guise of "supporting the Vietnamese"! The SL/RCY emphasizes the necessity for systematic communist implantation into the trade unions because the labor movement represents the most powerful sector of the proletariat and embodies an understanding of the need for workers organizations. We build communist caucuses based upon Trotsky's Transitional Program, the codification of the lessons of the Bolsheviks, the first four Congresses of the Communist International, and the struggle of the International Left Opposition. We seek to build a multi-racial, multinational Leninist vanguard party that can lead the working class to a successful completion of the international socialist revolution to lay the basis finally for the qualitative leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

Defend Venceremos—Unconditional defense of the left against bourgeois attack!
Dump the bureaucrats—For a workers party based on the trade unions!
Victory to the Vietnamese revolution! All Indochina must go Communist!
Labor strikes against the war and wage freeze!
Build the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth!
Toward the rebirth of the Fourth International!

Continued from page 1

...Civil War

leaders, they are faced at the same time with intractable social and historical realities. In the present epoch, the weak bourgeoisies of backward countries, closely intertwined with imperialism and mortally afraid of an agrarian revolution which would sweep away their dominion, are incapable of carrying out the national and democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Today these tasks can only be carried out by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, the Vietnamese bourgeoisie, justifiably afraid of being quickly annihilated once deprived of massive imperialist aid, has refused to form a coalition government with the Stalinists. And the Vietminh/NLF/DRV, forced to rely on workers and peasants against imperialism, must acquiesce to certain revolutionary measures if they are to mobilize the masses. These fundamental characteristics of the epoch have made the Vietnamese war from the beginning a social revolution, with the workers and peasants on one side and the bourgeoisie ("national" and imperialist) on the other. Moreover, where the nationalist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking are content to sell out someone else's revolution, for the equally nationalist Hanoi bureaucracy, and especially the Viet Cong, this would mean cutting their own throats.

Thus the NLF/DRV from their side also have agreed to a gamble, banking on the extreme fragility of the Thieu regime, the widescale corruption, and popular discontent to lead to a rapid decomposition of the Saigon government once the Americans leave. The main difference between this and the 1954 sellout is the ceasefire in-place, i.e., the continued presence of large numbers of NLF/DRV troops in the South. Because of this, and the difficulties (real, but not insurmountable) for the U.S. in reinvading, we can judge that the ceasefire does not mean an immediate liquidation of the struggle and could well eventually lead to a Viet Cong victory in the South. However, this gamble is based on the fundamental *strategy of betrayal* which has been the essence of Vietnamese and international Stalinist policy since the inception of the struggle. There has been no Dien Bien Phu and the NLF continues to call for a coalition government, which if realized, with the Saigon military apparatus intact, could still lead to defeat.

No Support to the Robbers' Peace!

The Spartacist League does not support in any way this robber's peace in Vietnam, in contrast with the obscene betrayal by the Stalinists and Maoists throughout the world, whose demand "Sign the Treaty" means supporting the concessions extorted by the American bourgeoisie from the Hanoi bureaucrats at the cost of the lives of tens and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and American working people! Nor do we simply limit ourselves to the correct demand of "U.S. Out of Vietnam," as does the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, since this enables them to conclude that the treaty is a victory, and therefore to give it backhanded support. The SL has always called for unconditional defense of the DRV/NLF in their struggle against imperialism, and for a military *victory* to the NLF in the South. In the civil war going on in Vietnam it is an elementary act of class solidarity to *take sides*. But we totally oppose any coalition government, or the slogan of a "neutral" Vietnam. *All Indochina Must Go Communist!* And we give no political support to the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy. These parasitic misleaders put down by torture and murder the Vietnamese revolutionary militants—in the first place the Trotskyists—who fought from the outset in 1945 against the re-imposition of imperialism and for a socialist revolution. Should all of Indochina pass out of imperialist control it will be no thanks to Ho Chi Minh and his successors. Before the laboring masses in Vietnam can obtain even the beginnings of satisfaction of their elementary needs and hopes, a political revolution will be necessary, through revolutionary proletarian struggles, led by a Leninist, i.e., Trotskyist, party of permanent revolution. The struggle to build this party is an international task which requires an uncompromising struggle against imperialist war on a class basis, and an equally uncompromising struggle against the agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement, both here and in Vietnam. The only way to win a real and lasting peace in the interests of working people throughout the world is through socialist revolution! ■

Correction

WV's report on the Spartacist League's third National Conference ("Toward Construction of the Leninist Vanguard!" in *WV* No. 15, January 1973) incorrectly quoted the Credentials Committee report as having stated that "67% of the members of the organization had joined within the past year." The correct figures were that 42% had been members of the SL/RCY for less than one year, while a total of 67% had joined within the past two years.

It has been brought to the attention of the Editorial Board that one paragraph in the article "Pop Front Imperils Chilean Workers" (*WV* No. 14, December 1972) was rendered virtually incomprehensible by an unfortunate technical error. The second paragraph under the subhead "A Revolutionary Program for Chile" (page 8, fourth column) should have read:

But the Chilean masses today still follow the Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders. A powerful weapon in breaking the stranglehold of these class traitors is the demand that the workers' parties must "BREAK WITH THE BOURGEOISIE AND ITS PARTIES—FORM A WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT ON A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM." This slogan exposes the reformists' refusal to break with the class enemy. Expressing no confidence in the reformists' willingness to take power and rule in their own name, the Bolsheviks must at the same time continue their own agitation for transitional demands which constitute a revolutionary program for a workers government. The achievement of this slogan would immediately pose point-blank the total instant choice: the dictatorship of the proletariat or the bourgeois counter-revolution—open class warfare. ■

PL: Road to Oblivion?

The Progressive Labor Party is presently facing a serious internal crisis which raises a distinct possibility of PL's rapid disappearance as a serious force on the U.S. left. PL's ten-year history has been marked by dramatic line changes, with instant success and an easy road to the masses expected from each new turn. Starting out as a left Stalinist movement ("Road to Revolution," 1963), PL went through a prolonged Maoist phase ("Road to Revolution II," 1966), then broke empirically to the left on the national question and the "theory of stages." In an attempt at theoretical justification, PL elaborated its break from Maoism into a full-scale flight from Leninism toward syndicalism and sterile ultra-leftism ("Road to Revolution III," 1972). Currently, demoralized by the failure of its leftist phase, PL is engaged in a deep plunge to the right, chasing liberals and competing with the CP and SWP on the field of reformism and single-issue opportunism.

For a period PL experienced rapid growth, capitalizing on its role as the pro-working-class left opposition in SDS. At the 1969 SDS convention, PL led a majority of the organization against the petty-bourgeois Third Worldism of SDS's former leadership, enduring every sort of red-baiting and race-baiting from its right-Maoist opponents for its critical stance toward the NLF and black nationalism. In the decisive split at the convention, which spelled the death agony of the New Left, the Spartacist League gave unambiguous critical support to the PL-led wing. However, in the following months, PL demonstrated its incapacity to provide a revolutionary strategy for the subjectively pro-working-class student radical organization. PL-SDS retreated into campus parochialism and pathetic social-workerism (the "Campus Worker-Student Alliance") and its following began to dwindle.

Desperately seeking to attract new forces, PL turned to self-styled "mass" marches, frantic *Challenge* sales campaigns and get-rich-quick gimmicks like its invasion of Buffalo for the expected 1971 steel strike. When these efforts failed to produce any flamboyant successes another switch was pulled, this time to single-issue campaigns (ban racist textbooks and professors, "30 for 40"), but without any particular results.

Crisis Hits PL

The present crisis in PL is the result of the intersection of the stagnation of its organizational efforts and its total ideological confusion. Over the past few years PL has all but dissipated the political capital which it gained from its struggle in SDS. Dozens of PL-SDS supporters have resolved their confusion by embracing mainstream right Maoism, which offers a more consistent path to reformism; literally hundreds of PL-SDSers have simply dropped out of politics—burned out by meaningless super-activism, demoralized by their failure to "build a base in the working class," uncertain of what program they were defending, convinced by PL's substitution of apolitical personal "criticism and self-criticism" in place of political struggle over the organization's line that they just "didn't have what it takes to be a communist." Now this crisis is appearing in the core of the party, with the loss of Jeff Gordon and several prominent cadre in Boston, and PL chairman Milt Rosen's recent national morale-boosting tour.

Better days: Rosen addresses Berkeley students in 1965.

SPARK

The purpose of Rosen's tour is apparent from his speech, delivered "to members and friends of the Progressive Labor Party" in several cities and printed in *PL* magazine (January 1973) under the title "The Struggle for Socialism—A Matter of Life and Death." Beginning with a declaration of "great confidence," Rosen devotes the first portion of his talk to explaining that the commitment to revolution is important and dilating on the evils of the capitalist system—imperialist war, racism, unemployment, drugs, etc. Certainly, one might think, the "members and friends" of an organization like PL should not be in need of catalogues of the horrors of capitalism or impassioned exhortations to struggle against them. But apparently this is not the case, for Rosen goes on:

> "Some of us think that some how or other we can escape the consequences of imperialism.... Any form of retreat from our commitment to the class struggle is bad....Some people say, 'I'm bored.' Others say 'I want to be free to lead my own life.' Some will say they are 'tired.' People will say, 'Workers are rotten,' or 'they will never learn.' Still others will say, 'Everyone is rotten.' And others will develop 'differences'....A young mother in our party—mirroring others—told me recently, 'I've been thinking of dropping out....'"
> "To become 'bored' or indifferent about them [revolutionary activities] means capitulation.... Some people say, 'This is all to the good, but we can't win.' ...It is possible that we will not live to see socialism in our country...."

Citing the militancy of the French workers during the 1968 general strike, Rosen reassures his listeners that *"Workers are for real, and they can win power."*

In the past, communist parties that are granite-hard ideologically have withstood very sharp reverses. At the lowest ebb in the 1909-1911 period, there were no organized Bolshevik committees functioning in Russia; the Spartacist League itself was down to 40 following a faction fight and split in 1968. What has seen us through is the knowledge that we are defending the unique program of revolutionary Marxism, the historic interests of the proletariat. But PL, which changes programs every few years, can only overreact to setbacks which it measures against its earlier grandiose expectations. To be sure, openly opportunist reformist groups can survive for years through constant zig-zags, by adapting to every fashionable trend, from guerillaism to McGovern. But at this game PL faces two past masters, the CP and SWP, who already have this territory sewn up tight. So for Progressive Labor the combination of ideological and organizational crisis could well prove fatal.

Since the inception of the Progressive Labor Movement, the Spartacist tendency has distinguished PL from various other Stalinist groupings, noting the numerous subjectively revolutionary cadre who were attracted to PL's hard communist face in opposition to the mushy social-democratic coffee-klatsch societies. We noted PL's tendency to empirically take over bits and pieces of the Trotskyist program (opposition to theories of two-stage revolution, "30 for 40," opposition to "revolutionary" nationalism). At the same time we warned:

> "In its confusion, a large section of PL may find Leninism as easy to abandon as the Maoist caricature of Leninism. ...PL will either discover the Leninist road in the only tendency—authentic Trotskyism—consistently opposed to the revisionism PL rejects, or reject Lenin along with the usurpers of his mantle and be lost forever in the wilderness of backward sectarianism and political banditry."
> —"PL at a Dead End," *Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970

And so it happened. The demise of PL as a serious competitor for the allegiance of subjectively communist militants will aid in clearing the road to revolutionary consciousness for the masses. But it will be a defeat for the communist movement if PL fades into insignificance without a serious internal struggle counterposing a revolutionary alternative to its aimless wanderings. To date there has never been a serious political challenge within PL from *the left*, and if the present situation of decomposition continues much longer there may never be.

From Foster to Mao

Progressive Labor originated from a group in New York around Milt Rosen and Mort Scheer who were expelled from the CP in 1961 as "Albanians," apparently for demanding that socialism be mentioned occasionally in the party's trade union work. Basically pro-Stalin internationally, it found its domestic mentor in William Z. Foster, considering him the leader of the "militant" wing of the CP as against the open liquidationism of Browder, who dissolved the party after World War II. Disgusted by Khrushchev's reformist policy of "peaceful coexistence," the founding PLers supported the Chinese in the early 1960's Sino-Soviet ideological dispute.

Reacting impressionistically to developments, the Progressive Labor Movement supported Mao, Castro, Ben Bella and various militant U.S. black nationalists (such as Robert Williams). According to PL's founding document, Castro built socialism in Cuba through a "combination of flexibility and adherence to a consistent anti-imperialist policy" ("Road to Revolution," March 1963).

Compared to other pro-Chinese elements internationally, the PL leadership was left-Stalinist. PL admitted that Foster and even Stalin himself had made serious mistakes, but did not draw the conclusions. "Road to Revolution" claimed that "young radicals can learn from such outstanding communists as William Z. Foster." But: "From the earliest days of the communist movement in the United States to the present, revision and its political manifestation, class collaboration, has been the chronic weakness.... After the expulsion of Lovestone [1928], the Party developed a militant pragmatic approach.... But even at that time there was no long range strategy developed." Stalin basically had a "militant revolutionary line," yet "a number of the fraternal parties which unquestioningly acceded to Stalin are in the main blindly following Khrushchev in a class collaborationist line today." PL avoided the obvious questions raised by its own analysis because it was unable to deal with the essential question of Stalinism as an international political current.

While PL did its best to ignore history, history refused to ignore PL. When the Chinese broke with Castro, PL suddenly discovered that the Cubans were revisionists. When Mao proclaimed the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, sure enough PL discovered it too (as having taken place in 1956). When Mao turned on Liu Shao-chi, it turned out that even the Chinese had not been consistently fighting revisionism after all. This was PL's Mao period, epitomized by "Road to Revolution II" (1966), by uncritical enthusing over the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and "revolutionary" black nationalism. For example, in October 1964 LeRoi Jones spoke at a PL-sponsored rally against fascism, proclaiming: "The majority of American white men are evil and they can never admit their evil otherwise they would kill themselves." PL printed his speech without comment (*PL*, November-December 1964).

And still history would not leave PL alone. In early 1969, after having supported scabbing in the New York teachers' strike in favor of "community control" (which even PL had to admit was a fraud perpetrated by the Ford Foundation), PL found itself in a bloc with openly anti-working-class student black nationalists at San Francisco State. Diametrically reversing its previous position that "revolutionary" nationalism was "national in form, class in content," PL began to insist that "Any form of nationalism is bad!... In the past... we were confused by the concept of the two-stage struggle, which claimed that first there is the battle for national liberation, and then communists transform it to the battle for socialism.... Communists have no business advocating national liberation

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Opposition in the UAW

UNC: Reutherism Revived

The fundamental question facing the labor movement today is a crisis of leadership. Already thousands of workers are expressing their discontent with the hidebound bureaucracy that runs the unions, through wildcat strikes and growing support for opposition caucuses. Already the need to go beyond bread-and-butter business unionism is posed sharply by Nixon's "Phase III" program, which can only be answered by a *political* alternative to the rule of the capitalist parties. But the question remains whether the Meany-Woodcock gang are to be replaced by a new leadership fighting in the interests of the entire working class, or simply by a new group of slicker, more militant-talking careerists, as in the recent election of Arnold Miller as a "reform" president of the United Mine Workers.

Phase III--Return of the Bureaucrats

Nixon's announcement last month of the Phase III program is an open challenge to American workers. Most corporations no longer are even required to go through the motions of filing price reports, and the meaningless "profit rate ceilings" are raised, thus giving official sanction to a new round of price increases. Union contracts can't be disguised, however, and thus labor is still subject to the same tight controls, under new guidelines to be worked out by a "labor-management advisory committee." This is no accident as the government gears up to deal with the contract negotiations affecting nearly 5 million workers in 1973 (almost double last year's number).

One of Nixon's biggest weapons in this battle will be the promise of cooperation of the labor bureaucrats with his new model Pay Board. Woodcock, the "progressive" Democrat, again joins the "neutral" Meany and the openly pro-Nixon Fitzsimmons on this control arm of the capitalist government. It is these same "leaders" of the workers who are primarily responsible for making the wage controls work in the first place, by refusing to mobilize the labor movement directly in strikes against the wage freeze, and using the "guidelines" as excuses to limit bargaining demands. Meany and Co.'s grand protest of walking off the Pay Board last year, far from hindering wage controls simply helped them work more smoothly! The UAW's Woodcock, who along with Meany has always supported wage controls in principle, stayed on Nixon's Productivity Commission the whole time.

The UAW leadership has clearly shown that it is incapable of defending even past gains. Under Woodcock the bureaucracy claims to be fighting for many of the same demands they *gave away* under Reuther, such as non-compulsory overtime, cost-of-living escalator clause, etc. The bureaucracy's new goals, such as "30 and out" are just sops to cover the abysmal situation in the plants, which is approaching pre-union conditions of unlimited management prerogatives, uncontrollable speedup, etc. But now it is the union structure, dominated by an entrenched, pro-company bureaucracy, which serves as the company's back-up in disciplining the workers.

This bureaucracy is characterized by its complete indentification with the survival and fundamental aims of capitalism, including the imperialist designs of the government. Woodcock opposes outright protectionism, but instead imposes "non-inflationary" contracts on the workers in order to preserve the competitive position of U.S. corporations. But after signing such a "responsible" agreement with GM in 1970, the UAW machine had to spend the next two years devising new ways to prevent a mass walkout by auto workers. Woodcock claims jobs as his key concern, yet refuses to strike against layoffs and runaway plants, and opposes the demand for a 30-hour week because workers might get out of control and "hold two jobs"! *(New York Times Magazine*, interview, 27 September 1970).

Roots of Betrayal

Sellouts by the bureaucracy have certainly caused mass discontent in the ranks, but its ability to discipline the work force for the bosses will remain intact until there is a real alternative leadership. The close identification of the trade union leadership with the enemy in the class struggle does not flow from a simple lack of trade union militancy. Rather, it flows from a perspective based *only* on trade union militancy. All trade union leaders must base their careers, at least in the beginning, on some pretense of militancy. Once in office they become agents of the capitalist system because it is not possible to counterpose the workers to capitalism on the basis of trade unionism.

In the imperialist epoch, when the bourgeoisie depends primarily on reformist labor leaders to keep the workers in check, simple trade unionism can only mean class collaboration by reformist bureaucracies headed by the likes of Woodcock and Meany, or some left-talking replacements. The only real alternative is a revolutionary leadership conscious of its role as *part* of the struggle for socialist revolution. For the latter to be accomplished it is necessary that the bureaucracy be destroyed (not just replacing the current fakers with new ones) under the leadership of a *vanguard party*, and that the program of the party, the Trotskyist Transitional Program, become the program of the trade unions.

The most vital task confronting workers today is the construction of such a leadership and party, the real alternative to the Woodcock/Meany machines. However, "alternatives" to the bureaucracy abound in many hues, and most of them on close examination bear a striking resemblance to the bread-and-butter unionists they seek to replace. The United National Caucus (UNC), the only visible national opposition in the UAW, is such an "alternative."

$1.00 an Hour

The UNC grew out of the movement for a $1.00-an-hour increase in the skilled trades in 1966-67. The Dollar An Hour Now Committee, taking advantage of a reactionary craft union's attempt to pull dissatisfied tradesmen out of the auto union, mobilized thousands of skilled workers in the UAW behind demands reflecting their particular interests. It won concessions from Reuther, such as the right to separately veto contracts (the International, naturally, retaining the power to order all workers back whether they approve a contract or not).

The special interests of skilled workers were and are real—against management attempts to farm out work to non-union shops, "stretching out" lines of demarcation (job categories), etc., and against the UAW leadership's policy of limiting contract demands in order to preserve the competitive position of the union job shops. This self-defeating policy simply prevents the organizing of the unorganized by eliminating the advantages of union conditions. The logical conclusion is inevitably a policy of wage *cuts* to keep "union" shops in business, as has occurred in the Rubber Workers.

However, throughout labor history, divisions within the class (such as between skilled and unskilled workers particularly) have constantly plagued—and been maintained by—the trade unions. The craft unions incorporated these divisions, allowing employers to play one craft off against another. In the U.S., where skilled trades were largely older, white, native workers, craft unionism fostered racial and national divisions. The rise of industrial unions tended to cut across craft distinctions by organizing all the workers in an industry into one union.

Although reduced in significance, these craft distinctions did not disappear. The Dollar An Hour Committee, in orienting toward this relatively privileged sector, was not fighting a struggle of all the workers against the companies, but simply protecting short-term interests of skilled workers. So it inevitably fell into the trap set for it by capitalism of competing against other workers for a limited amount of concessions. As the Democratic Caucus, led by Charles Dewey and part of the $1.00-an-hour movement, at a Detroit job shop local wrote:

> "Our present wage scales do not reflect the proper differential between skilled and production workers necessary to compensate for wage losses suffered by skilled members during long years of apprenticeship and training."
>
> —"For the Biggest Gains Ever—A Program for the Job Shops," undated brochure, Democratic Caucus of UAW Local 155

This particularism only aggravated the animosity and suspicion between skilled and unskilled workers. The inability of blacks to penetrate the job-trusted skilled trades was a major impetus in the rise of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) and other black caucuses in Detroit auto plants in the late sixties. DRUM emphasized a black nationalist orientation instead of class struggle, and wrongly rejected integrated struggle within the union. Art Fox, one of the leaders of the skilled trades movement in Ford Local 600, and presently a leader of the UNC, now somewhat jocularly describes his past role in the union as opportunist and white chauvinist. He finds this admission convenient today only because his opportunism has found new outlets.

Today Dewey and Fox continue the policy of simple trade unionism reflected by the $1.00-an-hour movement in the form of the United National Caucus. Dewey closes an article in the December 1972 *UNC* with the hope ("Something is in the air!") that U.S. trade deals with the Soviet Union, sponsored by Woodcock's recent East European tour (which Dewey endorses), will lead to more jobs for American skilled tradesmen. This is exactly the reasoning of the bureaucracy itself! Dewey (and the UNC with him) is perfectly interchangeable with Woodcock: Woodcock would adopt Dewey's militancy on trade union issues were he out of office, and Dewey would adopt Woodcock's betrayals were he in.

IS Supports Careerism

Instead of developing a program and leadership to counterpose to the business unionism and treachery of the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," the UNC leaders, and their principal outside supporters, the International Socialists (IS), propose simply a revamped trade unionism through greater shop floor militancy and a syndicalist bringing together of the rank and file through organizational proposals—such as the permanent production workers council and reliance on shop stewards. What this ignores is what leadership these bodies will have, on the basis of what program. The IS particularly looks to England, where there is a powerful and militant shop stewards movement. This does not substitute for revolutionary leadership, however, as was demonstrated when the shop stewards, under the influence of the misleaders of the Communist Party, allowed the trade union tops to push through their sellout of the dock workers struggle last summer without a fight (see *WV* No. 12, October 1972).

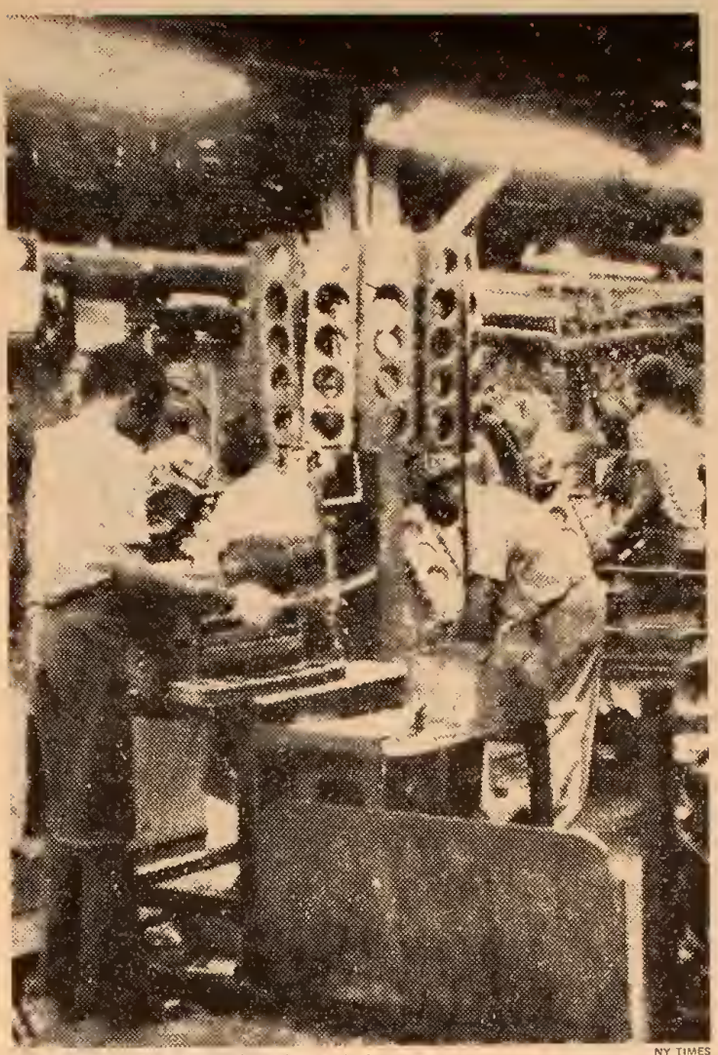
Instead of struggling for a revolutionary program corresponding to the real interests of the working class, the UNC leadership prefers to pull together the broadest possible opposition grouping on the narrowest possible platform. This inevitably attracts demagogic careerist elements, which are rampant in the UNC. In an article on the 1972 UAW convention, UNC co-chairman Jordan Sims put these aspirations into words through a grotesque eulogy to the "sorely missed" Reuther: "The big red-haired brother of the podium (Brother Reuther) really had his thing together. It is a pleasure to watch a real professional doing what he knows best [i.e., "domination of the proceedings"]" *(UNC*, 25 September 1972).

Thus Sims glorifies Reuther and ignores his repeated attempts to smash wildcat strikes forced by speedup, company harrassment and oppressive working conditions, as well as ignoring his persecution of all serious oppositions to the bureaucracy. Rather than being "sorely missed," Reuther should have been dumped by the auto workers a long time before a plane crash ended his career of class collaboration. Sims, and the UNC and IS with him, follow in the footsteps of Reuther because they have nothing to offer except trade unionism covered over with social-democratic and social-patriotic rhetoric. Thus Sims remarked at one point, "But you recognize one thing: to make your America great, to make it productive, to make it serve you and benefit you—you're not going anyplace without me or someone like me." The IS, which printed this quote without a word of criticism, responded, "Sims posed in the sharpest form the problem confronting the American working class today—to realize a unity of working people based on their common class struggle" *(Workers' Power*, 3-16 March 1972).

Sims is only one of many careerists in the UNC. A recent addition is Nathaniel Mosley of the Rank and File Caucus of Local 25, St. Louis GMAD, who was featured prominently and uncritically in a recent issue of the IS paper and is a scheduled speaker at the UNC production workers' conference in Detroit in early February. In 1972 Mosley won election to a post of District Committeeman on the basis of a program calling for 35 hours work for 40 hours pay, 25-and-out with $750/month pension, and make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday for UAW members. This is simply a jazzed up version of the Woodcock program, with the addition of the word "more." From Samuel Gompers to George Meany, "more" has always been the official ideology of the labor bureaucracy. And since this accepts the framework of capitalism, "more" is easily turned into "less" when the bosses are hurting.

The UNC offers the perfect opportunity for the flowering opportunism of the IS, which has uncritically supported the UNC, confining itself to gentle pressure:

> "Desperately needed in such a situation



NY TIMES

Foundry at Ford River Rouge: Conditions as bad as ever

> [GMAD crisis] is a conscious leadership with an understanding of how to fight. That the United National Caucus has not yet been able to provide this leadership is due in large part to its small size and organizational weakness.
>
> "An aggressive organizing campaign around the demands in the UNC program could make the Caucus a powerful force in the rank and file struggle. "The Production Workers Conference could be an important turning point, particularly if the UNC is able to attract rank and file leaders from around the country."
>
> —*Workers' Power*, 24 November-7 December 1972

The IS denies that it adapts to trade unionism, yet it consciously separates the task of recruiting *individuals* to Marxism from the "duty" of supporting "broader" movements. This is a hallmark of opportunism, of which the reformist Communist Party, chief partner of the IS in supporting the UNC, is the master. Instead of struggling in the open for a revolutionary program, the opportunist raises his socialist program only in private (if then), publicly kowtowing to the broader formation in order to gain influence with the leadership.

The Basis of Reutherism

The IS road to trade union opportunism began with the early Shachtmanite movement. (Shachtman broke with Trotskyism by refusing to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack in World War II, an elementary duty in spite of the parasitic role of the Stalinist bureaucracy.) Shachtman did away with the concept of a vanguard which struggles in the class for its political program, and replaced it with a social-democratic organization geared to adulation of the present level of workers' struggles. In the UAW the Shachtmanites early on revealed their adaptationism by tailing after Walter Reuther, then a militant-talking oppositionist. More sophisticated than their present-day imitators of the IS, they began with real criticism: "Reuther is more concerned with building his own fences, with strengthening his own personal position in the UAW than he is with fighting for. . . a program of action" (*Labor Action*, 9 June 1947). They pointed out that Reuther remained silent on all the major questions facing labor (such as the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act), in order to garner right-wing support for his faction, including tacit support of CIO President Philip Murray, who was breaking with the Communist Party as the Cold War witchhunt began. In spite of this criticism, the Shachtmanites supported "the progressive Reuther tendency" because his *base* was interested in moving to the left, i.e., because he was a better faker.

Reuther's "progressive" poses were always geared to the promotion of his personal career, but by 1947 this was no longer necessary and he relied openly on an unprincipled amalgam of left and reactionary forces united only by hatred of the CP. That Reuther could still be considered "leftist" was only due to the fact that the Communist Party had completely discredited itself by its rotten, opportunist role and patriotic virulence during World War II, making it easy to gather support against it on the basis of simple militant trade unionism. Though they formally denounced red-baiting, the Shachtmanites thus became the most "left" expression of the bourgeois government's anti-communist witchhunt in the unions.

Suing the Union

The basis of the UNC's bureaucratic careerism lies in its program, particularly its call for suing the unions in the capitalist courts (over the retiree-voting issue) and the referendum election of officers.

Retiree voting is an obstacle to any militant opposition (it was a key tactic in frustrating the initial struggle of DRUM). Taking the union to court, however, can only benefit an opportunist office seeker, since it totally violates workers democracy. Even if some improvements are obtained, such as eliminating retiree voting (unlikely, but possible), the damage done through strengthening the basis for government interference in the unions will be qualitatively worse. The government will define the basis of union membership, eliminate rank-and-file ratification of union contracts (already agreed to by the Nixon toadies in the construction trades) and shore up cooperative bureaucrats. "Progressive" trade union oppositionists who sue the unions in the name of "democracy" in this period (e.g., Stan Weir in the ILWU, James Morrissey in the NMU, Arnold Miller in the UMW) will be the architects of completely government-dominated unions in the next.

Government court rulings aimed at "democratizing" the unions are a sophisticated mechanism for the maintenance of capitalism. They allow the bosses to anticipate a growing line of struggle and act to head it off by correcting less important abuses in return for stability. Rather than having to act through cooperative but sometimes unreliable or incompetent agents in union leaderships, the capitalist government has a chance to more directly influence the political course of events within the workers movement.

Perhaps the best example of this is the recent election in the United Mine Workers, which ousted long-time UMW president Tony Boyle. On the invitation of the "reform" Miners for Democracy, the government was able to step into one of the hottest union situations in the country and take over the union, controlling the books, deciding elections and defusing the massive miners' movement led by the Black Lung Association. Naturally, the UNC endorsed Miller's election (*UNC*, December 1972).

UNC Referendum Position

The UNC also stands for referendum election of international officers as opposed to the present system of election at the regular delegated conventions. At the last convention, the UNC dropped its entire program in favor of making its big push on this demand. It formed a "league of caucuses" on the basis of this demand and the campaign to sue the union over the retiree voting issue, thus revealing the central place of these two points in the *real* politics of the UNC. It concentrated on the referendum point since this demand was backed by 13 locals, making it the most popular issue of the "militant" local bureaucrats.

Referendums cannot be used to make the basic decisions of a workers' organization, one of which is electing the leadership. Real decisions require discussion and political struggle between opposing tendencies. The leadership should be chosen on the outcome of this process, by delegates who must answer for their actions to the members who elected them, but who are nevertheless free to make their own decisions at the convention. A leadership elected by referendum would be able to defy the will of the convention, thereby rendering convention decisions irrelevant. A referendum forces the workers to decide crucial questions without the benefit of the political education and discussion required to separate the workers' consciousness of their own class interests from the influences of bourgeois society.

Reuther, who knew well what a referendum meant in practice, was able to neatly sabotage the struggle against the wartime no-strike pledge at the 1944 convention of the UAW, by referring the issue to the membership where it was clearly defeated, due to patriotic propaganda and the lack of a means to educate the rank and file through open debate. Referendum votes have brought in some opposition leaders, such as I.W. Abel in the Steelworkers, and it could easily serve as a vehicle for a well-known dissident ex-bureaucrat (for example, Paul Schrade, former Western regional director of the UAW) careerist basing his campaign on a few militant slogans. But it can not aid a principled opposition based on the defense of a working class *program* of struggle, which can only win through open debate.

UNC Trade Unionism

The rest of the UNC program is simply militant trade unionism. Its chief contract demands before the 1970 GM strike were remarkably similar to the UAW bargaining "demands" themselves, just a little more of the same: "restore cost-of-living; 25 years and out; humanize working conditions; wage increase and revamp grievance procedure" (*UNC*, March 1970). Woodcock simply took over the heavy UNC emphasis on the demand for a wage increase over and above recapturing losses due to inflation, and also adopted the vague slogan, "humanize working conditions." Although it raised "30 for 40," *the UNC failed to include it as a contract demand*, thus anticipating the bureaucracy's handling of this point (the UAW has raised a watered-down version of "30 for 40" "for discussion" only; see *WV* No. 15, January 1973).

The 1972 program which emerged from the UNC Conference on Racism showed no improvement. The program called for proportional representation for racial minorities on leading bodies of the union. Even Reuther wisely opposed such a proposal in the 40's when it was put forward by the CP. Denouncing it as racist to institutionalize the election of representatives on the basis of skin color, he won the point after initial unpopularity, thereby successfully positioning himself to the left of the CP on this issue. The program also called for proportional hiring by race, instead of strongly counterposing a demand for the end to all job and training discrimination and the opening of job opportunities at the expense of the capitalists, realizing such a program through demands such as a sliding scale of hours. Socialists oppose all hiring selection on the basis of race, since this inevitably tends to perpetuate racial divisions, whatever the original intent.

The program dealt with working conditions in a basically reformist fashion, failing to mention the goal of workers control of production. While it listed "a steward for every foreman," it left striking over grievances to a majority vote of the local instead of calling for shop-floor factory committees with the power to halt production over outstanding questions. It called for making line speed and other questions of production "negotiable issues"—and thereby good throwaway points for the International's bargaining "program"—instead of making a firm, non-negotiable insistence that the speed of the line be specified in the contract.

The January 1973 *UNC* special issue for building the February UNC production workers' conference reveals a decisive turn toward open reformism. An article on working conditions drops even the demand to make line speed "negotiable," leaving the program with no demand for combatting speedup whatsoever! Worse still, an article on the wage controls, which mentions the Democratic and Republican parties as being identical, not only completely fails to mention the UNC's supposed "position" for a labor party, but it contains the following as its only programmatic conclusion:

> "Complete abolition of all pay controls should be the demand which the UAW chieftains make on labor's so-called friends in Congress.
>
> "A massive labor lobby to Washington should be organized to publicize this demand and to make it clear that labor's votes will no longer be available to politicians who pose as friends but whose actions proclaim them to be enemies."

This sneaky hint of things to come from the UNC, written, not surprisingly, by Dewey, is an admission that sections of its leadership, at least, are looking to establish working relations with capitalist politicians whom they will pass off as *real* friends who *don't* act against labor, etc. It opens a Pandora's

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Bangla Desh The Fruits of Betrayal

Little more than a year has passed since the victory of the Indian army over Pakistan established the nominal political independence of Bangla Desh, formerly East Pakistan. During the India-Pakistan war of December 1971, the Spartacist League took the position that the just struggle of the Bengali masses for self-determination had been decisively subordinated to the class interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, which sought to eliminate Pakistan as a serious threat to its hegemony over the sub-continent and to turn Bangla Desh into a client state. In such a situation, a serious Leninist tendency must raise the slogan of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, i.e., to call on both armies to turn their guns against their own rulers. As we said at the time: "But in the era of imperialism *only* proletarian revolution offers the masses a road forward. For the Bengali masses only the international client relationships of their masters will change through an Indian victory" ("For Revolutionary Defeatism on Both Sides in the India-Pakistan War!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 3, December 1971).

The fake Trotskyists of the Healy-Wohlforth "International Committee," eagerly snuggling up to left-wing Bengalis in Britain, saw matters in a different light. According to them Indira Gandhi and the Indian army were the liberators of the Bengali nation: "The International Committee of the Fourth International was the only organization to support in a principled manner the right of Bangla Desh to secede from Pakistan....We critically support the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh" (*Bulletin*, 20 December 1971). The reformist Socialist Workers Party, which considers everything from last year's Quebec general strike to a meeting of black Democrats as examples of "revolutionary nationalism," naturally took the same position: "At the heart of the war is the struggle of Bangla Desh for self-determination.... The significant degree of mass participation in the armed struggle against the capitalist rulers of Pakistan and the independence of the struggle [!] has given it a revolutionary character surpassing anything seen on the subcontinent since the independence struggle against British imperialism. It therefore merits the unconditional support of all who call themselves socialist" (*Militant*, 24 December 1971).

This is the record. What, then, are the results? What is the verdict of history, where "mistakes" are paid for with the blood and lives of the oppressed?

Riding the crest of its neat, surgical victory over Pakistan, the Indian bourgeoisie quickly moved to re-establish the political dominance of Indira Gandhi's "New" Congress Party, to smash the left-wing opposition, to shore up their puppet Bangla Desh regime and to remove the refugee camps that dotted West Bengal prior to the war, exacerbating the political tensions in that volatile state.

Ali Bhutto's regime, Pakistan's first civilian government since 1958, has provided a thin camouflage for the real domination by the Pakistani army, U.S. imperialism's chief mainstay in South Asia. Bhutto cajoled and threatened the economic oligarchy into granting a few palliatives to defuse the regional antagonisms and sharpened class struggles that have wracked West Pakistan since the loss of its virtual colony in the East.

In Bangla Desh the Awami League camp followers of the Indian army returned with their provisional government from the safety of Calcutta. Under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman a one-party state has been established although with a parliamentary form. Appeasing the masses with chauvinist demagogy and war-crimes trials, Mujib has emulated his masters in New Delhi with a campaign of repression against all groups left of the pro-Moscow CP. Meanwhile Indian capital is asserting its dominance of the Bengali economy, simply stepping into the shoes of its West Pakistani predecessors.

Thus developments since the war have amply verified the Spartacist League's position and revealed the fruits of the betrayals perpetrated by our opponents on the left. The victors in the two-week war were the Indian bourgeoisie and the Soviet bureaucracy which seeks to use the former in its rivalry with China and the U.S. for influence in South Asia. The real losers were the proletariat and impoverished peasants of the entire subcontinent, condemned to continued slavery in the interests of the tinpot imperialists who oppress and divide them.

Gandhi Cracks Down in India

Frenzied efforts to remove most of the nine million refugees, who had swollen the Calcutta area to four times its normal population, by the time of spring elections in West Bengal made abundantly clear the nature of India's "humanitarian" concern. Families were bribed with sets of aluminum cookware to return to refugee sites in Bangla Desh which did not yet have tents, blankets or sufficient food to maintain them.

Assembly elections in March 1972 returned the Congress Party to power in all but two of the sixteen states, with a majority of over two-thirds in most of the state legislatures. This sweeping victory was a sharp contrast to Congress' loss in 1967 of such key states as West Bengal, Kerala, Bihar, Punjab and Delhi, and the disintegration of the party climaxed by a split in 1969.

Since the Congress split, the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI) has enthusiastically hailed the "New" Congress Party as the representative of the "progressive" national bourgeoisie. Their support complements India's military alliance with the Soviet Union and lends credibility to Mrs. Gandhi's demagogic claims to be building socialism through such "fundamental reforms" as abolition of privy purses for the Maharajahs.

Chauvinist fervor was whipped up by the Congress leaders through the war with Pakistan and, with the aid of a state of emergency declared during the war, used to beat down "disloyal, left-wing elements." In West Bengal where a left-wing electoral bloc, led by the moderate Maoist Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M), posed a significant threat to Gandhi's party, the state of emergency was used to arrest without trial 6,000 leftist election workers in a single week and the forcible evictions, beatings and even murder of thousands of others. The CPI-M, however, had paved the way for its own destruction by its past role in popular front governments in Kerala and West Bengal. By taking stale office on the basis of temporary parliamentary majorities they created illusions of a peaceful road to socialism, while taking responsibility for the administration of the bourgeois state and defense of capitalist property against militant workers and peasants. In West Bengal this meant presiding over the arrests and murders of hundreds of "Naxalite" Maoist youths by the bourgeois police. Now the chickens have come home to roost, as more than 500 CPI-M militants were murdered in 1971 alone by Congress thugs (*Quatrième Internationale*, 15 April 1972).

The Peking-supported Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has essentially been destroyed during the same period as the result of repression in West Bengal, an internal split, and the loss of support among peasants and urban youth. Known as the Naxalites after a peasant rebellion led by CPI(ML) head Charu Mazumdar in the Naxalbari region, they began as a left split from the opportunist CPI-M around 1967. After a period of cohabitation with other more-or-less orthodox Maoists in the All-India Coordinating Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, Mazumdar split again to found the CPI(ML) in 1969 on a program of peasant guerilla warfare. After leading villagers through successive military adventures (notably in the Srikakulam, Naxalbari and Burdwan regions), which left both themselves and the peasant masses defenseless in the face of brutal repression, Mazumdar turned to a policy of rural terrorism ("annihilation of class enemies campaign"). At the 1970 CPI(ML) congress, oppositionists around Kanu Sanyal and Sushatal Roy Choudhuri opposed terrorism, the failure to build mass organizations and Mazumdar's personality cult, eventually leading to a split. Subsequently the Naxalites turned to urban terrorism carried out by hundreds of Calcutta's highly educated, unemployed youth. The split, the arrest of 2,000 CPI(ML) cadre including Mazumdar (murdered in a military hospital), Bengali support for the war against Pakistan, the consequences of their ultra-left tactics and isolation from the combative Calcutta proletariat all combined to destroy the left-Maoists as an organized movement in India.

Landlord Socialism in Pakistan

Following the defeat in Bangla Desh, General Yahya Khan could no longer rule Pakistan with any hope of a stable regime. Universally condemned for its butchery in East Bengal, with 90,000 troops and collaborators in Indian POW camps and the Indian army entrenched in two-thirds of the disputed state of Kashmir, the Pakistani army needed a more popular instrument. Consequently Ali Bhutto, head of the Pakistan Peoples Party and a leading landowner, was appointed civilian martial law administrator. This move headed off the threat of a coup led by disgruntled junior officers and maintained the power of the military High Command.

Bhutto sought to create the illusion of radical change through "nationalization" of ten basic industries after the war. Nationalization, however, took the form of government management, not ownership, thus leaving the profit structure and market system intact, while attempting to make these capitalist firms more efficient. Even this pallid form of nationalization left foreign investments totally untouched and, in the words of the head of the state bank, Ghulam Ishaque Khan:

> "It is significant that Government has opted for a mixed economy and has made it clear that it has no intention of extending its control beyond the industries whose management has already been taken over. These industries account for less than 20% of the organized industries....the need for an energetic and enterprising business class...is as relevant today as it was before."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 16 October 1972

In a similar fashion, Bhutto's arrest of several millionaires and his tirades against "robber barons" had the purpose of pressuring the industrial magnates to keep their wealth in the country and support the new regime. The Bonapartist character of these actions reflects both Bhutto's attempts to dampen the sharpened class struggles and the historical ascendency of the Pakistani military and administrative bureaucracy over the industrial capitalists.

Gandhi

Such calculated pressure on the bourgeoisie stands in sharp contrast to the mailed fist used against the labor movement. The wave of industrial strikes following the war culminated in police assaults on workers' demonstrations and housing colonies that left at least 30 dead. The jails of West Pakistan today hold more left-wing workers and peasants than they did under the military dictatorships of Ayub and Yahya.

The depth of "radical reform" in Pakistan can be gauged by the current budget which allocates $405 million out of a total of $680 million to military expenditures. To this figure must be added $300 million in military aid (including 100 tanks and 60 MiG-19 jet fighters) from the Maoist bureaucracy. Such generosity, consistently extended throughout the genocidal repression in East Bengal, contrasts sharply with the meager dribble of Chinese aid to the North Vietnamese, under attack by American imperialism. In April 1971 Chou En-lai expressed China's shameless support for Yahya's policy of slaughter: "Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan have done a lot of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and to prevent it from moving towards a split."

Mutually threatened by a restive proletariat and peasantry and under imperialist pressure to stabilize the situation, the Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisies were driven to a summit conference little more than six months after the war. This sham "peace" conference at Simla is in reality no more than the expression of a temporary coincidence of the interests of the ruling cliques in New Delhi and Islamabad in maintaining the status quo. Posing as the benevolent victor, Mrs. Gandhi simply asked for recognition of India's hegemony on the sub-continent (recognition of Bangla Desh, acceptance of Indian control over most of Kashmir) from Bhutto. For his part, the Pakistani leader sought the return of POW's or some other concession that would afford him room to maneuver. Despite the mutual enthusing over the results of the conference, the final agreement contained little of substance.

The Chiang Kai-shek of Dacca

By the first week of November 1971 resistance forces in East Bengal had won limited but significant victories against Pakistani troops and controlled about a quarter of the territory. These forces were composed of disparate elements, with three different centers of struggle. The Awami League's army, popularly known as the Mukti Bahini, consisted of armed bands of students and soldiers from the East Pakistan Rifles who left the service of the Pakistanis after the slaughter began on 25 March 1971. The Mukti Bahini strategy consisted in holing up in provincial towns with their rifles and sticks, making them sitting ducks for the Pakistani tanks and planes. A Maoist-oriented National Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee was established in April by most of the far left groups and a number of trade unions and peasant associations. It sought a joint military command with the bourgeois Awami League, but maintained its class independence by default when its offer of collaboration was refused. A third center of struggle was led by orthodox left-Maoists who opposed the "sham liberation struggle" from the beginning, carrying out a two-front battle against the Mukti Bahini and the Pakistani army.

The Gandhi regime moved to take over the Bengali struggle precisely because the left-wing elements were gaining in strength and undercutting the leadership of the Awami League. At the same time, world indignation at the repression in East Bengal provided an opportunity for India to occupy Kashmir, which has been in dispute between India and Pakistan for more than two decades. In the words of one Indian general:

> "We are taking territory and are not ashamed of it. Bangla Desh must simply be ours if it is to remain stable. Some semblance of democracy can be created but no one in Delhi or elsewhere pretends that is the real reason we are here. Bangla Desh will be like Calcutta, which we keep firmly under our thumb from Delhi, with no nonsense of local autonomy."
>
> —*Sunday Times*, 19 December 1971

In the large-scale Indian invasion beginning on 21 November, Lt. Gen. Aurora, commander of India's eastern front, was made commander of the Mukti Bahini, and the Indian armed forces bore the brunt of the fighting. Following an elaborately staged military surrender in Dacca, the Indian generals shipped 90,000 Pakistani POW's to camps in India where they remain to this day.

Bengalis were soon given a foretaste of the real extent of Bangla Desh's "independence" when they received their first news of Mujib's release from a Pakistani prison via a BBC broadcast. Mujib's journey from Rawalpindi to Dacca was made by way of a slight detour through London and New Delhi, where he no doubt declared his independence before receiving instructions from his imperialist masters.

After talks between Mujib and Gandhi in February of last year, the *New York Times* described Bangla Desh as "an independent self-assertive nation eager to cut loose from India" (!), pointing to a section of their joint declaration calling for the withdrawal of Indian occupation forces by 25 March and the Sheikh's opposition to a mutual security treaty which would provide a carte blanche for future military interventions. To the surprise of no one, Indian troops returned to Bangla Desh within a week of their official withdrawal in order to eliminate a group of Miryo tribesmen conducting guerilla raids in the Chittagong area. (The Miryos had long conducted secessionist activities with Pakistani aid.) It soon became apparent that some Indian units in the operation had never even left Bangla Desh. And on 19 March Mujib signed the mutual security pact he had so "firmly" opposed a month earlier.

Perhaps the most blatant example of the subservience of Bangla Desh to the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie is the wholesale integration of the new state's economy with India. In the first weeks after the war, the Indian army dismantled machinery of several factories and shipped it across the border. Since then, widespread smuggling of jute (Bangla Desh's principal export) has developed, amounting to almost 2.5 billion rupees in the first five months of 1972, according to one estimate. Most dramatic of all, perhaps, has been the sale of thousands of tons of relief rice to India by speculators taking advantage of the abolition of all tariffs and duties between Bangla Desh and India and the black market in Bengali currency, thereby depriving millions of refugees of even the miniscule rations they have been subsisting on (originally 400 calories a day, down to 100 calories a day by mid-1972).

In June Bengali officials agreed in Delhi to integrate the Bangla Desh economy into the fifth Indian five-year plan. Indian personnel now staff key ministries in Dacca, while Indian aid to the tune of $275 million has been directed at rebuilding the transportation and communications links needed to accomplish the integration. On the one hand, Bangla Desh will be useful as a protected market for India's high-priced industrial production; on the other hand, Bengali natural resources will be utilized to develop fertilizer and paper manufacturing, sorely needed

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Mujib journeys from Rawalpindi to Dacca via London

by India's economy. And in the long run, lacking sufficient internal sources of capital and a real bourgeoisie, Bangla Desh can hope to develop only with substantial infusions of Indian and Western capital, thereby reinforcing its position as a client state.

Internally the rule of Sheikh Mujib (who has been aptly nicknamed "Chiang Kai-shek") is none too stable. A U.N. report last May observed that: "Bangla Desh has been surviving on a knife edge.... A landless laborer in full-time employment can just about survive providing he has only one wife and child...[However,] no landless laborer is ever in full-time employment and most have over five children" (*New York Times*, 28 May 1972). With widespread corruption, staggering inflation (prices of some foods rose by 200 to 400% by late summer) and close to 200,000 registered unemployed in the capital alone, popular protests have increased. A protest rally on 4 April drew some 50,000 participants.

Mujib's answer has been a virulent personality cultism, paternalistic appeals for trust and promises from the masses that they will not ask anything of him for three years—and repression. On 31 March he warned that he had given the police orders to "shoot down anyone engaged in creating confusion or trouble, in particular so-called Naxalites and those disseminating anti-Indian propaganda" (*Intercontinental Press*, 17 April 1972). In several regions Awami League goon squads, the Lal Bahini, have beaten and killed thousands of oppositionists. In addition, the government has tried various means of closing down leftist newspapers, notably the arrest or murder of the leaders of virtually every group to the left of the pro-Moscow CP. At the end of May Mujib issued an executive order banning strikes and "unfair labor practices" (which include "compulsion or attempts to compel an employer or any officer or employee of the employer to sign any memorandum of settlement or agreement"), with punishment of five years' imprisonment (*Workers Press*, 30 May 1972).

These are the realities of Bangla Desh "independence." *This* is the meaning of giving "critical" support to the Indian army's "liberation" of East Bengal. Defend this, if you will, comrades of the SWP and Workers League/Socialist Labour League, for these are the fruits of this "liberation"!

The Left in Bangla Desh

The dominant political force in Bangla Desh today is, of course, the bourgeois nationalist Awami League. From its birth it has represented the minor government officials, teachers, shopowners of East Bengal as a reactionary petty-bourgeois party. When its founder H.S. Suhrawardy was premier of Pakistan from 1956 to 1958 he distinguished himself by supporting the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt, later switching over to support of U.S. imperialism as the latter asserted its dominance in Asia. After his death in 1963, the party was taken over by Mujibur Rahman who transformed it into the champion of Bengali autonomy. The key demands of the Awami League's 1965 "Six-Point Program" were a separate currency for East Bengal (to prevent the Karachi government from siphoning off the foreign exchange from jute exports), and a Bengali militia—demands which in no way benefit the oppressed masses but very certainly represent the interests of the upper levels of the petty-bourgeoisie.

The most conservative of the groups on the Bengali left today, the Soviet-line Communist Party of Bangla Desh (led by Moni Singh) and the pro-Moscow National Awami Party of Muzzafar Ahmed, have made a standing policy of "left" support to the Awami League. This went as far as membership in a "National Liberation Front" with the Mukti Bahini during 1971. Recently the CPBD called on "all patriotic people to help implement the nationalization program and other progressive measures taken by the government towards the establishment of socialism" (*Workers Press*, 7 June 1972). Its youth group came out on top of the Awami League's student organization in the May elections at leading universities, and the CPBD's influence will undoubtedly increase as Soviet aid flows in, especially as this aid is concentrated on building up the army.

The various Maoist forces in Bangla Desh all originated in the Awami League itself. In addition to the pro-imperialist leadership around Suhrawardy and Mujib, the League also embraced a populist tradition centering on the 90-year old veteran peasant leader, Maulana Bhashani. At the 1957 party conference, Bhashani broke with the leadership over Suhrawardy's support of the Suez invasion, splitting away to form the National Awami Party. This amorphous group functioned as an umbrella organization of the left with a heterogeneous pro-Peking majority. This meant that, because of Ayub Khan's marriage of convenience with Mao and Co., the NAP considered the rapacious ruling clique in Rawalpindi as having "certain anti-imperialist features." This placed them in a compromised position before the Bengali masses, allowing Mujib to demagogically appear as the only consistent opponent of the Pakistani military dictatorship, and thereby diverting the masses' protests into narrow chauvinist nationalism. Moreover, the various Maoist groups (including the NAP) boycotted the December 1970 elections, which enabled the Awami League to win 98% of the vote and establish total political hegemony in the East.

Confronted by the depth of the mass movement for independence, these moderate Maoists have managed to tag along behind without ever being able to seize the initiative from Mujib and his cronies. Typical of their attitude was their unsuccessful attempt to set up a joint military command with the Mukti Bahini in 1971. Since the war Bhashani has led several mass protests against corruption, Indian domination and repression, but always carefully avoiding a break with the Awami League government. Thus a student leader of the NAP declared: "We believe all parties should be in the government. We all fought for liberation. Results of the 1970 election no longer are valid" (*New York Times*, 28 March 1972). Thus at the same time the Lal Bahini are murdering NAP militants, Bhashani calls for a coalition government!

By 1969-70 the largest organized group inside the NAP was the moderate Maoist East Bengal Communist Party led by Abdul Matin and Tipu Biswas. With perhaps 2,000 militants it was strong among Rajshahi and Pabna peasants, as well as among workers in the key port city of Chittagong. The EBCP earlier than other "Maoists" broke with the Chinese to support demands for Bengali self-determination. In fact the first shots of the war were fired at Chittagong dock workers who refused to unload supplies for the Pakistani army. During the 1971 marauding by the West Pakistanis, Biswas led a somewhat successful guerilla operation in the Pabna area, harrassing and finally destroying the local garrison and distributing arms to the local population.

Following the Indian invasion, the party (now called the Banglar Communist Party) capitulated to the cultism around Mujibur Rahman and called for support to the Awami League government. This has done them little good as the Lal Bahini and army do their best to smash the BCP. Matin has been arrested and Biswas was murdered in a wave of killings around Pabna. The BCP, however, controls the left-wing Sramik (Workers') Federation which has retained support of significant sections of the working class as the Awami League government grows increasingly unpopular. While appearing to stand to the left of the NAP leadership, they are campaigning for the elections this March in alliance with Bhashani who, as mentioned above, calls for a coalition government with Mujib.

The most significant left-Maoist group in Bangla Desh is the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Marxist-Leninist), formally aligned with the CPI(ML). Led by Muhammad Toha, former head of the Workers' Federation, it alone of all the left groups rejected Bengali self-determination, favoring unity of Pakistan. (One section of their Indian comrades went so far as to give full support to the policies of Yahya Khan, whom they described as the Sihanouk of South Asia, a compliment when falling from Maoist lips!) Consequently, of all the groups the CPEP(ML) was the most disoriented

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...PL

movements that do not openly proclaim socialism as a goal" ("Revolutionaries Must Fight Nationalism," *PL*, August 1969). This is no longer a Stalinist position, for in Stalin's efforts to strangle the world revolution the rhetoric of "revolutionary" nationalists was invaluable. The Chinese CP was crushed by Stalin's policy of subordination to Chiang Kai-shek; even in the fake-militant "Third Period" Stalin sought to divide the U.S. proletariat by calling for a black nation in the American South.

PL's gut-level and belated recognition of the pernicious role of nationalist ideology in suppressing the basic class antagonisms could be only partial and distorted. Although the rejection of nationalism and the "two-stage" theory was a step toward Trotskyism (we termed it "Trotskyism with a prefrontal lobotomy" at the time), PL's left turn carried it past Leninism to latter-day Luxemburgism as PL refused to recognize the right of nations to self-determination. At the same time, PL continued to support "socialism in one country," Mao, Stalin, etc.

This contradictory situation could not last. Bill Epton, one of the founders of PL, broke away in the direction of black nationalism; orthodox Maoist-Stalinist groups (such as the Revolutionary Union) grew; and above all Mao topped off his usual Stalinist policies of class collaboration with the likes of Sihanouk, Bandaranaike and Ayub Khan by extending his hand to Nixon.

"Road to Revolution III"

For PL, the result was "Road to Revolution III," an amazing document in which PL denounced not just Mao and Stalin, but Trotsky, Lenin, Engels and Marx and the very fundamentals of Marxism itself. Instead, PL counterposed the heroic masses of the Paris Commune and China's "Cultural Revolution."

"RR III" is characterized by a systematic idealism. According to PL: what restored capitalism in the Soviet Union was Khrushchev's speech to the 20th Party Congress; the level of development of productive forces is irrelevant to the construction of socialism, and peasants are just rural workers (thus socialism should have been possible in ancient Egypt, if only Milt Rosen instead of Moses had been chosen to lead the peasants out of bondage!); "the masses are more important than weapons and can defeat any imperialist war, including nuclear war"; material incentives are impermissible in a workers state (in which case PL's cherished call for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is only a betrayal, since the demand should be for communism now). PL generalizes its idealism by claiming simply: "Historical development depends on the ideas that the various classes hold. . . . Marxism does not hold that economic law rules political struggle. It is the other way around. . . ." ("Strengths and Weaknesses of the International Communist Movement," *PL*, November 1972). This one-sided "theory" challenges the materialist premise that it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but rather their social existence that determines their consciousness.

A consistent thread in PL's wanderings is eclecticism, an inability to go beyond surface appearances and make a Marxist analysis of the underlying contradictions. Black nationalists seem militant and anti-establishment? Then PL supports "revolutionary" nationalism. Black nationalists push blatant anti-communism? Then PL "discovers" that nationalism is reactionary. Mao seems militant, attacking Khrushchev and Liu? Fine, PL supports Mao wholeheartedly. But Mao crushes the Red Guard, aids the butchers Khan and Bandaranaike, makes deals with Nixon? Well then, Mao is the leading revisionist and, surprise, he has been all along.

Dictatorship of the Peasantry?

The treatment of the peasant question in "RR III" is a good example of PL's eclecticism. Observing that peasant revolutions have succeeded in overthrowing capitalism in China, Cuba and Vietnam, PL concludes that peasants are really workers. "We believe that virtually all of the world's peasants and oppressed peoples are proletarianized" ("Road to Revolution III," *PL*, November 1972). "There is no necessary qualitative difference between urban and rural workers, neither 'objectively' nor 'subjectively'" ("Strengths and Weaknesses. . . "). This is opposed to the whole Marxist tradition, from the statement in the *Communist Manifesto* onwards, that the proletariat is the *only* consistently revolutionary class. PL takes the position of the Russian populists who held (against Plekhanov, Engels and Lenin) that the peasants could build socialism.

Lenin's slogan of the "worker-peasant alliance," basing itself on the uneven development of world capitalism, called for a uniting of the workers' insurrection against capitalism with a vast peasant uprising aimed at destroying the last vestiges of feudalism ("land to the tiller"), by establishing the dictatorship of the *proletariat*. This was the program of the Russian Revolution of 1917, and it is in this sense that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution speaks of the "dictatorship of the proletariat leaning on the peasantry." Subsequently the workers (urban and rural) would ally with the poorest sectors of the peasantry in the struggle for collectivization.

Today in some of the more developed backward countries, capitalism has itself eliminated the feudal content of production relations in the countryside. Thus the latter alliance, on a socialist program and only with the lowest segments of the petty bourgeoisie, is appropriate. However, even in this case any alliance must be firmly led by the proletariat, particularly the urban industrial proletariat; it requires a *split* in the peasantry (rather than peasants magically "becoming" rural workers), with the poorest peasants rejecting their petty-bourgeois class interests and adopting those of the proletariat. PL simply wishes to dissolve the petty bourgeoisie into the working class with a few drops of ink.

PL is right in one respect—the slogan of a worker-peasant alliance *has* been used to subordinate the interests of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, but not by Lenin and Trotsky. It was *Stalin* who demanded that the Chinese CP prostrate itself before Chiang Kai-shek in the interests of the "worker-peasant alliance," the "bloc of four classes" and the theory of a two-stage revolution; it was *Stalin and the Mensheviks* who called for critical support to the bourgeois provisional government in 1917. Lenin's famous "April Theses," the platform of the Russian Revolution, called for the dictatorship of the proletariat. As for Mao, he did his very best to avoid revolution, time after time offering Chiang a coalition government. Only Chiang's obtuseness forced the Chinese CP to struggle for power in its own right; only the incredible corruption of Kuomintang rule, the temporary weakness of U.S. imperialism and the absence of an independent workers movement permitted his success. It was the same in Cuba and Vietnam.

NEW LEFT NOTES

While PL was in its left phase, SDS drew the class line against liberals and New Left, yet failed to transcend simple economism, exemplified by the CWSA campaign.

CHALLENGE

Infantile Ultra-Leftism

The key to "Road to Revolution III" seems to be the argument that any concessions to self-determination amount to support for the bourgeoisie. The main source of errors of the "old communist movement" is defined as "Lenin's national liberation strategy." If Marx advocated independence for Ireland; if Lenin said Rosa Luxemburg's opposition to the right of Polish self-determination played into the hands of the Russian bourgeoisie; if Trotsky argued that only through the dictatorship of the proletariat can the tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation be accomplished—then, according to PL, it is because they were all opportunists, calling for a two-stage revolution and a "better capitalism"!

Marxists speak on behalf of the proletariat, which according to the *Communist Manifesto* is the first class in history that can achieve its own emancipation only by liberating all the oppressed. As Lenin put it, the communist must be the tribune of the people. We support the right of self-determination for oppressed nations in order to eliminate a poisonous source of friction between workers of different countries, to clear the path to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to respond to the reality of national oppression. Yes, in some cases this could involve giving military support to a bourgeois nationalist movement struggling against imperialism. But at the same time we struggle above all to win the working class to the internationalist perspective of proletarian revolution, mobilizing the workers independently of the sellout nationalist fakers.

Authentic Leninists and Trotskyists *never* advocate a "national liberation strategy" or two-stage theory of revolution. We do point out to those sincerely fighting for national emancipation that in the era of moribund capitalism, bourgeois nationalists will simply end up substituting the domination of one imperialist overlord for another (the example of Bangla Desh), and that real independence will be possible only by struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, for socialist revolution.

Materialism, the peasant question, self-determination—these are not abstract questions; they are matters of life and death in the real world. The Spartacist League has for years exposed the Soviet Union's betrayal of the indochinese revolution by our demand for massive Soviet aid to North Vietnam, including the most advanced weapons, in defense against U.S. imperialism. PL, on the other hand, calls on Vietnamese revolutionaries to reject this aid (no unity with the revisionists and, of course, the will of the people is more powerful than technology). Thus PL wishes Vietnamese peasants and workers to fight U.S. B-52's with bamboo spears and rifles! This is madness. As Lenin said of the ultra-lefts of his day, who opposed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in 1918 (PL opposes

CLASS SERIES

Building the Revolutionary Party

The Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth are sponsoring a class series at UCLA during the winter quarter. Critical examination of the increasing inter-imperialist rivalry; the crisis of revolutionary leadership; the vanguard party, its program and tasks are the primary discussion points.

The series will run for nine weeks beginning on THURSDAY, 25 JANUARY in Rolfe Hall 2106 (UCLA) from 7:30 to 10:30 p. m. For more information, call 467-6855.

LOS ANGELES

it, too): "The revolution that took these people seriously would perish irrevocably (and deservedly)" (V.I. Lenin, "Left Wing Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality" [1918], *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 340. This short pamphlet is an excellent refutation in advance of many of PL's current views).

Take the question of the "restoration" of capitalism in the so-called "socialist" states. As Trotskyists, we hold that North Vietnam is a deformed workers state, run by a parasitic bureaucratic caste but based on nationalized means of production, state planning, state control of banking and foreign trade, smashing of the bourgeois state. PL says North Vietnam is capitalist, because its leaders have revisionist ideas. The consequences of this seeming terminological dispute? The Spartacist League calls for the *unconditional* defense of North Vietnam against U.S. imperialism, while at the same time calling for a political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy which daily attempts to sell out the heroic struggle of the workers and peasants.

But the only principled position PL could take is to call for revolutionary *defeatism*—i.e., PL must be indifferent as to who wins in this war between what they consider to be two capitalist states (remember, even defending national independence is a sellout). But of course this is not a popular stand; when pressed, PL cadre will argue that of course they defend the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism, without defending the state. The position is absurd and, moreover, this is the same excuse which the German and French social democrats gave for voting war credits in World War I—they were only defending the workers! If North Vietnam is the capitalist state PL claims it is, PL's shamefaced defensism is a betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

In breaking with its own Maoist and Stalinist past, Progressive Labor has proceeded to overthrow Marxism: "The old communist movement, led by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, is dead as a revolutionary force" ("Strengths and Weaknesses..."). But communists adhere to Marxism not out of some bizarre necromancy or quasi-religious fanaticism, but because it is the scientific doctrine which enables us to come up with correct answers to the problems revolutionaries face in organizing the socialist revolution. When Progressive Labor rejects the essential conclusions and method of Marxism, it can only lead to more "mistakes"—and it is the workers who will pay the price.

PL's Plunge to the Right

Forced to recognize that infantile ultra-leftism will not win over the masses, PL reacted with a pronounced turn to the right, first evident in the anti-war movement. In the summer 1971 NPAC conference the Spartacist League gave support to PL's motions demanding the exclusion of the bourgeoisie, a measure the SL has consistently called for since 1965. At the July 1971 NPAC meeting PL and the SL were physically expelled for booing down U.S. Senator Vance Hartke. But by fall 1971 PL was no longer fighting for the exclusion of the class enemy, and supported the semi-annual peace crawl provided it got a speaker.

On the campuses PL/SDS has placed exclusive emphasis on a liberal campaign against racist textbooks and professors. This policy, fostering the illusion that racist ideology is the product of a few evil reactionaries and mad scientists rather than the attempted justification for the material oppression of black workers which is endemic to capitalism, compelled the walkout of SL/RCY supporters from SDS at the spring 1972 SDS conference. As we stated in our leaflet:

> "The main thrust of any strategy against racial oppression must be against unemployment and lumpenization and for uniform black integration into the labor force.... The struggle against both racial oppression and white racist attitudes is necessarily linked to the struggle of the working class as a whole against capitalism and to the destruction of bourgeois society."
> —"Out of the Classroom and into the Class Struggle!" 30 March 1972

This last summer PL/SDS took its liberal strategy to its logical conclusion by calling on the parties of big capital to eliminate racism! "SDS is taking the following bill to the Democratic Convention in Miami to demand it be accepted as a platform," announced a *New Left Notes* flyer ("Indict the U.S. Gov't for Racist Acts, Genocide," June 1972).

On the question of elections PL had always taken the simplistic leftist position of abstentionism on principle. But now that it was asking the Democrats to ban racism, SDS could hardly ignore the liberal McGovern supporters on campus. So instead of condemning this bourgeois politician and campaigning against him, the 26 June 1972 issue of *New Left Notes* took a "balanced" view, printing one article for McGovern, one against and one neutral!

SDS's policy was only the top of the iceberg. A recent PL internal bulletin contained an "Election Report" which urged: "Before, during and after the Democratic convention try to build unity on issues with forces inside reform movements tied to electioneering. ... Raise 30 for 40 resolutions before reform organizations, including Democrats." A "discussion paper" entitled "Elections: A Reform Struggle Worth PL's Involvement" was even clearer:

> "The Party maintained a purist and therefore sectarian attitude towards both the McCarthy and the 1968 Kennedy campaign.... we weren't flexible enough to stay in touch and work with the masses at this crucial time in their political development.... The party must recognize the differences which exist within the bourgeois electoral movements if it is to win friends from it.... We must get into electoral work—really make a serious effort to get involved in this area of reform struggle when the masses choose this way of fighting against the war, unemployment, and racism."

PL paid a price for its gross conciliation to rightist elements; unable to protect its right flank, PL lost several prominent supporters on both Coasts, some of whom helped form "Grass Roots for McGovern" in the Boston area.

Playing a part in McGovern's inroads into PL was PL's chronic inability to draw the class line. Unable to understand the phenomenon of reformism within the working-class movement, PL simplistically lumped union bureaucrats and organizations like the SWP in the same camp with the bosses (and incidently provided a justification for outbursts of PL physical gangsterism against the SWP and others). Such a line was of course constantly running up against reality, leading PL to capitulate to union bureaucrats whenever it found it could not simply wish away the workers' inexplicable allegiance to its established leaders. Unable to draw the class line, PL explicitly proclaimed in "RR III" that there was really no difference between a *united front* (of working-class organizations) and a *popular front* (with the bourgeoisie). Thus PL's formal theories provided it with nothing but an inarticulate class instinct which recoiled from but was unable to explain why joining the McGovern movement is any different from, for example, membership in a reformist trade union.

"30 for 40"

For the workers, PL has its "30 for 40" campaign, led by the single-issue Workers Action Movement. In this campaign PL/WAM has bodily lifted the demand for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay from the Trotskyist "Transitional Program" (which first called for a sliding scale of wages and hours 35 years ago) and plastered it mechanically across the front page of *Challenge*. But the manner in which PL agitates around this *transitional* demand is openly and cravenly reformist. In the propaganda of the Spartacist League, we point out that capitalism cannot provide full employment on a permanent basis and thus the demand is unwinnable in any real sense without going beyond the limits of capitalism. We link "30 for 40" with demands for workers' control of industry, for expropriation of the key sectors of the economy (without compensations), for a workers party and a workers government. In other words, we raise the demand in a revolutionary context, building a bridge between the workers' felt needs of today and the program of socialist revolution.

For PL "30 for 40" is simply a "better" reform demand, which is why they isolate it, similar to the way Mandel, of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat treats the demand for "workers' control." In its pamphlet on "30 for 40" PL utters a few abstract pious words about socialism, but in plant gate leaflets it wallows in its reformism: "We should build this defensive fight for job security now into an offensive fight that will

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"Sterilize Shockley"—Now PL/SDS concentrates on liberal campaign against racist professors, ignoring class struggle and fundamental needs of black masses.

Defend Mongo Smith

"Mongo" Smith, a young black militant and chairman of the Los Angeles branch of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), youth group of the Communist Party, has been arrested on narcotics charges in a clear case of political repression. Smith was arrested while handing out leaflets protesting the murder of two Baton Rouge students by police. When in police custody, he was questioned at length about the activities of the YWLL, and was asked to become a paid police informer against the left—an offer which he refused. Smith was charged with having sold narcotics to an undercover agent almost two months earlier. The YWLL has a position against narcotics use by its members.

Smith had been chairman of Community Task Force Against Police Brutality, which was formed to defend two black youths against phony charges of "assaulting an officer," growing out of an incident in which one of the youths was shot in the back by a cop. The group succeeded in obtaining an open investigation which resulted in the dropping of charges against the youth who was shot. The police are always anxious to "get" anyone who successfully exposes their crimes.

The Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth participated in the Mongo Smith Defense Committee, despite our severe differences with the CP/YWLL. Smith's arrest was part of the ruling-class assault against the left—Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, Baton Rouge students, Venceremos—which must be combatted by every left and working-class organization. These attacks are part of the Nixon government's attempts to crack down on all forms of dissidence, in order to discipline the labor movement and prepare for the prosecution of new imperialist wars. Differences between political groups cannot be suppressed in the name of an artificial "unity," but they can only be resolved *within* the working-class movement, and on the basis of class solidarity against the bourgeoisie.

It was in this spirit that the SL/RCY approached the defense of Mongo Smith. While actively involved in the defense efforts, the SL/RCY published a leaflet, "Free Mongo Smith! Free All Political Prisoners!" which included criticism of the CP/YWLL policy of blocs with class-collaborationist labor leaders and opportunist capitulation to nationalism. After requesting that the SL/RCY withdraw its leaflet from circulation—which we refused to do—the YWLL leadership expelled the SL/RCY from the defense committee at the next meeting. Although the SL/RCY was the only organization besides the CP/YWLL in the committee and constituted about half the working body, the SL/RCYers were forcibly excluded from the meeting.

At an anti-war rally a week earlier, the CP had been upset by an SL banner reading "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" which the CP considered an offense to the Vietnamese (who "weren't fighting for that"!) and "divisive," since it would alienate the liberals in the movement. Yet the CP does not consider it divisive to expel militants from a class defense organization because they express criticisms of the CP! Thus the CP's concept of "unity" consists not in presenting a united face to the bourgeoisie, but in suppressing political differences within the movement so as not to alienate the bourgeoisie. The working class cannot defend itself in this manner; it must be able to unite under attack despite internal differences. The sectarianism of the CP/YWLL can only weaken the struggle to defend their own comrade; the Mongo Smith Defense Committee must be open to all socialist militants and workers.

The SL/RCY does not make prior political agreement a precondition for our defense of working-class militants against repression. The overriding class interest in putting a halt to victimizations such as that being perpetrated on Mongo Smith by the Los Angeles police is a fundamental principle. We urge all militants to actively defend Mongo Smith. This blatant ruling-class attempt to intimidate young black and working-class militants with the example of his persecution must be defied and defeated through true class solidarity!

Send letters of support and contributions to:

"Mongo" Smith Defense Committee
326 West 3rd Street, Room 318
Los Angeles, California 90013

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...Bangla Desh

by the 1971 events. On the one hand they characterized the fight for East Bengali independence as simply "a counter-revolutionary struggle" from the outset, even before it was decisively subordinated to Indian expansionism. Thus in a sectarian fashion they ignored the real national oppression of Bengali workers and peasants. But on the other hand, with Tikka Khan's bayonets and his Chinese tanks staring them in the face they were forced to fight or literally be wiped out. As the organ of the CPI(ML) put it:

> "Thus the Pakistani ruling classes, which had been opposing the U.S.-Soviet global war-strategy in this part of Asia because of their contradiction with the Indian expansionists,...did not distinguish the broad masses of the people and a handful of enemy agents, and did not try to win over the masses. Instead, because of their basic contradiction with the people, they went on committing unspeakable brutalities on the people, roused their bitterest hatred, drove most of them into the camp of the enemy....*The revolutionaries in East Pakistan could not ratty behind the Yahya government, for support to the Yahya government meant liquidation of the class struggle and support to the rabid anti-people policies pursued by Yahya's army, Razakars and die-hard feudal elements, though, at the same time, they realized that the main aspect of the situation was the conspiracy of the imperialists, the social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists. The call for a united front between the Yahya government and the Marxist-Leninist Party...was futile...*" [our emphasis]
>
> —"Report on the Revolutionary Armed Struggle in East Bengal," *Liberation*, July 1971-January 1972, p. 15

Again by default the CPEP(ML) too was unable to sell out to a section of the bourgeoisie, but oh how they tried! (Even this was not enough for a section of the party which split to support the right of Bengali self-determination.) The CPEP(ML) did carry out a two-front war against the Awami League and the Pakistani army with some limited success during 1971. They were defeated in Jessore and Khulna by the Mukti Bahini in October and November, but were able to hold onto a base area in Noakhali district (Toha's home turf) until mid-December, after the Indian invasion. More recently they have suffered from Mujib's repression, with the arrest of 46 "Naxalites," presumably CPEP(ML)-ers, in Khulna last June, and the arrest of Toha, because of "lying about the government" and "maligning India and the Soviet Union" in their paper.

Bangla Desh and Permanent Revolution

Thus, in sum, the entire Bengali left, from the most moderate to the extreme left, have utterly failed to give leadership to the masses of workers and impoverished peasants. The fundamental cause for this dismal failure is their collective adherence to one or another version of the Stalinist/Menshevik theory of a two-stage revolution, in which the proletariat allies itself with the "national bourgeoisie" during the "first" stage, the "democratic revolution." Under whatever name, this "bloc of four classes," "new democracy" or "non-capitalist road to development" is class collaboration and amounts to the indefinite postponement of the socialist revolution. Trotsky's conception of a permanent revolution—in which the proletariat leading the exploited strata of the peasantry carries through both democratic and socialist tasks without interruption—stands in sharp contrast to Stalinist and Maoist reformism.

Likewise, failure to grasp that the working class must *lead* the peasantry, that the former is the *only* consistently revolutionary class, on which revolutionaries must therefore base themselves, is the root of the adventurist policies of left-Maoist formations like India's Naxalites. An international Leninist party, based on the Marxist theory of permanent revolution, would have maintained the class independence of the workers' movement, warning the masses of the betrayals of the petty-bourgeois nationalists, instead of desperately trying to sell out to Mujib or Yahya Khan *as did every single ostensibly revolutionary organization in East Bengal*. This is the lesson which revolutionaries must draw from the tragic events in Bangla Desh.

Trotskyists understand that in the epoch of imperialist decline the nascent bourgeois classes of the colonial countries are unable to carry through the basic democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution—namely national unity and independence, bourgeois democracy and agrarian revolution—because of their own weakness economically and their fear of revolution from below. Inevitably, the bourgeois nationalists therefore end up aligned with the most reactionary domestic forces and one or another imperialist power in order to avoid at all costs the mobilization of the working masses which could threaten not just colonialism, but bourgeois rule itself. Only a proletarian revolution can complete the democratic revolution in backward countries, and in doing so it must immediately come into conflict with the forces of international capital (e.g., the power of the banks which oppose any agrarian revolution), thereby leading directly to socialist tasks.

To the extent that these "colonial" or "national" bourgeoisies actually do struggle against imperialism for limited aims which coincide with the interests of the working masses, it is principled for a proletarian party to give *military* support, while always maintaining complete organizational independence and lending no political support to the bourgeois forces (such as a popular front). Such a policy of "revolutionary defensism" was correct in the early months of the struggle in East Bengal, to the point that this struggle was transformed into nothing more than a pawn in the rivalry of India and Pakistan for control of the sub-continent. But after that point, to call for the victory of the Awami League forces over Pakistan could only lend a left cover to India's expansionist plans. Of course, military aid is a separate question, since there is nothing unprincipled about accepting limited aid from a temporarily opposing bourgeoisie. But this is quite different from the complete subordination of the national struggle to the imperialist plans of a new set of bourgeois masters—which is precisely what happened in Bangla Desh.

In practice this means quite concretely that a section of the revolutionary party in East Bengal, while upholding the right to Bengali self-determination, would have attacked both the Pakistani army and the Indian/Awami League forces, concentrating on mobilizing the proletariat in its own class interests, while allying with exploited sections of the peasantry in the interests of agrarian revolution and real national independence. Indian comrades would raise the slogan that "the main enemy is at home" and advocate fraternization with their class brothers in the Pakistani army. The Pakistanis would likewise call for the defeat of their own army and international class solidarity, but would have special re-

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...PL

win job security for years to come: 'Thirty for Forty in '73,' 'Better, Earlier Retirement'" ("Strike in January," December 1972). Meanwhile, *Challenge* (14 December 1972) boasts that West Coast PL is pushing "to put a charter amendment on the ballot for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay in the city of San Francisco in 1973." As the Bay Area Spartacist League said of this electoral quackery in a recent leaflet:

> "WAM calls on workers to put their faith in and work through the bourgeois democratic system of the ruling class—to 'vote in' a shorter work week. The projected amendment is not only ludicrous, but politically dangerous as well, giving to the local bourgeois government legal powers it does not presently possess, such as the right to determine the work week, abrogate union bargaining agreements, etc... The whole history of the labor movement's struggles against the attacks of the ruling class...can lead only to one unalterable conclusion: the government will only intervene in unions today in order to *smash* them tomorrow." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Electoral Reform vs. Class Struggle," 20 November 1972

PL is also using its reformist "30 for 40" campaign to sidle up to aspiring bureaucrats in the labor movement. Thus it endorses the reformist, career-ist United National Caucus in the UAW: "'Thirty for Forty' could unify more workers than any other demand. This campaign will be spear-headed by the UNC and allied groups and individuals from a number of plants, including... Jordan Sims..." (*Challenge*, 1 May 1972). PL doesn't bother to tell its readers Sims is a demagogic career-ist, that UNC leaders dropped their program at the UAW convention in order to focus on the bogus election-by-referendum campaign. Similarly, PL's election day "30 for 40" rally gave enthusiastic coverage to Dennis Serrette, vice-president of CWA Local 1101, and Nat Williams, vice-president of SSEU Local 371, and included N.Y. State Senator Sydney Von Luther, an aspiring Adam Clayton Powell-type black Democrat, as one of the demonstration's sponsors. "RR III" claims that the left-center coalition strategy is a "united front from below," but the "30 for 40" campaign shows once again that sectarianism is just opportunism standing in fear of its own shadow. In its "left" periods PL refuses to ally with anyone, going so far as to argue against participation in the unions (around the time of the 1970 auto strike). But in its right swings PL shamelessly chases the bureaucrats.

PL at the Crossroads

A right turn of such proportions is bound to result in demoralization when it fails to bring the expected masses of recruits. In recent months—while the Spartacist League and also several centrist organizations have experienced rapid growth—sympathizers and members have been dropping away from PL in large numbers. Now the crisis is affecting some of PL's long-time cadres. It was this situation which prompted Rosen to go on his recent cheerleading tour. But the PL leadership, armed only with impressionism, finds itself unable to cope with a crisis whose cause is political bankruptcy. Rosen had to fall back on petty-bourgeois moralizing:

> "*The fight for revolution transcends all other important things*. It is more important than getting married, more important than having children, more important than having a job or getting a degree. Not that these things aren't important. Obviously they are. But the fight for workers power is *most important*....it would seem to me that to be a good parent, friend, and devoted to your entire family would require *the highest commitment to your class*.... No, to be a good parent means being a *staunch fighter for your class*." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"The Struggle for Socialism—A Matter of Life and Death," *PL*, January 1973

We have known for years that PL considered the family a fighting unit for socialism, but now it seems the party has become a fighting unit for the family!

This substitution of moralism for program is the only recourse of an organization which substitutes idealism for Marxism and perpetual sharp line shifts for the historic interests of the proletariat. Blocked off by the CP and SWP from finding a niche as the dominant party of American reformism, PL can only play a pathetic and episodic role on the stage of history, ultimately disappearing and dragging a certain number of potential revolutionaries down with it.

If PL's subjectively serious cadres are not to be simply dissipated, they must be regrouped around the banner of authentic Trotskyism, the only program which provides a consistent revolutionary answer to the decisive questions which are tearing PL apart. In the past, PL has been able to insulate its supporters from much of the impact of criticism from the left by an implicit two-stage theory of organization which allowed it to pose itself as a hard communist party while at the same time pushing outright reformism in so-called "mass organizations," from the unions to SDS. This schizophrenic approach allowed PL to conciliate union bureaucrats and academic liberals without noticing the resulting tarnish on its own "revolutionary" credentials: to press for minimum reform demands in the unions under the rubric of the "left-center coalition"; to insist, when confronted by Spartacist League supporters in SDS, that SDS should not be a socialist organization, but rather a "mass organization" orienting to non-socialist, even liberal, students.

This line of reasoning is apparent in Rosen's speech:

> "In this period, our party has estimated that what is vital to build this center [a revolutionary party], in addition to open socialist agitation, is to launch mass movements for '30 for 40,' and against racist ideology and its manifestations on and off campuses. We have deduced for many reasons (which we have spoken of at other times) that this is the next step in the class struggle. We deem it crucial for the workers' lives, and our own, that we try to launch these movements. Eventually we will win the leadership of the mass movements."

Thus, the job of communists is not to fight at all times for communist leadership of formations engaged in struggle, but to build "mass movements" which are implicitly understood as *reformist*. Operating in the vacuum of Stalinist "theoretical" tradition and therefore rejecting transitional demands in favor of the old Menshevik/Stalinist concept of the "minimum/maximum" program, PL, as "the party," gets a monopoly on the "maximum" program; everything else must embody the "minimum."

If PL's subjectively communist elements are to play any part in building the party of the proletariat in this country, they can do so only by transcending this typically Stalinist alternation between outright reformism and "Third Period" ultimatism in favor of authentic Marxism-Leninism, i.e., Trotskyism. ■

FORUM

The Origins of World War III

Speaker:
JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League

SUNY, CAPEN HALL, RM. 140
Thursday, FEBRUARY 8, 8 p.m.
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sponsibility to emphasize the right of East Bengal to secede. Only such a policy could have undercut the rampant national chauvinism inflamed by the war and manipulated by all sides to maintain bourgeois rule in the sub-continent. This was the approach taken by the Bolsheviks when the legitimate demand for an independent Poland became subordinated to the inter-imperialist rivalry of Germany and Russia in World War I. (See "War, Revolution and Self-Determination," *Workers Vanguard* No. 4, January 1972.)

Like the Russian proletariat in 1917, the workers of the Indian sub-continent, although a small part of the total population, carry a decisive social weight through their high degree of organization, class consciousness and militancy, as well as their central role in the urban centers. It was no accident that the first shots of the war were aimed at dock workers in Chittagong, or that during the army repressions in March 1971 in West Pakistan it was Punjabi workers at Lyallpur who led the way, seizing their factories and hoisting the red flag. Likewise the strike wave that gripped both parts of Pakistan from October 1968 to March 1969, led by the proletariat, pointed the way to a unified class struggle that would lead both to self-determination and socialist revolution throughout the subcontinent.

The independence of the proletariat can only be defended by an uncompromising struggle for the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. It was this that the pseudo-Trotskyists of the SWP and the IC abandoned in their eagerness to capitulate to left-talking nationalists. Today Healy can write: "India has become the guarantor for the good behavior of the new state and has largely taken the place of Pakistan in the economy of the country....A united front has been informally established to prevent revolution in Bangla Desh which runs through Washington, Moscow and Peking and has its fulcrum in New Delhi" (*Workers Press*, 28 June 1972). But what did Healy say when it counted? At a time when the situation demanded a policy of revolutionary defeatism, all Healy could come up with was "critical support to the Indian bourgeoisie." The elephant labored mightily and brought forth...a mouse. ■

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...UNC

box of class collaboration by dropping the labor party demand and any categoric ban on support for bourgeois politicians. These "political" points of the UNC program (labor party, opposition to the war) were never more than window dressing, completely subordinated to the real program of simple trade unionism. The UNC has always welcomed the worst opportunists into its ranks, such as Teresa Carpenter and Mike Singer, who had a special note attached to the 1972 program opposing inclusion of a demand for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Southeast Asia. The January 1973 *UNC* doesn't even mention the war! This treacherous softening of their own program now, in order to attract large numbers of UAW "dissidents" to their conference, is a warning of the more serious betrayals the UNC would undertake once in office in order to gain influence within the limits of capitalism.

UNC–Potential Threat

At present the UNC is not a serious threat because it lacks the serious perspective of a drive for power in the union. This could be accomplished if it were to link up with a well-known careerist such as Paul Schrade, who has been directly and clearly invited to join the caucus on no other basis than the appearance of opposition to the bureaucracy.

Fake left groups such as the Communist Party and the IS see in the UNC the possible embryo for a more "progressive" union leadership. A bloc between such groups and the more far-sighted of the UNC's aspiring careerists could result in driving away the blatant right-wing opportunists such as Dewey, Carpenter and Singer (after all, even Woodcock is willing to verbally oppose the Vietnam war) in order to emerge with a more "militant" facade and pseudo-radical rhetoric to cover over the same trade unionism. Freed of archaic conservatism and rabid anti-communism, and able to disassociate itself from the past policies of the Woodcock machine, such a revitalized bureaucracy could be more flexible than its predecessor, and thereby better able to contain a mass upsurge of the workers and keep it within the bounds acceptable to the capitalists.

A successful power fight by the "transformed" UNC forces against the entrenched Woodcock machine would require the mobilization of the union ranks. The fake lefts like the CP and IS, who are eagerly seeking to create the illusion in the minds of the workers that such a new leadership means the end of the old sellout policies, are actually helping to block the forging of a real alternative leadership—based on a perspective of revolutionary class struggle rather than reformist class collaboration—by the auto workers. For the enormous shake-up in the UAW required to oust the incumbents will not be easily duplicated. If the struggle to replace the entrenched bureaucracy results only in the establishment of another, qualitatively identical bureaucracy, it will be some time before the ranks overcome their disillusionment and demoralization at this new betrayal and again launch a new round of struggles against the capitalists and their labor lieutenants.

Of course, the UNC could also go out of existence in a year through demoralization at its failure to achieve expected rapid growth, or some other reason. One thing, however, is certain: no revolutionary leadership can be built in the UAW at this time except on the basis of implacable struggle to expose and politically destroy the UNC and the "militant" trade unionism upon which it is based. This requires the development of caucuses which are sharply counterposed on all questions not just to the present bureaucracy, but to the trade union-oriented politics and methods of struggle which recreate bureaucracy anew. Only through a struggle for a hard, consistent program, resting on the foundation of the international struggle of the working class, transcending all racial, national, section and trade union boundaries can this be achieved.

Thus a principled caucus must begin with uncompromising opposition to the UAW bureaucracy's support for U.S. imperialism. It must combat protectionism and oppose all wars and imperialist ventures of the U.S. government, not as an expendable afterthought, but as a central core of the program. Nowhere, for instance, has the UNC ever identified its interests with those of the laboring masses of Vietnam in achieving a military victory over U.S. imperialism—an elementary act of basic international class solidarity, despite the politically unsupportable and treacherous NLF/Hanoi leadership.

A revolutionary leadership genuinely seeking to replace trade unionism and the bureaucratism it engenders must also counterpose a political struggle for a workers government to the bureaucracy's support for one wing or another of the capitalist political spectrum. It is not enough to call for a labor party, although the UNC is completely unserious even about this. The program and aims of the labor party must be fundamentally anti-capitalist.

By struggling for a new leadership on the basis of such a program, the struggle within the union will transcend simple trade unionism politically, and give support, through the actions resulting from the general thrust of its program, to the struggle to build a Leninist vanguard party of the working class. The building of such a party is a strategic necessity in order to bring about the seizure of power by the workers, which can alone destroy capitalist exploitation and replace it with socialism. Without such a perspective, opposition to the servile, traitorous union bureaucracy is futile, and inevitably serves only to bring it forth anew. ■

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...CWA

against the MAC, have provided a testing ground for the two counterposed strategies of MAC and the *Bell Wringer*. *Bell Wringer's* opportunist, bureaucratic tail-ending reflects the classic historical role of a social-democratic grouping. Only this latest, most serious attack on MAC's rights has forced a change in *BW*, which has pulled away from a former bureaucratic collaborator in order to make a principled defense of MAC. The previous role of *BW* helped lay the groundwork for the attacks on MAC.

Last summer the *BW* group entered an agreement with Virginia Branning and Bobbie Williams, both appointed stewards who had a fake "militant" posture which they were grooming for the November elections. The *BW* and these two ladder-climbers formed the Committee for Elected Shop Stewards (CESS), even though the MAC was already pushing a by-laws change to get elected shop stewards. Repeatedly MAC warned the *BW* that it was merely building the reputation of aspiring bureaucrats and careerists, but *BW* stuck to its course of refusing to raise the political program which they claimed to have in common with MAC, in order to hold onto their bureaucratic friends. When a MAC speaker was physically threatened on Candidates' Night, neither the *BW* supporters nor CESS rose to defend her. The *BW* joined with the chorus of bureaucrats in denouncing the "irresponsible" nature of MAC's criticism. All this served to embolden the bureaucrats to more serious attacks on the apparently-isolated MAC.

Although *BW* has now committed itself to the defense of MAC against Branning's attack, the political links between *BW* and Branning have never been explained or formally broken, leaving open the possibility for future rotten blocs.

Recounting these experiences is necessary if one is to understand and learn from the false method of a group such as *BW*, which has led its subjectively militant and dedicated supporters to the brink of a disaster threatening the very existence of any real opposition to bureaucratic and reformist union leadership. In trying to balance between the needs of the workers and the pressure of the company, such "leadership" must, at all points of crisis, upsurge or political motion of the workers, act as agents of the company against the union membership. An alliance involving a wing of such "leaders," or merely aspirants, which does not have at its core a clear political separation from the program of the trade union bureaucracy, will inevitably founder on the same points of crisis. In the end, it can only reinforce the bureaucracy.

The danger to the MAC supporters is not over simply because the membership came out to defend the basic right of opposition. All too often the workers think they have dealt with a question, only to find later that their wishes have been undone through the efforts of those who are more persistent and able to maneuver quietly in the background. The charges still stand, and will not be voluntarily withdrawn simply because the original incidents of scabbing are verified to those who knew they were true all along. The accused still face possible expulsion from the union because they consistently counterposed a militant and political course to the self-defeating policies of a "leadership" which used lies, slander and violence in order to cover its role. These charges must be dropped at once!

Throughout the entire labor movement, constant vigilance is required to maintain the rights of the membership. The attempted frame-up of the MAC supporters in CWA Local 9415 is an attack on the rights of every local member and a threat to every CWA and union member in the country. It is in the interest of every union militant to express his or her opinion on this outrage. We urge all local unions to pass resolutions of support for the MAC, demanding that the charges be dropped in the name of union democracy. Send them to:

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bureaucratic Purge Attempt in CWA

Union militants—supporters of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of CWA Local 9415, Oakland, California—have been brought up on trumped-up charges in a bureaucratic attempt to purge the union of militant opposition. The chief backers of the purge attempt are embittered local bureaucrats who were dumped in the last election—ex-President Blasingame and ex-Secretary-Treasurer Hart—and their hangers-on, Virginia Branning and Mike Budd. The charges claim that the militants have made written and verbal statements about the leadership which "tend to bring the union or local thereof into disrepute"—a formal violation of the CWA constitution.

MAC has repeatedly pointed out the sellout policies of the Hart/Blasingame regime over the past two years. This has included noting that Blasingame, Alta White, Virginia Branning, L.R. Hawkins and Bobbie Williams, among others, scabbed on strikes as far back as June 1971. The frustrated ex-bureaucrats, long irked by these exposures and looking for a convenient scapegoat for their rejection at the hands of the membership, picked these accusations of scabbing as a basis for charges. For them, it was a final, desperate attempt to smash MAC and destroy all basis for the kind of militant opposition which proved to be such an embarrassment to their bureaucratic careers. For the people charged, however, it could mean expulsion from the union and probably firing, and for the union, it could mean the strangulation of democracy and all meaningful political life.

At the January local meeting at which the charges were formally presented, it became apparent that the bureaucrats had stirred up more outrage than they had bargained for. Having accidentally found out about the charges beforehand, MAC had urged a strong attendance in a leaflet entitled "Defend MAC, No Frame-up!" Over a hundred people showed up including over 60 who consistently voted to support MAC's rights.

After wading through much parliamentary trickery, the MAC moved that the local recommend to the accusers that the charges be dropped. MAC member Kathleen Burnham pointed out how the caucus has helped build the union, and noted the dangerous precedent the charges set. The accusers, Virginia Branning and Mike Budd, had had ample opportunity to answer the charges earlier and had chosen not to. By hand vote, the MAC motion passed, 60 to 47, but the bureaucrats called for a division of the house, and the disputed result was 63 for to 68 against. Despite the close vote, the accusers refused to withdraw the charges and a trial body was elected.

Defense Committee Formed

The charges are an attempt to intimidate even those who would merely support a militant opposition group. While referring to specific "slanders" in MAC literature, the charges have been brought against 8 people, not all of whom are MAC members.

As there were many independent witnesses to the acts of scabbing, which Blasingame, Hart et al. hope have been forgotten, MAC has been gathering affidavits to prove them. The charges are so obviously fraudulent and so clearly an attempt to destroy all militant opposition that even the *Bell Wringer (BW)* group, which was in bloc with one of the accusers and for that reason failed to defend the elementary democratic rights of MAC members in the past, has thrown itself fully and actively into the MAC's defense effort. *BW* actively supports the defense committee which has been formed, and a *BW* supporter was elected to the defense committee's coordinating body.

The defense committee is based on two points—"drop the charges" and "union democracy." It meets regularly, issues reports to the membership, and has launched a petition campaign which it hopes will spread to other CWA locals. Supporters have attended meetings from San Francisco CWA and from Western Electric Local 9490, a member of which is also helping to coordinate the defense efforts.

Bureaucrats Fear Caucus Growth

If the local is in "disrepute," as charged, it is due to the wretched policies of its bureaucratic leadership, which has brought the union to the brink of destruction. In July 1971 a large membership meeting greeted CWA President Beirne's back-to-work order ending the nationwide phone strike with a stormy rejection and vote to stay on strike. The Blasingame leadership simply walked out on the union, totally abandoning its responsibility to lead. Despite MAC's attempt to organize the implementation of the membership's decision to continue the strike, its momentum was lost. Faced with this devastating betrayal by their elected leaders, the strikers were in effect coerced back to work.

Shortly after this, Blasingame refused to honor the picket lines of IBEW members at San Francisco Yellow Pages who were still defying the Phone Company. Thus Blasingame helped Beirne break the resistance of his fellow workers. Other Local 9415 leaders scabbed on Western Electric installers in CWA Local 9490 and other IBEW workers. These scabbing incidents reinforced the breakaway of the militant Western Electric workers, formerly members of Local 9415, into a separate CWA local.

As the MAC points out, it has been the only *consistent* defender of the union against the company. When Blasingame *accepted* a company attack on the union which involved his own suspension and final warning last spring, the MAC defended Blasingame along with other victimized officers and members, seeking at every turn to widen the scope of the struggle.

The MAC is not organized simply to pressure the incumbent bureaucrats. What separates it from pressure groups such as *Bell Wringer*, politically supported by the International Socialists (IS), is the recognition that in order for the working class to move forward under the all-sided attacks of the capitalist class, it is necessary to defeat the bureaucratic betrayers of the unions on the basis of a program which counterposes the interests of the working class to the capitalist system as a whole on all questions. This approach contrasts sharply with that of *BW*, which concentrates on shop floor and trade union issues, and accuses the MAC of "divisiveness" for attacking bureaucrats and would-be bureaucrats. The MAC responded:

> "Why does MAC put so much effort into attacking the actions and politics of this local and international leadership? Because the present union bureaucracy is the main *obstacle* standing in the way of the fight for the interests of the working class...
>
> "MAC considers it our *responsibility* to struggle against every other contending leadership because their policies can *only* end in sellouts and defeat for the working class. Any group like the Bell Wringer whose strategy is to pressure the existing bureaucracy, instead of clarifying its positions, and ruthlessly exposing *every* betrayal, *every* disastrous policy of the actual and would-be bureaucrats *shares responsibility* for those disasters and betrayals." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Militant Action Report," 1 November 1972

The MAC program includes, "No government interference in the unions—abolish anti-labor laws; for rank-and-file control of CWA; for working-class unity—fight protectionism; immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from S.E. Asia—for labor strikes against the war; for workers self-defense; 30 hours work for 40 hours pay or better—strike against layoffs; organize the unorganized; end women's and racial oppression; nationalize the Phone Company and all major industry under workers control; and oust the bureaucrats—build a workers party based on the trade unions—for a workers government!"

The caucus based its campaign in last November's local elections on challenging the other candidates to come up with answers to the key questions facing labor—inflation, layoffs, the wage freeze, the war, racism, etc.—and sought to get votes only on the basis of a full understanding of its program. In order to force the candidates to speak on the issues, the MAC gathered 700 signatures on a petition, which forced the bureaucracy to hold a special "Candidates' Night" meeting.

Bureaucratic Retaliation

Because of MAC's consistent political struggle and the growth of its influence (including the election of a MAC supporter to the local Executive Board), the bureaucrats have retaliated with violence and slander. In July they revived a defunct local newsletter, *Labor News*, to print a scurrilous anonymous "letter to the editor"—a piece of sexist garbage baiting MAC with phrases like "broads" and "feline chorus," etc. It falsely accuses a MAC leader of taking the union to the NLRB (she had taken the *company* to the NLRB). This piece of filth reflected the bureaucrats' inability to answer the MAC's charges openly. Accomplishing nothing, it was followed by escalated attacks.

Before the elections, the union leadership agreed to a company ruling that MAC could not post its election material on the *union* bulletin boards because the MAC slogan "Nationalize the Phone Company under Workers Control" was "derogatory" to AT&T! Of course, local leaders were allowed to post *their* campaign material, since they have *nothing* "derogatory" to propose against AT&T!

Obviously approaching frenzy, the bureaucrats arrived at the last resort of all labor bureaucrats—open repression and violent intimidation. For "Candidates' Night," the bureaucrats imposed a gag rule by declaring that "no candidate can attack verbally or otherwise, another candidate." If Branning et al. had really been slandered by MAC as they had claimed, this would have been the time to *answer* the charges before the membership. Instead these bureaucrats hid behind a gag rule.

When MAC candidate Burnham began to expose the history of the bureaucrats, the microphone was turned off and MAC members were physically threatened and shoved. Subsequently, at the November 21 regular meeting Secretary-Treasurer Hart rammed through a motion of censure against MAC for printing a leaflet about this incident. After the meeting MAC members were brutally assaulted by local bureaucrats and cronies including Mike Budd, a right-wing goon who is now filing charges against MAC (see *WV* No. 14, December 1972). Finally in early December the bureaucrats' hangers-on Virginia Branning and Mike Budd secretly drew up the charges against the MAC and others—charges which the MAC only accidentally learned about six days before the meeting at which they were to be formally presented. In response, the MAC has brought charges against those who assaulted its members on November 21.

Throughout the current fight, the MAC has sought to lay down basic principles of workers democracy, which the bureaucrats have trampled upon. The bureaucrats appeal for "unity," but attempt to bar all real discussion with the threat of expulsion. Their "unity" means unity around a program of betrayal. This is precisely why they fear open discussion and opposition, reflected in the fact that MAC is being prosecuted for its *beliefs*, not for any anti-working class *acts* such as scabbing. The MAC has emphasized:

> "Real unity is based on three principles: First: Solidarity in the face of the class enemy—no scabbing. Second: Full freedom of discussion, intense criticism and debate. Third: No violence in the workers' movement!"
>
> —"Defend MAC—No Frame-Up!", 13 January 1973

The events of recent months, culminating in the bringing of charges

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The Communist Approach to Women's Liberation

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DEFEND THE MILITANT ACTION CAUCUS

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 17 March 1973

Behind the Dollar Devaluation:

International Financial Chaos Looms

In November 1971, just prior to the Smithsonian Agreement, we stated:

> "While small concessions will be made ...the differences are too irreconcilable for a return to a stable international monetary system. The next period will be one of international financial anarchy, quite similar to the 1930's, with managed fluctuating exchange rates..., numerous *ad hoc* trade and capital controls, bilateral commercial and credit deals and the complete interpenetration of political and financial relations."
>
> —"American Empire Shaken," *WV* No. 2, November 1971

The collapse of the "historic" Smithsonian Agreement, after just 14 months, completely validates this prediction and is a qualitative intensification of a movement toward complete international monetary anarchy.

The U.S. Exports Inflation

Nixon hailed the Smithsonian Agreement as "the greatest monetary achievement in world history" (*New York Times*, December 19, 1971). Nixon's pleasure at the agreement was understandable, but very short-sighted—an almost necessary quality in a contemporary bourgeois politician. The Smithsonian Agreement produced a moderate devaluation of the dollar against most other major trading countries and screwed a numerically large up-valuation out of Japan (17%). But it wasn't enough. First, West Germany was appeased with a comparatively small re-valuation against the dollar, which improved its competitive advantage against Britain and France. Secondly, Japan mainly imports raw materials, which do not compete with domestic products and enter into its exports, so that an exceptionally large up-valuation of the yen would be necessary to reverse Japan's competitive advantage against the other industrial powers. Despite the more favorable exchange rate and state wage control, the U.S. international competitive position continued to deteriorate through 1972. For the first time in post-war history the U.S. ran a balance-of-trade deficit, $4 billion with Japan and $1-1/2 billion with Western Europe. The out-flow of dollars caused by the balance-of-trade deficit was increased by speculative transfers of dollars to stronger currencies, particularly in Western Europe.

The flood of dollars pouring into the West European banking system has generated the most severe European-wide inflation in the post-war period. In the last quarter of 1972, consumer prices in West Germany and Italy rose at a rate of 8 1/2% a year, in France at a rate of 9% a year and in Britain at a rate of 10 1/2% a year (*Economist*, December 30, 1972). The central axis of the West European class struggle has been around inflation. Last November, the Tory government in Britain imposed a Nixon-style wage freeze, provoking a contest of power with the best organized and most combative

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SL/RCY Demonstrate Against Zionist Repression, Repulse Attack

Members of the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth picketed the Israeli Consulate to the U.N. in New York on 21 February to protest the frame-up arrest of socialist militants in Israel. The RCY had issued the call for a united front demonstration, responding to the declaration of 5 Israeli organizations (printed in the SWP's *Militant* of 2 February) asking for international solidarity against the Israeli government's brutal repression. Following several telephoned death threats purportedly from the ultra-rightist Jewish Defense League, the RCY had repeatedly contacted the avowedly anti-Zionist socialist organizations to urge an increased turnout to help defend the demonstrators and establish the right of anti-Zionists to publicly raise their views despite JDL intimidation. The only group to respond in any force to the RCY's call was the National Caucus of Labor Committees. The picket was attacked by thugs wielding iron pipes and brass knuckles, but the demonstrators held their lines, repulsed the attackers and continued to picket.

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A Revolting Zionist Atrocity

In last October's *Workers Vanguard* we headlined our account of the Israelis' "punitive" response to the Arab terrorism at the Munich Olympics as "murderous nationalism." On 21 February, acting on orders, the Israeli Air Force shot down a Libyan commercial transport which had wandered over the Israeli-occupied Sinai Peninsula. As proved by both Egyptian- and Israeli-supplied evidence, the disoriented French pilot of the Boeing 727 thought he was being accompanied by Egyptian MIG fighters. When finally he had turned around and was but one minute away from crossing the Suez Canal on the way to his Cairo destination, the Israeli jets shot the plane down, killing outright more than 100 of the 113 passengers and crew.

Atrocity

If, inconceivably, the state of Israel had promptly condemned this terrible deed and sought out for trial those at the highest level responsible for the order to commit this mass murder, and those responsible for the military directives upon which it was based, then one would conclude that it was but a tragic aberration.

To be sure it is only in the whole pattern of military conduct that there is an approximate empirical reflection of the real social and political character and aims of a belligerent power. Thus, for example, U-boat commanders have on occasion come to the aid of their torpedoed victims, and a U.S. helicopter gunner did train his machine guns on the U.S. infantry as it massacred peasants at My Lai. (He is the only known American hero in Vietnam—those others who might have and should have performed similarly were presumably instead in jail as conscientious objectors, over the Canadian border as draft dodgers, in Sweden as deserters, or just plain spaced-out on heroin.)

How *did* the Israelis respond? Besides denying all responsibility and/or justifying their action, they told lies about the dead pilot. Until the tapes of his pathetic last radio communication came to light (it is a good thing foreign newsmen had noted in the wreckage of the plane the "black box" containing the tapes), the Israelis accused him of willful refusal to heed directives from the fighter planes. After the tapes conclusively proved that no such directives had been received, the Israelis declared that the pilot was not certified to fly a Boeing 727—were they hoping that everyone would forget the plane had been *shot down*? (Furious Air France officials laid that one to rest by exhibiting the documents of their pilot's certification.)

The pilot only made one real mistake, and it wasn't getting lost: he was a European, and probably did not conceive of the savagery which would be unleashed upon him and his human cargo if by any chance he had wandered over Israeli-occupied territory in a *Libyan* aircraft.

The New York *Times* of 25 February reported, "How, many Israelis asked, could anyone have guaranteed that it was not a hijacked plane headed for a kamikaze crash into an Israeli city?" What is interesting is not solely that the plane when destroyed was but one minute from leaving Israeli-controlled air space altogether (that was the reason why the fighters "had to" shoot it down—it was getting away without doing any damage and they would shortly lose their excuse). In addition, the Israeli rationale conceals a profound racist-chauvinist premise: any "threat," no matter how slight, to "us" of course justifies any amount of killing of "them." (How, some Nazi might have asked with equal "justification," could anyone have guaranteed that some of those Jews were not secretly plotting a suicide bomb attack on Hitler's life?)

Revolting

It was also reported on American radio that the Israeli "man in the street" sees clear-cut anti-Semitism in the international revulsion and outcry over this "incident," because for example Nixon killed thousands in Vietnam and got away with it, while Israel triggers all this indignation when it kills only 100. Let us give the Israeli "man in the street" another comparison. After the Nazis invaded Russia, they set up special extermination units to comb the occupied areas exterminating Jews. Many East Europeans, particularly Ukranians and Lithuanians, served in these units. These local fascists pursued their duties with so much zeal that they sickened even some individuals among the German leaders. On behalf of Western imperialism, the Israeli rulers have hired themselves out and are playing a role toward the Arabs possessing similarities to that which East European anti-Semites played toward the Jews on the Hitlerites' behalf.

Nixon of course recognizes the value of the Israelis' services. While refusing to comment on the shooting down itself, he said he was "saddened" by the airliner "tragedy." By way of comparison, he described the Arab terrorism at Munich as "this appalling, senseless deed" and expressed "shock and horror at... the murderous act."

The Israelis have overlooked one possible "defense" of their deed. Shooting down the Libyan airliner has indeed led to a proportionately much greater outcry than when U.S. troops butcher Vietnamese villagers or when the Israelis themselves smash Arab refugee camps together with their inhabitants. But unfortunately for the Israelis, this atrocity triggers a class bias. Aircraft passengers are petty-bourgeois and bourgeois; the inhabitants of villages and refugee camps are but peasants—and every racist swine knows that an airline passenger (or an Israeli athlete) is ever so much more "human" than some peasant.

Zionism

While the Zionist bourgeois rulers experience some embarassment, which they look upon as transient, their crimes—committed in the name of Israeli and world Jewry—are calculated to fuse together the Israeli social classes, suppressing internal class struggle and thus hopefully eternally continuing their rule, through ever more widespread guilt and fear of revenge compounding the earlier and continuing crime of the destruction of the Palestinian Arabs as a people. The petty-bourgeois nationalists, Zionist and Arab—and behind them the ruling bourgeois beneficiaries of these ideological mobilizations—offer no way out of an endless mutual escalation of atrocities based upon infinite self-righteousness, and conditioned by the relationship, in the present period, that the Zionists are the oppressor and the Arab nationalists are among the oppressed.

Only the working class—Arab and Hebrew-speaking alike—can transcend this spiral of guilt, fear and revenge through the intersection of the class struggle with the creation of the proletarian vanguard party whose revolutionary Marxist program does indeed uniquely express the most general and historic interests of the working people. For in the real economic and social conditions of life, it is truly only the workers of all lands who have the material basis to unite. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Ex-New Lefters Choose Trotskyism:

Cleveland Workers Vanguard Committee Formed

Last December, the Cleveland Marxist Caucus (CMC) became the Cleveland *Workers Vanguard* Committee, a disciplined sympathizing group of the Spartacist League. Based on essential political solidarity with the SL, the CWVC is an interim step toward the integration of its members into the SL and Revolutionary Communist Youth. The CWVC is a unique and temporary phenomenon, designed to provide a particular group of sympathizers with an organizational framework for further political study and common work on the basis of agreement with the SL program. In general, there can exist no stable intermediary of "sympathizer" as an organized category in a bolshevik cadre organization.

The political origins of the CMC members lie in the breakup of the New Left, coming individually from Cleveland SDS, Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS) and, to a lesser extent, Weatherman. In the course of this breakup, two groups emerged in Cleveland: a collective for publishing *HotchPot (HP)*, "a socialist newspaper for workers in the human services," and the Women's Marxist Study Group (WMSG), which was formed in reaction to the anti-theoretical, mindless activism of the New Left and Cleveland women's liberation. The merger of these two groups in 1972 to form the CMC was part of their motion toward Trotskyism and culminated rapidly in the formation of the CWVC.

Cleveland SDS, Kent State and Case Western Reserve campuses provided the core of the Weatherman faction of SDS in 1968, which arose largely out of frustration with the SWP-dominated pop-front anti-war movement, through which no revolutionary development was possible. As Weatherman took most of Cleveland SDS through the 1969 split in SDS into rapid demoralization and disintegration, MDS remained. Composed largely of social workers, it had an orientation toward organizing radicals in the professions. MDS attracted some who were repelled by Weatherman's anti-working-class enthusing over national struggles; it also attracted opportunists and simple social-work careerists.

Despite their disagreement with Weatherman, many of the future members of CMC advocated and aided the defense of Weatherman against bourgeois state repression. This vital act provided a necessary basis of principled, class solidarity for the reunification, several years later, of the CMC with ex-Weatherman members on a Marxist program.

The radicals-in-the-professions organizers of MDS formed the Cleveland branch of Social Welfare Workers Movement (SWWM), a short-lived nationwide phenomenon. *HotchPot* was formed as the left wing of SWWM-MDS by several organizers who sought to consciously develop motion toward socialism out of this work, as opposed to those whose orientation was purely reformist or careerist. Partly because of the lack of a well-developed left in Cleveland to provide more attractive, viable alternatives, the politicalized social-workerism of *HotchPot* in its two years of life outlived both the rest of Cleveland SWWM and other SWWM chapters in other cities.

SWWM's New Left initiators sought to use the link-up provided by "human service workers" to merge reform of the social services, health, welfare, etc., with "community control" schemes among the poor and lumpen clients. This alliance was to be aimed against the "corporate elite" which profited from corruption in the social services and war production in society generally. *HotchPot* wanted this reformist movement to culminate in a fundamental change in power in society, conceived as a sort of "people's socialism."

Influenced by the "new-working-class" theories of André Gorz and others, SWWM organizers predicted that by 1975 the majority of the U.S. work force would be in the "human service" field, particularly health. These "para-professionals" were seen as the key to ending oppression, which was conceived of not as the result of the exploitation of labor by capital, but as the function of a general *distortion* of society by the profit motive. It was thus deemed possible to reorder the existing society simply by removing the "distortion" and making the existing institutions "serve the people." This was clearly reflected by *HotchPot*:

> "We are now the assistants of the oppressors. We must become the servants of the people. To serve the people is to serve ourselves. *All power to the people.*"
>
> —October-November 1970

New-working-class theories, while recognizing that bourgeois intellectuals would generally be among the first individuals drawn into the revolutionary Marxist movement, denied the possibility of an active relationship between the Marxist intellectuals and the work-

ing class on the basis of the Leninist conception of a vanguard party. In addition, these theories confused the increasing proletarianization of some white collar workers with the *exploitation* of the proletariat, i.e., the extraction of surplus value by the capitalist class. Hence, the essence of new-working-class conceptions was of revolutionary intellectuals leading other intellectuals toward the seizure of tellers' cages, adding machines, slide rules and case records. The widespread character of these ideas on the U.S. left was made possible by the lack of any serious militancy or revolutionary activity in the labor movement in the early 1960's.

The premises of the *HotchPot* collective failed to correspond with reality. Stubbornly trying to find a strategy for socialist revolution within the confines of isolated, reformist organizing, the group was gradually forced into a definitive break with all its New Left premises. This began as an attempt to surpass demonstrated failures which placed obstacles to the continued maintenance of a socialist perspective. *HotchPot* insisted on printing its full socialist perspectives when working as open socialists was out of favor with the more opportunist social-workerists. This key decision cost the *HP* collective half its membership, as opportunists who counterposed the "mass movement" to even the most minimal conception of socialists as a *vanguard* within the movement departed to pursue their social worker careers. Not to have gone through with this decision to operate as open socialists would have raised the danger of red-baiting (which had proven destructive in the past) and would have meant the abandonment of a socialist perspective to a paternalist reformism.

HotchPot Opposes "Community Control"

The demonstrated ease with which even the most radical-sounding "community leaders" were bought off by state bandouts convinced the *HP* collective of the fraudulence of the "community control" demand. Thus *HP* opposed Leroi Jones in the Newark Teachers strike, taking a stand against strikebreaking and reactionary nationalism and for the defense of the Newark Teachers Union.

The group's definitive break with New Leftism, opening the door to development on the basis of Marxism, thus came from the piecemeal recognition that isolated sectors of the oppressed, organized around struggles for immediate needs, do not automatically come to socialist conclusions. The group's illusions as to the revolutionary potential of the lumpenized "community" dwindled as the destructive effects of lumpenization were realized. Such struggles do not spontaneously come together and unite in socialist revolution, as was the original hope of *HotchPot*, but must be *united* behind the class struggle of the workers through the agency of a mass, working-class vanguard party. Acting as a "tribune of the people," such a party would unite all sections of the oppressed, but on the program of socialist revolution rather than on the basis of illusions of reforms through pressure on the system.

Like the New Left as a whole, the *HP* collective was methodologically ill-equipped to analyze and concretize political conclusions from events. Development took place as the group wandered a tortuous road, drawing lessons from struggle, re-thinking past premises and attempting to incorporate conclusions into a coherent revolutionary strategy. Though hindered by this eclectic approach, the group increasingly came to recognize the need for theory in contrast to the bankruptcy of mindless activism.

Inevitably, the impact of major events was felt, despite delays in drawing the full implications. Particularly the May-June 1968 general strike in France provoked a reassessment of assumptions throughout the left. Even Gortz, father of new-working-class theory, was forced to abandon his ideas and look again in the direction of the proletariat.

Cleveland Womens Liberation was a typical collection of consciousness-raising groups with a steering committee. While politically-oriented women were urging the adoption of a socialist orientation instead of a feminist one, supporters of the SWP/YSA spoke only about their oppression as women and urged people to go on marches for the most minimal demands. No one learned anything about Trotskyism as a result of the SWP's work. Instead, the SWP only invited anti-communist sentiment against itself, anti-communism being not simply the property of reactionaries, but an easy trap for subjective revolutionaries seeking to avoid commitment to SWP reformism. Impossible to hold together, the group split apart while some of the socialist-oriented women later formed a separate Women's Marxist Study Group.

Personal contacts between *HotchPot* and WMSG grew into political collaboration as both groups felt the need for political study to provide the understanding and program required for serious further action. The reading of Lenin, particularly *State and Revolution* and *What Is To Be Done?*, had a profound impact on both groups, leading them to reject their former character as isolated groups oriented only to partial struggles in favor of jointly pursuing the tasks of revolutionary Marxists: party building and organizing the working class.

Another component of the future CMC came out of the Weatherman organization, breaking from Weatherman when this group finally adopted its hard anti-proletarian and terrorist line at its Flint, Michigan conference in December 1969. These comrades gravitated to the CP-backed Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice, believing it was being formed as a multi-issue group in opposition to the SWP's single-issue NPAC. Understanding in a vulgar way that only the workers—through mass organization and action—could end the war, the ex-Weathermen believed PCPJ would struggle around communist politics and organize workers through demonstrating the relationship between imperialism and domestic oppression (e.g., unemployment, police repression, welfare, etc.).

But in PCPJ the subjective revolutionaries came face to face with the CP's shameless opportunism, as CP members were silent as crypto-McGovern liberals advanced cynical anti-communist views about the U.S. working class and allowed members of the Welfare Rights Organization to grossly red-bait anyone who wanted to talk about communist politics as "uninterested in the gut problems of poor people." The degeneration of meetings into howling and exhortations to "tell it like it is" undercut any possibility of political discussion and provided a bitter introduction to the CP's practice.

The Struggle for Trotskyism

The leading role of the Buffalo Marxist Caucus (BMC), with whom the *HP*-WMSG had prior contact, was instrumental in the formation of the CMC and its final development to Trotskyism. The CMC was formed as a study group whose basic purpose it defined as: "to build the theoretical basis necessary for the development of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S. We understand the CMC as a transitional socialist formation whose contemporary roots lie in the inadequate theory and practice of other formations and parties."

While relatively isolated, the CMC was formed on the basis of prior rejection of the ostensibly revolutionary organizations. Through contact in the Cleveland anti-war and women's movements, the SWP/YSA had been rejected as little more than the embodiment of political bookerism. The CP had been rejected on the basis of its monstrous historical record of pop-front betrayals, trade union opportunism and sectarian purge orientation against groups to the left of it. The National Caucus of Labor Committees was examined repeatedly in the course of the evolution of the CMC and found to be pursuing naked popular-frontist politics. The International Socialists had impressed *HP*-WMSG members as left-social-democratic and opportunist, particularly over its entry into NAM on a completely insufficient basis to separate out a principled opposition to NAM's anti-communism and social-patriotism. (IS' subservience was made even clearer by the fact that NAM had at first refused to let IS supporters enter because of their avowed socialism!)

Further, before the formation of the CMC, *HP*-WMSG members, together with BMC representatives, had briefly gone through the abortive attempt of ex-PL members around Bill Epton to regroup with more orthodox Maoists around Marxist-Leninist Journal. At the N.Y. founding conference, the Buffalo and Cleveland comrades agreed to an open journal to thrash out differences—a concession to a non-Leninist, all-inclusive party conception—but they argued for a polemical character to the journal in view of the goal of building a communist party. The comrades also opposed blatant accommodation to feminism through a proposal to have a quota of women on the editorial board. The BMC-Cleveland groups dropped out of this rapidly failing attempt to reconstitute Maoism.

In two joint meetings with the BMC in May and June 1972, the Cleveland collective—having been convinced of the bankruptcy of the left (or what it had seen of the left)—had to be convinced of its relevance. Having come from the New Left and rejected the obviously revisionist tendencies with which it had come in contact, the CMC assumed that it would have to build the vanguard party by ignoring the left and going directly to the masses, i.e., reinvent the wheel all over again. The BMC pointed out that this ignored the role of the left groups as obstacles to the development of working-class consciousness through the consistent dissemination of false consciousness in "revolutionary" garb, bureaucratic control of trade unions and centrist formations, etc. These groups would have to be smashed in the course of building the party and struggling to replace false consciousness with Marxism. Furthermore, given the weakness of the revolutionary forces, a tactic of revolutionary regroupment was required to reach the most advanced workers and students many of whom are to be found in the existing fake-left organizations.

The two groups set out to examine those organizations which the Buffalo and Cleveland comrades had not already found to be politically bankrupt during the BMC-CMC's earlier evolution. This came down to the Workers League and the Spartacist League—both avowedly anti-revisionist Trotskyist.

In the process of the BMC-initiated exploration of the Workers League (WL) a meeting was held with Tim Wohlforth in New York City in July 1972. After a few hours of discussion covering the WL's refusal to fight the oppression of women, its call to the labor bureaucrats to form a labor party and its support of the New York City police strike, the CMC representative came away less than enthusiastic about the mysteries of the "dialectical" hocus-pocus practiced by Wohlforth. Not fully satisfied that the WL was not a Marxist organization; the CMC considered arranging a formal meeting with the WL; in the meantime, however, word came from Buffalo of a WL ultimatum to the BMC: if the BMC discussed with the SL, there could be no discussions with the WL.

Rejecting the WL's transparent sectarianism as the "sour grapes" of an organization which recognized it had already lost its bid to suck in the BMC-Cleveland grouping, the Cleveland comrades continued a series of meetings with the Buffalo group and with representatives of the SL. The BMC fused with the SL's youth organization, the RCY, in November 1972, and in December the Cleveland comrades voted to affiliate with the SL as a disciplined supporter organization, looking toward the individual recruitment of its members to the SL/RCY. The Cleveland *Workers Vanguard* Committee, in the interim, will continue its study activities while materially supporting the SL, defending its positions and circulating its press in the Cleveland area.

The experience of the Cleveland comrades—which has been paralleled by local groupings arising out of local New Left, main-line Maoist and women's liberation organizations—is a vindication for the analysis and program of authentic Trotskyism as embodied by the Spartacist League. ■

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Cambridge, MA 02139

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Buffalo, NY 14209

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Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND..... (216) 696-4943
Cleveland *WV* Committee
Box 2492
Cleveland, OH 44112

DETROIT
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

LOS ANGELES.....(213) 467-6855
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Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election

"For the first time, you have replaced an entrenched labor bureaucracy with leaders chosen from the rank and file." So the United Mine Workers *Journal* (December 1972) pompously told the membership after the Miller-Trbovich-Patrick slate defeated the incumbents headed by Tony Boyle in the Labor Department-supervised UMW elections last December.

And indeed, at first glance Arnold Miller of the "Miners for Democracy" (MFD) appears to be the archetype of the "honest rank and filer" courageously taking on and defeating the status quo. But stripped of liberal romanticizing, Miller's victory over Boyle was significant only as a step in the U.S. government's campaign to curtail even the formal independence of the union movement.

Miller, a working miner disabled by black lung (the widespread disease among miners caused by coal dust), had never held union office beyond the local level. He was influential in organizing the militant black lung movement and the wildcat strike which forced the West Virginia legislature in 1969 to pass a bill granting compensation to miners disabled by black lung. But the decisive aspect of Miller's career is that he is also an active Democratic Party politician. Miller twice ran for the West Virginia state legislature, hardly the typical act of a "simple rank-and-file union leader." Predictably, Miller and the Miners for Democracy, the movement which nominated him for the UMW presidency, rely for their strength on alliances with liberal Democrats and legal maneuverings, and are responsible to the group of Washington lawyers who run MFD, not to the UMW membership.

Yablonski's Role

Miners for Democracy was the new name for "Miners for Yablonski," the campaign structure supporting Joseph Yablonski. Yablonski, MFD's first "rank-and-file" candidate for the UMW presidency, first came to public attention as the man who persuaded Pennsylvania miners not to strike to force Boyle to open contract negotiations after there had been no new UMW contract for a period of five years! Yablonski had been a member of the International Executive Board since 1942 and had gone along with the union hierarchy for years. He had worked for Boyle's re-election, participated in permissive use of union funds, and kept silent about the UMW's collusion with the coal companies. (Even one of his most ardent supporters admitted that Yablonski had helped Boyle rig the pensioner vote in 1964!) He was persuaded to run for office by Ralph Nader, who had jumped on the mine-safety bandwagon. It took two months of secret meetings with Nader before Yablonski was willing to announce his candidacy. And why not? He had a lot to risk—a $26,000/year salary and a no-questions-asked expense account. Reading his program of mild reforms for the first time, Yablonski stumbled over the words, no doubt because he had just seen the program, probably written by Nader.

Miller was selected for nomination by the Miners for Democracy after the 1969 Boyle-Yablonski contest had been ordered rerun by federal court order because of gross election irregularities. His program was a simple extension of Yablonski's: move the UMW headquarters to the coalfields, reduce the salaries of international officers, retirement after 25 years with full benefits, a $200/month pension, autonomy for UMW districts, establishment of local safety committees, a 6-hour day and 4-shift day with one shift devoted to maintenance, support to the Black Lung Association, sick pay benefits, and reclamation of land destroyed by strip mining.

The Miners for Democracy is the captive creature of the liberal section of the bourgeoisie and has been subordinated to these interests from the start. MFD was founded, built and run by liberal Democratic Party politicians and lawyers. Instrumental in transforming it into a permanent group were Yablonski's two sons, both lawyers, and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., one-time head of Americans for Democratic Action. Both of Yablonski's lawyer sons declared that the only reason neither would run for union office himself was that the UMW constitution requires a candidate to have worked five years in the mines! One of MFD's closest supporters, Kenneth Hechler, congressman from West Virginia, was known in Washington for years as a spokesman for the coal operators until, in order to preserve his constituency, he suddenly found it necessary to take a strong stand on mine safety after the 1968 Farmington, West Virginia disaster, in which 78 men were killed in an explosion at a Consolidation Coal mine.

Relying on the government and the courts for its strength, MFD practically handed the union over on a silver platter in May 1972 when it sought to have Boyle ousted and replaced by a court-ordered tribunal—again the work of Rauh.

Miller's campaign represented no more of a "rank-and-file movement" than did Yablonski's. The miners realized that Miller was the liberal establishment's and government's choice for their leader. They so resented Miller's overt government sponsorship that, even after the Yablonski murder scandal, 40 per cent of the miners voted for the nakedly corrupt and tyrannical Tony Boyle, whose regime had been an endless series of disasters for the miners.

Degeneration Under Lewis

The UMW had rapidly degenerated during the last decade of John L. Lewis' despotic reign. With the replacement of coal by oil and gas in home heating and the introduction of diesel fuel on the railroads, the demand for coal dropped drastically and Lewis embarked on a campaign to nurse the dying coal industry back to health at the miners' expense. Demands for job security, paid holidays and other fringe benefits were scuttled to allow the companies a free hand in a massive program of modernization and consolidation that cost more than 300,000 men their jobs. Millions were loaned the coal producers from the UMW-controlled National Bank of Washington to assist them in their modernization. Negotiations were carried on in private for the first time and contracts were signed without strikes. Contracts were "open-ended," i.e., they remained in effect until either side decided to terminate them. From 1958-63 there was no new contract, with the only change for the miners being cutbacks in welfare fund benefits.

When Boyle came to power in 1963 upon the death of Lewis' hand-picked successor, Thomas Kennedy, the coal industry had recovered after having captured the electricity-generating market. But Boyle made no move to reopen the contract until faced with a strike threat in the Pennsylvania coalfields. His first contract was greeted with a wave of wildcat strikes across the northern coalfields and Boyle moved to tighten the reins. Conventions were held thousands of miles from the coalfields and stacked with pro-Boyle delegates. Dissenters at the 1965 convention were silenced through physical attack. Changes in the constitution were made to lengthen the term of presidency and raise the number of nominations needed from five local unions to fifty. 19 of the 23 union districts were held in trusteeship by the international and Boyle was given power to fill all vacancies occurring in international offices except the Executive Board. The 1968 contract included a provision for a $120 Christmas bonus for miners who had not taken part in any wildcat strike during the previous year!

The Boyle regime reeked of corruption. $850,000 was taken from the union treasury and put in a special account to enable all international officers to retire at full salary. (Boyle received $50,000/year plus an unlimited expense account.) Boyle appointed his brother to the presidency of Montana District 27 at $27,000/year. His daughter, a lawyer, was put on the district payroll at $23,000/year. Boyle was convicted in federal court of contributing $50,000 of union funds to various Democratic candidates and is strongly implicated in the Yablonski murders. There is little doubt that thousands of dollars of unaccounted-for union funds were used for his campaign in 1969, while the UMW *Journal* was turned into his personal mouthpiece. Meanwhile Boyle continued Lewis' collusion with the operators. Right after the 1968 Farmington disaster, Boyle praised Consolidation Coal for its "safety-mindedness"!

Government Intervention

With Boyle's record, union democracy was a ready-made issue for Yablonski and the Miners for Democracy. But rather than building a real movement of the ranks to clean up the union, the MFD relied on legal battles in the federal courts and intervention by the federal government in internal union affairs. Yablonski repeatedly called upon the Labor Department to conduct an investigation of the 1969 Boyle campaign, upon the advice of Joseph Rauh, the chief strategist of his campaign. After Yablonski's defeat and murder in 1969, Mike Trbovich, head of MFD, filed complaints with the Secretary of Labor charging irregularities in the election. Two years later, in May 1972, U.S. District Judge William B. Bryant ruled the 1969 election invalid and ordered a rerun under Labor Department supervision.

The first and only other election of national union officers supervised by the Labor Department occurred in the National Maritime Union in 1969 after James Morrissey, who had challenged the Curran regime in 1966, filed complaints with the Labor Department. The 1969 NMU rerun demonstrates that the Labor Department's concern is certainly not for union democracy. In virtually every procedural decision Labor Department officials were biased against the opposition and partial toward ruling union officials. (Morrissey first read about the election rules in a press release, while NMU officials had had long private conversations with Department personnel before the rules were announced.) The opposition was not allowed to board ships to distribute literature, while special pro-Curran union agents sailed along on voyages to devote full time to enlightening the crews, with the permission of the shipping companies. The Labor Department ruled that only NMU members could serve as election observers, which effectively prevented Morrissey from having poll watchers in Panama. (Morrissey had charged that in the original election many Panama votes were fraudulent.) In 1969 the voter list was changed to include only seamen who had 800 days of sea time, instead of the 200 days required in 1966, while Curran added thousands of non-seamen to the voting roster. The Labor Department allowed that ruling to stand.

NY TIMES

W. T. Boyle

UPI

Joseph Yablonski

Arnold Miller

Miners themselves have been among the chief victims of Labor Department policy. The Landrum-Griffin Act declares that union trusteeships are to be presumed invalid after 18 months. But UMW districts had been under trusteeship for decades, although a suit aimed at forcing Boyle to relinquish control over the union's districts was first filed by the Justice Department more than six years ago. Miners for Yablonski protested that their rights were being denied and that the election was being stolen, but the Labor Department replied that there was nothing to do until after the election.

Maneuver Heads Off Struggle

In contrast to the Labor Department's conduct in the 1969 NMU rerun and response to the earlier appeals of the Yablonski forces, the December UMW election was to all appearances conducted fairly, without Labor Department resistance to the ouster of the incumbents. Far from indicating any change in the fundamental aims of the government, however, the Labor Department's acquiescence to the

MFD's assumption of power was simply another maneuver in the interests of the capitalist class.

The era of labor peace in the coalfields was over. An exposed and discredited Boyle could no longer effectively discipline the work force. Disgusted with the Boyle regime's corruption and collusion with the coal operators, miners had begun to take things into their own hands. Wildcats had spread over contract settlements and health and safety issues. The West Virginia miners who struck in 1969, demanding a law encompassing compensation for black lung disease, were acting in defiance of the UMW hierarchy, which actually brought charges of dual unionism against the black lung movement. While the election challenge was being debated in court, in June 1970 a wildcat strike protesting non-enforcement of the 1969 Mine Safety Law shut down 150 mines across the eastern coal region. A month later a group of disabled miners and widows began setting up picket lines in West Virginia, Virginia and Kentucky to protest Boyle's failure to carry out his campaign pledge to shape up the Welfare and Retirement Fund. In 1971 UMW members struck until wage gains in excess of maximums set by the Pay Board were ratified.

1969—Anthracite coal miners from northeastern Pennsylvania head for the House office buildings to talk with their congressmen about mine safety legislation.

1933—Defiant miners march through the streets of Clairton, Pa. after refusing to obey the orders of union chiefs. They are marching to join steel workers on the picket lines at the plant of the Carnegie Steel Company.

In the last ten years the Labor Department has dismissed election complaints in 330 cases in which it admitted that the law had been violated. It chose to intervene for "democracy" in the UMW election because this was an opportunity to stave off the rising discontent of the miners. It was this discontent which caused the government to reverse its earlier pro-Boyle, anti-Yablonski policy. The total collapse of Boyle's authority was dangerously undermining the capacity of the UMW bureaucracy to discipline the workers. The Labor Department disposed of Boyle for the same reasons that the CIA disposes of petty tyrants, like Diem—when they have outlived their usefulness. By establishing Arnold Miller in office, directly dependent on the liberal bourgeoisie and state apparatus, the government sought to ensure that no real change would be effected in the relationship of forces between the miners and the coal operators. For a few mild reforms and promises, the miners might be bought off and the potential for a programmatically-based real movement of the ranks squashed.

The Left Builds Liberal Illusions

Given the liberal view of the state as a class-neutral entity, it is certainly logical that liberals should look with favor upon appeals to the government to intervene to democratize the unions. Avowed Marxists, however, should certainly be capable of understanding that the U.S. government is nothing less than the political embodiment of the U.S. bourgeoisie (including the coal operators). The unions, despite their corrupt and reactionary leaderships, represent the workers' first step in overcoming atomization and impotence at the hands of their employers. Going to the Labor Department to "protect" workers' rights is inviting the class enemy into the workers' organizations. The elementary first principle of a revolutionary proletarian policy toward the trade unions is the struggle for the class independence of the workers. It is this basic consideration that underlies communist opposition to the union bureaucracy, which functions in traitorous collusion with the *class* enemy and fosters reactionary (i.e., *bourgeois*) ideology, and therefore must suppress *workers* democracy. To "overlook" this principle in the pursuit of opportunist appetites is to cut away the very basis of communist opposition to the reformist bureaucracy! Scum like Boyle must be thrown out by the organized and conscious union ranks, not by the capitalist government and its courts, whose interests lie not in democratizing the unions, but in destroying them.

Yet the ostensibly Marxist movement failed abysmally on this most basic question. Progressive Labor managed to catch the essential thrust of the UMW situation. With a belated recognition that "the unions are potentially the most powerful mass organization fighting for the workers' class interests," PL came down hard against the MFD for working through the bosses' government (*Challenge*, 8 February 1973): "...one cannot 'use' the bosses and their laws to gain even fundamental reform as long as the bosses themselves hold state power." Thus by implication PL has rejected its previous ultra-left line that union bureaucrats are themselves simply bosses. But unfortunately PL's current practice completely belies its line on the UMW. Despite its denunciation of the MFD for "using the bosses and their laws," PL is itself now engaged in lobbying for "anti-racism bills," single-issue "30 for 40" petition campaigns and supporting the United National Caucus (UNC) in the UAW, which is conducting campaigns based on suing the union in the courts!

Needless to say, the Communist Party supported the Miller campaign whole-hog. Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy—a coalition of the CP and its friends in the union bureaucracy—worked closely with Miners for Democracy and sent a congratulatory telegram to Miller and other MFD candidates after the elections.

The left-social-democratic International Socialists recognized Miller to be interested only in gaining personal power and stated that he should be supported, all in the same breath:

> "The MFD candidates, Miller, Trbovich, and Patrick, should be supported over the gangster crowd of Tony Boyle and Co. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that these men have no intention of building a real, mass rank and file movement inside the UMW. Their sights are aimed at winning control of the International."
>
> —*Workers' Power* No. 59, 9-30 June 1972

The IS' support for Miners for Democracy, like its support for the United National Caucus in the UAW, is one more example of its opportunist policy of feeding the workers' illusions to tail future bureaucrats. While claiming on paper to be in favor of socialist principles and working-class power, the IS is really interested only in getting more left-talking and "militant" labor fakers—like Arnold Miller—into office.

IS' lauding of Miller flows logically from its strategy for the trade unions—the building of "shop floor committees" around whatever issues happen to be most popular at the time. The IS presumes that the MFD program, like the shop floor organizations, will "set the workers in motion." This in turn is supposed to propel the workers toward revolutionary politics:

> "The MFD victory has opened the door for democracy in the UMW, but not necessarily the kind of democracy that its leaders and their Labor Department allies envisioned. Instead it will be, if the ranks have their way, the democracy of an active rank and file, continually pushing their leaderships to greater militancy."
>
> —*Workers' Power* No. 70, 19 January-1 February 1973

> Gross opportunism toward the victorious Miners for Democracy was not limited to the American left. The International Marxist Group—a British ostensibly Trotskyist organization which exemplifies the leftist face of the revisionist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International"—offered mild criticism of the "political limitations of MFD" and piously pointed out that "union democracy can only be built if the unions are *independent from* the state." But with typically workerist know-nothingism, the IMG concluded its article:
>
> "Whether Miller's use of the state was a *necessary evil* [our emphasis] or whether it will become a habit through which he reflects the real interests of the state, can only be tested in practice by taking rank and file initiatives."
>
> —*The Red Mole*, 8 January 1973

But the proletariat develops only trade-union consciousness through such spontaneous struggle. The mobilization of workers in economist struggle, around reformist illusions under the control of left-posturing bureaucrats does not set the stage for the building of the revolutionary party, but is an obstacle to it. Without the intervention of conscious communist cadres, the miners' struggles, no matter how militant, will never go beyond the level of simple trade unionism. Support to Miller, in lieu of posing the necessary alternative of building communist-led caucuses based on a full transitional program, condemns the miners to this path.

Perhaps the most succinct exposition of the left's capitulation to MFD came from the ostensibly Trotskyist Class Struggle League (a recently-founded organization which was previously the Leninist Faction of the Socialist Workers Party). While criticizing Miller for relying on the courts and limiting his program to simple trade-union issues, the CSL wrote:

> "We also supported Miller in the election because, unlike union elections in the past (such as Abel vs. McDonald in the Steelworkers in 1965), this was not a feud between two bureaucrats, or a falling out of thieves. Miller was a working miner, never a pie-card artist, and the election of his slate moves the UMW further in the direction of what is necessary for the labor movement—a complete break with labor fakers *and the capitalists they support.*" [our emphasis]
>
> —*Class Struggle*, Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1973

Miller came to power in the UMW precisely with the direct connivance of the capitalist government! The CSL's position is based entirely on Miller's credentials as an honest militant risen from the ranks. But honest trade union militancy per se is impossible in the epoch of imperialist degeneration. As soon as any rank-and-file leader achieves any social weight, he is faced with powerful pressure to support the bourgeois parties and integrate into the state labor-control machinery. Resistance to that pressure can only be consistently maintained through a commitment to revolutionary socialism. Bureaucratism and class collaboration are determined by political and social pressures, workerist moralism notwithstanding, abstract virtue is not a sufficient bulwark against this material basis. In this epoch, only communists can be "honest" trade-union leaders.

Miller's Program of Campaign Promises

This is amply verified by Miller and the MFD, whose victory the American left, in its eternal studied naivete, seeks to pose as a step forward. Miller's program of reforms was merely a vote-getting sop to the miners. To

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New Pop Frontism in France

In the "Transitional Program," adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in 1938, Leon Trotsky wrote: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership." This was certainly appropriate for a period when Stalin and the social democrats had prepared the rise of Hitler by refusing at all costs to unite the working class against the fascists—or in Spain five years later, when the dominant workers' parties aided the victory of Franco by tying the proletariat to the bourgeoisie through the Popular Front.

The crisis of proletarian leadership is no less crucial today. This was made graphically clear in the May-June 1968 events in France, where the Communist Party was forced to call a general strike in order to recapture control of a working class which was rapidly responding to calls for revolutionary action. Because of the continued influence of these treacherous misleaders, however, the 1968 upsurge ended in a temporary victory for the bourgeoisie. But the organizations of the workers have remained intact, the combativeness of the proletariat only temporarily diminished. The current French elections are in a sense a continuation of the 1968 events. An electoral victory for the new "popular front"—the CP's classic term for a class-collaborationist alliance between itself, the social-democratic party and a section of the bourgeoisie—could well set off another wave of labor militancy which would quickly be smashed by the popular front in power.

This time the bureaucrats are seeking to tie the workers to their bosses through a new popular front, the "Union de la Gauche" (Union of the Left, or "Union Populaire"—Popular Union). The task of the hour in France is to break the working class from its traditional leadership by *clearly counterposing the struggle for a workers government to the class collaboration of the popular front.* The decisive international significance of events in France today is clear, and the price of failure has been abundantly demonstrated by history (Spain 1934-38, France 1936, France-Italy after World War II, or Chile today).

Bonapartism

Under a truly revolutionary leadership the chances for a successful revolution by the working class in France today would be enormous. Throughout Europe the bourgeoisie has adopted a consistent policy of massive inflation and growing unemployment. This is partly the result of relatively successful efforts on the part of the Nixon government to export the consequences of the U.S. economic crisis through successive devaluations of the dollar in August 1971 and February 1973. The predictable result has been the increasing unpopularity of the Pompidou regime, reflected in recent public opinion polls which show the Union of the Left being supported by close to an absolute majority of the electorate.

On the other side, the bonapartist Pompidou (Gaullist) regime is rapidly decomposing. A continuing wave of financial scandals has affected much of the state administration, including public communications, finance, building construction and land speculation. Moreover, the visible unpopularity of the regime at the time of last year's "Europe" referendum has led to increasing strains within the UDR and the installation of the current Messmer government, a hard-line combat government put in to discipline the government forces for the upcoming elections. Like most bonapartist political formations, the UDR is cemented primarily by its lust for the concrete benefits which result from holding office (the "pork barrel"), and a threat of defeat can throw its forces into total disarray. In this it is the legitimate heir of Louis Napoleon's "Society of the 10th of December" and a close relative of Boss Tweed's Tammany Hall.

Bonapartism depends on the ability of what the French call the "strong state" *("état fort")* to balance between opposing class forces, and thereby to achieve a certain independence from both, at a time when an open clash between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat threatens. DeGaulle's Fifth Republic, born of an army coup d'etat in 1958, has been structurally bonapartist from the beginning, allowing the president to ignore the legislature through cleverly worded plebiscites, allowing extensive decree powers to the executive, and not even requiring that the government have majority support in parliament. The 1968 general strike upset the delicate balance, and the defeat of a referendum the following year led to DeGaulle's departure. His successor Pompidou has been unable to restabilize the bonapartist regime, and thus the current political crisis could easily lead to a crisis of the capitalist order itself.

The Common Program

This is the background against which the French Communist Party and Socialist Party signed the "Common Program of Government" on 26 June 1972, in preparation for the current elections, to take place on 4 and 11 March of this year. Shortly thereafter this agreement was also signed by the "Left Radicals," a small "democratic" capitalist political movement. Will this "Popular Union" fulfill the aspirations of the working class if it is elected?; is this a "peaceful road to socialism" as the CP promises? Hardly. CP Secretary Marchais himself makes one thing clear, speaking at the Twentieth Congress of the French CP earlier this year:

> "Is it a matter of installing communism, or even socialism, within the framework of the Common Program? Clearly not.
> "Socialist society has as its essential foundations the collective property of the entirety of the major means of production and exchange and the exercise of power by the working class in alliance with the other sectors of the working population. It is sufficient to take a look at the Common Program in order to ascertain that its realization would not amount to the establishment of such a regime in France."
> —quoted in OCI's *Programme d'action de la classe ouvrière*

But of course, the Stalinists claim they are realizing socialism by stages, and this is only the stage of "advanced democracy." And what might such a creature be? Perhaps this means an end to the bonapartist constitution of the Fifth Republic? This was for years a constant theme of CP literature, calling for a new constituent assembly. No longer. The Common Program maintains the present constitution imposed by DeGaulle, and as François Mitterand, head of the Socialist Party, states, "We will honestly apply the constitution."

Or perhaps this stage will be characterized by large-scale nationalizations of the monopolies? Not at all. The nationalizations will be limited to approximately 40 companies, primarily banks and insurance companies along with only nine specific trusts. Left out are such industrial giants as Michelin, Peugeot, Citroën, Usinor and De Wendel-Sidelor (the leading French steel companies), the heavy metallurgical firms—and the 9 which are to be nationalized will receive full "compensation"!! The National Front government of 1945-47 under DeGaulle did far more than this.

The Common Program is simply a plan for a "democratic" reform of capitalism, couched in Marxist language. It does contain a certain limited number of reforms in favor of the workers, such as promises of reforms on birth control, building speculation, child care centers, "gradual" return of the 40-hour week (the current average is 45 although the 40-hour week was "won" in 1936), and reform of the apprentice system. Yet not only do these reforms in no way threaten the survival of French capitalism, but in many cases they are formulated as vague promises, to be "attempted" or "encouraged," which will take place "progressively" or "gradually" and so on. In addition, more fundamental reforms, such as workers' control, are to be achieved only with the agreement of the bosses:

> "When the workers of a firm express the desire for it, and when the structure of a firm indicates its possibility, the workers' intervention in the administration and management of the firm will take new forms...determined by agreement between the democratic power [i.e., the bourgeois state], the management of the firm concerned [!!] and the unions [i.e., the bureaucrats]."

Undoubtedly the actual significance of this provision will be revealed when CP leaders use the capitalist army to return factories to their owners should they be "illegally" taken over by the workers, as is happening in Chile today under the Millas Law.

In key places, the Common Program promises to maintain and administer the bourgeois economy; it institutionalizes speedup by promising to "increase the economic and social return of the productive apparatus."

And what about the bourgeois constitution? When Pompidou obliquely threatened a legal coup d'etat if the pop front won at the polls ("If there is a very sharp confrontation between the executive and legislative powers, our constitution permits a number of solutions.... Unfortunately, the history of France shows that we are not a people to compromise.... If the executive throws out the assembly, that is called a coup d'etat; if the legislature throws out the executive, that is called a revolution") Mitterand responded "M. Pompidou has become reasonable again.... He will respect the constitution." And Marchais stated "After the elections we will have better things to do than to plunge the country into a debate on changing the constitution." *(Le Monde,* 13 January 1973)

The Common Program even goes so far as to contain an *explicity anti-communist clause,* which was used by the Popular Front in 1936 to repress the Trotskyists. It states: "Movements which use armed violence or which call for its use will be forbidden in conformity with legislation established in 1936." Although ostensibly directed against fascists, the real content of this point is directed against the revolutionary left.

In a similar elliptical manner, the Common Program calls for a democratization of the Common Market, which in fact amounts to the continuation of the EEC with a few modifications for window-dressing, instead of its abolition. How completely this policy is a betrayal of Marxism can be seen from the fact that at the time of the April 1972 Common Market referendum the main CP leaflet *reversed* Marx's famous statement; and said, *"the trusts have no fatherland, but the workers do"* ("Non au referendum plebiscite," April 1972)! This is important because for the first time the CP has now openly come out for the continuation of the Common Market. As for NATO, it says a left government would call for the simultaneous dissolution of it and the Warsaw Pact. Moreover, it "will favor all measures which would allow this objective to be reached by stages." What this actually means, of course, is French participation in NATO under a predominantly CP government!

The "Common Program of Government" is a gloved hand extended to the bourgeoisie by the main workers' party, the CP; it is a *bourgeois* program of reforms which preserve the essential framework of capitalism. Tomorrow the gloved hand will become the mailed fist of repression as the CP uses the bourgeois state apparatus to smash striking workers who thought the "Popular Union" would be *their* government. The Common Program is the program of a popular front, based on the support of sections of the bourgeoisie and on the bourgeois state.

Popular Fronts in French History

This is far from the first time the French workers have experienced a popular front. It has been a constant in the policies of the PCF ever since the Seventh Congress of the (by then reformist) Comintern in 1935. However, only on two occasions has the bourgeoisie consented to join with the Stalinists—namely, the two occasions when they were in danger of being overthrown by the militant action of the French working class.

The first instance was in the period 1936-38, when the CP and SP joined with the dominant bourgeois party, the Radicals led by Daladier, in the government of Léon Blum. Until 6 February 1934 the CP and SP leaderships had considered each other as their bitterest enemies, the former referring to the latter as "social fascists" in line with Stalin's "Third Period" vocabulary. But an abortive rightist coup on that date brought the menace of a fascist takeover into the open, and mass pressure forced a united front demonstration by the two workers' parties and their respective trade unions a week later. In mid-1935 the Comintern shifted over to the "Dimitrov line" of popular fronts in an empirical reaction to the disaster of the Third Period line which had led to Hitler's seizure of power in Germany in 1933 and the isolation of the CPs from the masses throughout the world. In France this shift was immediately embodied in the electoral pact with the SP and the Radicals.

The Popular Front won a tremendous electoral victory in the elections of May 1936, giving it a majority of over 100 seats in the National Assembly, with the Radicals' vote greatly diminished by the rapidly growing CP and SP. Although the program of the Blum government was little more than a warmed-over version of liberal reformism, from which the CP had been instrumental in excluding any more "radical" measures (such as nationalization of industry), the masses stood considerably to the left of the actual program. Thus the electoral victory of

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UAW "Opposition" Conference: Neo-Reutherites Stage Farce

DETROIT—The United National Caucus (UNC) of the UAW held a "Conference on Unemployment and Working Conditions" February 3-4 which demonstrated conclusively the UNC's inability to provide the leadership and program required to break through the bureaucratically-inspired crisis facing the UAW. The UNC is a loose conglomeration of bureaucratic careerists barely held together by a minimal, reformist program and such dishonest schemes to advance their careers as suing the union in the bosses' courts (see *WV* No. 16, February 1973).

The crisis facing the UAW is mounting steadily. The auto companies are returning record profits through markedly increased production with little or no increases in the work force. Discontent over work loads, speedup, working conditions, company abuse and the complete failure of the international leadership to lead a struggle has built up to such an extent that local UAW leaderships are forced to sharply demand militancy from Woodcock, even at well-screened official gatherings such as the recent Production Workers Conference in Atlanta. Woodcock, however, continues to speak of averting a strike at the expiration of the auto contracts next Fall, of "staggering" local strikes to make them more "manageable," and of creating new forms of joint union-management collaboration to head off local struggles! An opposition capable of resolving the contradiction between a bureaucratic leadership which can only betray and an openly rebellious rank and file, on the basis of a class-struggle program, is desperately needed.

However, the UNC has shown itself as incapable of capitalizing on the widespread membership discontent as it is of putting forward a program which expresses the fundamental objective needs of the workers.

Despite the best efforts of the UNC leaders to attract a large turnout—which for them meant watering down the UNC program to the barest minimum of "militant" trade unionism—the conference was attended by only the usual UNC coalition "membership" of about 60. An equal number of assorted non-UAW radicals showed up, mostly for the purpose of cheering on one or another bureaucratic faction in the UNC, or, in the case of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), for the purpose of exposing for public ridicule its far-fetched schemes.

Last-Minute Switch

Though it was publicized as a "rank-and-file" conference, *not* a UNC membership meeting, the UNC leaders switched tactics when they saw how few "rank-and-filers" and how many "radicals" were present. Making the conference for UNC members only, they forced the few independent auto workers present to either join the UNC on the spot—an impossible request for any sane, honest militant—or sit silently in the visitors' section (only two "visitors" ever got recognized to speak—after all the UNC members desiring the floor on any question had spoken). Some of these independents could not even be induced to stay for more than one session. UNC co-chairman Jordan Sims was seen personally attempting to dissuade one worker from walking out after the first, typically dull, session.

Together with their friends in the UNC, the various ostensibly revolutionary organizations—Communist Party (CP), International Socialists (IS) and NCLC—made up the great majority of the total attendance, yet at no point during the conference was a program presented capable of providing the basis for a revolutionary break from reformism and trade unionism. The IS is the most important outside supporter of the UNC because its views are reflected by a substantial section of the UNC membership and on its executive committee, and because the IS skillfully provides a left cover of social-democratic demagogy for the UNC (although the UNC is so inept that it often resists IS' attempts to protect its left flank). Comic relief was provided by the NCLC's endlessly-repeated proposal for a factional struggle to take over the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO)—a federal "anti-poverty" agency—and by the ludicrous bureaucratic anarchy caused by the crude attempts of Sims and other UNC leaders to shut up the NCLC's members and UNC supporters. Aping the high-handedness of Reuther (whom he warmly eulogizes in print in the February *UNC*), Sims adjourned the second session by fiat from the chair amidst shouts and pandemonium when a simple vote probably would have accomplished his desire to squelch an NCLC-sponsored proposal to have its New York mayoralty candidate address the conference. Only the petty squabbling and bickering among the would-be Reuthers and Woodcocks of the UNC leadership prevented, through disorganization, a total throttling of all opposition.

NCLC Class Collaborationism

The NWRO is a semi-official arm of the state. It is analogous to Mobilization for Youth (MFY) as part of a complex of state-sponsored ghetto reformist organizations arising out of the civil rights movement of the early and mid-60's. This was made perfectly clear by Margaret Baynes, who told the conference how the NWRO officials lived in luxury, care of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is through its absolute financial control that the Nixon administration is firing left-liberal NWRO officials.

The NWRO can no more be transformed into an instrument of working-class struggle than can the Federal Reserve System or FBI. We defend the *democratic rights* of NWRO officials fired for opposing reactionary policies (such as forcing clients to work for below union wages), just as we would defend an MFY lawyer fired for his political beliefs or an Afr Force officer court-martialed for refusing to bomb North Vietnam. This has *nothing* in common with the NCLC's attempt to transform an organization like the NWRO to ostensibly revolutionary aims through politically backing its left wing. The NCLC is engaged in sheer class-collaborationism, not qualitatively different from the support given by the "socialists" of the Socialist Party to the "internationalist-liberal" wing of the CIA. Any welfare rights activist who wants a militant organization of welfare clients committed to a socialist program must *immediately* break with the NWRO and all government financial support.

Margaret Baynes, a leader of the "pro-working class" faction in the NWRO, whom the NCLC foisted on the conference, demagogically threatened the conference that welfare client scabs would break the unions unless the UNC materially supported her faction. It is a measure of the NCLC's contempt for the real organizational power of the working class that these avowed "Marxists" not only condoned this demogogic nonsense, but believed it.

Political Tendencies Suppressed

Flagrant anti-communism and vicious red-baiting by key UNC leaders, directed at any left militant who dared to raise his head (and some who didn't), marked the conference.

After much bureaucratic juggling and trickery the first day, designed mainly to keep the NCLC proposal off the floor, Kelly opened the morning session on the second day with a denunciation of "political groups" which seek to "destroy the caucus" by coming in from the outside with an ideology.

Any group struggling for power in the labor movement does so on the basis of a political program, whether it recognizes it or not. Kelly's rank-and-filism is simply a cover for an anti-red purge and the creation of new trade-union leaders who will continue to carry out the political program of capitalism in the labor movement—national chauvinism, preserving the competitive position of the companies at the expense of the workers, fostering racial and sexual discrimination in the work force and maintaining the privileges of the organized workers as against the unorganized, of the employed as against the unemployed, etc.

However Kelly and the other UNC leaders are not waiting until their election to high union office to begin the purge. On the first day, Caucus leader Charles Dewey had informed the various groups maintaining literature tables in the hall outside the conference that they were not wanted back the next day. When challenged by a Spartacist League member as to the reason, he claimed the tables were a "nuisance" and "*my* viewpoint isn't represented here"! On the second day, after Kelly's denunciation of the left, the manager of the building (Veterans Memorial Hall) and two uniformed building guards appeared and forced the literature tables out of the hall because of "fire regulations." Questioned separately by members of the NCLC and Spartacist League in the presence of an IS supporter, the manager said that Pete Kelly had informed him of the presence of tables "not connected with the conference" in the hallway. The effect this "information" would have was well known to the UNC, which often holds its meetings in this building.

The NCLC and Spartacist League jointly signed a statement which was to have been presented to the conference for a vote. The statement said, "This act of suppression of socialist distribution of views, by the UNC leadership, should be condemned by the conference. We call upon this conference to vote to have the literature tables remain set up." The statement named Kelly as responsible. IS members, whose table was also removed, refused to sign the statement in a grossly obvious attempt to ingratiate themselves with the anti-communist UNC leaders.

The IS did not content itself with this, however, but sought in addition to help provide the UNC with a slick left cover of legitimacy. At the first opportunity after the tables were taken down, a UNC member reflecting the IS view proposed a motion to "protest" the building management's removal of the tables. A supporter of the NCLC rose to make an amendment which was declared out of order before it had even been read, because it was based on the NCLC/SL statement! This prevented the accusation of Kelly's responsibility from getting a hearing by the body. The maker of the original motion then rose again and specifically disassociated himself from any accusation that Kelly had, in effect, called the cops! Kelly then took the floor himself to demagogically shout about his hatred for the police, and imply violence against the left, by saying, "we don't need cops—we have our own cops here!" Always one for a slick maneuver, Fox grabbed the floor to speak for the meaningless, emasculated motion, despite his obvious hostility to all the left groups at the conference, and used his time to attack the NCLC and IS! The motion passed, over the heads of cruder, right-wing and CP-backed UNC leaders, thus making it appear that the UNC actually defended the rights of the victimized groups. A cynical comment came from the floor after the voting, that the "protest" would be made *after* the conference, of course!

Fox Fingers a Real Oppositionist

At the end of the last session a particularly vicious attempt was made to red-bait a caucus in another union. A representative of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of the National Maritime Union (NMU) had been granted three minutes to address the conference. (The Militant-Solidarity Caucus, unlike the UNC, is based on a program of transitional, political demands designed to counterpose the class struggle of the workers to the entire reformist trade-union bureaucracy.) As the MSC representative arrived at the podium to speak, Fox leaped up and demanded, "Do you represent the NMU or are you just a rank-and-file member?"—a strange question coming from one supposed "oppositionist" to another at a "rank-and-file" conference! Fox continued, "We don't want any speakers from..." and then named a revolutionary organization! The IS-backed UNC members did not find it necessary to disassociate themselves from *this* accusation—made by one of their collaborators, whom the IS has sponsored in public talks around the country!

Faced with such a gross violation of elementary solidarity against bureaucratic anti-communism and company victimization, Kelly, who was chairing the session, nevertheless refused to respond to Fox, despite his prior knowledge that the proposed speaker

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NEW SOLIDARITY

Spartacist protests police expulsion of literature tables at UNC conference.

Women and the Permanent Revolution

For Marxists the emancipation of women from their special oppression is a precise gauge of the degree to which a society has been purged of social oppression as a whole. This interrelationship was first formulated by the Utopian socialist Fourier:

> "The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women towards freedom, because in the relations of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation."
> —Théorie des Quatre Mouvements

Fourier was paraphrased by Marx in the *Holy Family* (1845):

> "The relation of man to woman, is the *most* natural relation of human being to human being. It indicates therefore, how far man's *natural* behavior has become human, and how far his human essence has become a *natural* essence for him, how far his *human nature* has become *nature* for him."

In a blunter and more succinct fashion, Marx repeated the same point 23 years later in a letter to Kugelmann: "social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex, (the ugly ones included)."

Monogamous Family Emerges

One of the ironies of history is that the origin of the special oppression of women is rooted in one of the earliest social advances—the development of human technology beyond the day-to-day struggle for bare subsistence characteristic of hunting and gathering societies. With the introduction of cattle breeding, metal working, weaving, and lastly, agriculture, human labor-power became capable of producing a substantial social surplus. Under the impact of these technological developments, the institution under which labor power is reproduced, the family, underwent a profound transformation. As Marx and Engels pointed out in the *German Ideology*, the propagation of the species engendered the first division of labor between man and woman. Because of women's procreative functions, the lot of childbearing, childrearing and general domestic tasks fell on them. The household was the general sphere of woman's activity. However, the development of technology, domestication of animals (including other humans, usually war prisoners or slaves) and the land, and the development of tools took place in the general sphere of man's activity, and it was he that appropriated the concommitant expansion in social wealth. Thus, the advent of private property and the need to transfer this property through inheritance gave rise to the patriarchal law of inheritance and law of descent. The monogamous family was developed to insure the paternity of the children, with the incumbent seclusion of the wife to insure her fidelity. Seclusion meant an exclusion from public life and social production.

> "Monogamous marriage was a great historical step forward; nevertheless, together with slavery and private wealth, it opens the period that has lasted until today in which every step forward is also relatively a step backward, in which prosperity and development for some is won through the misery and frustration of others."
> —Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*

Prior to the growth of private property and the monogamous family, arms, like tools and property, were held in common. However, with the development of private ownership in the means of production and procreation, and the polarization of society into economic classes, weapons became monopolized by bodies of men separated from the rest of society. These armed bodies of men constituted the essence of the *state*. While appearing to stand above classes, the state is in reality the instrument whereby the dominant economic class in each epoch maintains its hegemony. The ancient state was the state of the slave-owners for holding down the slaves, the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern, "democratic" state is the instrument of the capitalist class to maintain its dominance and ability to exploit labor.

In each epoch the family, like the state, has been principally an institution for perpetuating the dominant property form and the dominant economic class. For the slave, serf and wage-slave—i.e., for those social classes without property to inherit or defend—the social institutions of inheritance and defense, the family and the gendarme, are principally institutions of subjugation.

Limitations of Bourgeois Progressivism

With the advent of industrial capitalism, the family entered a state of relative dissolution. In order to drive down wages, capitalism sought to lower the cost of producing and reproducing labor power through drawing the entire family into the labor process. This meant breaking down the guild structure, at first through "piecing out" work to individual families, and then by concentrating them into industrial sites and company towns. In countries with belated capitalist development, such as Tsarist Russia, guilds and the development of home industry were skipped, and serfs drawn directly into large, bleak company towns.

The return of women to social production provides the precondition to their social emancipation, but under capitalism it meant the further enslavement and degradation of women, as they were forced to take on wage slavery in addition to their domestic slavery. Unable and unwilling to provide social substitutes for the economic role of the family, however, the capitalists encouraged women to return to the domicile and kitchen with consciously-generated propaganda in favor of the family and religion. Thus capitalism expanded the productive forces and laid the technological basis for the socialization of domestic work and the replacement of the family as an economic unit, but was and is unable to accomplish this replacement, just as it laid the basis for the international socialization of the means of production, but still cannot eliminate national boundaries.

Capitalism depends for its survival on the traditional, archaic social institutions of class rule: private property, the monogamous family and the nation-state. As the productive forces generated by capitalism increase, they strain against the bounds set up by the social institutions upon which the system depends, and the capitalist class becomes more virulent in trying to shore up and reinforce institutions which become increasingly more reactionary. The capitalist-backed trend of women out of the plants and back to the domicile reached its zenith in the Nazi campaign for woman's enslavement to "Kinder, Kirche, Küche,"—"children, church, kitchen."

The bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, which cleared away feudal institutions from the path of capitalist development, replaced social relations based on obligations and privileges with those based on contractual equality, and thus had a profound effect on the family. Equality of rights between the sexes was given expression by the bourgeois revolution's most radical ideological advocates, especially in regard to the ownership and inheritance of property. But even in the realm of formal legality, the bourgeoisie was frightened by the consequences of its own revolution and immediately dug into the medieval past for archaic institutions with which to stabilize its rule. Thus, the French Revolution was followed by a further political counter-revolution, a Thermidor in which the *agents* of the bourgeois revolution, the rural poor and the urban sansculottes, were disinherited. Thermidor in terms of the family and the special oppression of women was provided by the Code Napoleon, which made women the property of their husbands, requiring a woman to obtain her husband's permission in order, for example, to obtain a passport, make a will or sign a contract.

In a similar fashion the equality of nations proclaimed by the bourgeois revolution was subordinated to the drive of the industrially advanced nations to subjugate less developed nations in the struggle for markets and raw materials. The interrelationship between the subordination of the equality of the sexes and the equality of nations is graphically demonstrated by French Imperialism. When Napoleon III thought that a higher birthrate was essential to provide workers and soldiers for expanding the French Empire, he appealed to Rome and won from the Pope a redefinition of when life begins—from the traditional Catholic view that it begins when the fetus can survive outside of the womb, to the present immediately-following-conception view. This transformed abortion from a venial into a mortal sin, and on this basis Napoleon III drew up the restrictive abortion law which France has today.

Women Under Decaying Capitalism

Thus the bourgeoisie was never consistently democratic, even when the democratic tasks necessary to consolidating its class rule were on the agenda. In the epoch of imperialism, the imperialist countries have a further direct interest in suppressing the democratic and national aspirations of the colonial and semi-colonial masses. Had the imperialist powers in China supported the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion (in which armed women's brigades played an important part), a modern Protestant nation might have emerged there in the last century. Instead they backed the Manchus, upon whom they were already dependent to ensure stability. The road to imperialist subjection lay through bolstering the most reactionary and repressive aspects of semi-feudal society combined with the penetration of that society by the most advanced capitalist technique.

The inability of the "national bourgeoisies" of these colonial countries to shatter the feudal past and carry through a bourgeois-democratic revolution was conclusively demonstrated in the course of the last century. The na-

Algerian women factory workers.

tional bourgeoisie, generally recruited straight from the old nobility, and dependent on relics of the feudal past for its survival (e.g., latifundia in South America), developed as the dependent broker for imperialism. The native bourgeois classes in the colonial world were unable to separate themselves from the entanglement with imperialist domination for fear of setting off forces—principally the anti-capitalist struggle of the workers, in alliance with the peasantry—which would sweep them from power as well.

Analyzing the tasks of a revolution in Tsarist Russia and their means of accomplishment, Trotsky formulated the theory of the Permanent Revolution. He concluded not only that proletarian leadership would be required to accomplish the basic bourgeois-democratic goals of the revolution—since the bourgeoisie was unable to take a revolutionary path against the autocracy—but also that the proletariat would have to place its own, *socialist* goals immediately on the agenda if the revolution were to be successful. In order to uproot feudal autocracy and colonial domination, the working class would have to uproot the bourgeois order which had grown up within, and now propped up, these institutions.

The question of women's emancipation in the "Third World" continues to demonstrate the truth of Trotsky's conclusions and the lessons of the Russian Revolution which they anticipated. Equal rights for women is a basic democratic right, avowed by all democracies and accepted as a goal by all "national liberation" movements. Yet the special oppression of women is grounded in the very basis of the property system itself. Just as the anti-colonial struggle which limits its goals to the establishment of an independent state fails to provide real independence from imperialist domination, so the "revolution" which stops short of overturning capitalism has proven unable to uproot women's oppression.

Bangla Desh provides such shocking examples of inhuman imperialist behavior that the complete domination of the "national liberation" struggle against Pakistan by the equally reactionary, rival Indian imperialists is forgotten. Yet this fact absolutely precluded the accomplishment of *any* democratic tasks by that movement (see *WV* No. 16, February 1973). Among the victims of the struggle over Bangla Desh were 200,000 Bengali women who were systematically gang-raped by the West Pakistani Army. Marshal Khan's troops then had the heads of these women shorn, a mark of disgrace in Bengali society. The women were then turned loose, only to be rejected and massacred by their husbands, brothers and fathers as Sheik Rahman, former feminist Indira Gandhi's faithful seneschal, came to power. The state that emerged behind the bayonets of the Indian Army proved no more liberating for the women of Bangla Desh than the regime which perpetrated bestial gang-rape. The vengeful persecution of the Biharis under the new state is no consolation.

Algerian Independence Little Gain for Women

When "national liberation" does not simply replace one imperialist suzerain for another, as in Bangla Desh, but results in a measure of real political independence within the context of continued imperialist economic domination—viz., Algeria—the unimproved condition of women reflects the continued failure to accomplish basic democratic tasks of the revolution for the masses. The Tripoli Program, basic manifesto of the Algerian Revolution, vaguely promised formal equality, but even the law of the new regime codifies sexual inequality for women, many of whom fought in the FLN as both auxiliaries and commandos. For example, the maximum punishment for adultery committed by men is one year—for women, two. And the reality is much worse than the letter of the law expresses—while forced marriage is now illegal, every year even the government is forced to admit that many suicides take place to avoid forced marriages. This could be attributed to the difficulty in overcoming tradition, yet the attitude of the Algerian regime is one that is *hostile* to overcoming tradition. Boumedienne, President of Algeria's "Revolutionary" Council, said:

> "We say 'no' to this [Western] type of evolution, for our society is an Islamic and a socialist society. A problem exists here. It involves respect for morality.... For we have seen among several peoples who have been recently liberated, that woman, once free, hastens to think of things which one need not cite here.... The evolution of Algerian woman and the enjoyment of her rights must be in the framework of the morality of our society."
>
> —8 March 1966

And this speech was given on International Woman's Day! The speech inspired the walk-out of a number of women. In "socialist" Algeria, where every student receives religious education, women have been kept out of politics, generally out of higher education, and under the veil as well.

Algerian society has not been without some democratic reforms, even reforms which touch upon the family. But each reform is elaborately justified only after tortuous religious debate and tedious reinterpretation of the Koran.

Modern imperialism has not forgotten its Rudyard Kipling, has not forgotten how to wrap itself in the mantle of a "civilizing mission," especially regarding the "weaker sex"—as it rapes both the women and the natural resources of the subjugated nations. French imperialists, whose Code Napoleon did not allow a woman to open a bank account or take a job without her husband's permission until 1966, paraded themselves in Algeria as the defenders and liberators of Moslem womanhood. Perhaps the most ludicrous expression of this pious hypocrisy was the so-called "Battle of the Veils." After 13 May 1958, when the French *colons* ransacked the Governor General's headquarters, bringing down the Fourth Republic, a leading *colon* woman organized the Feminine Solidarity Movement, which paraded de-veiled Moslem women around to give eulogistic speeches on how good it was to be liberated by the society of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*—the complete marriage of feminism and imperialism! In reaction, the veil became a symbol of the Resistance to French imperialism, as did the Moslem family, the traditional customs, etc. Thus, not only were centuries-old customs of domestic slavery and oppression not abolished, but the symbols of these very customs were adopted by the "Revolution"! Thus Boumedienne says "no" not to French imperialist hypocrisy—his hatred of which is a sham—but to the basic achievements of the French Revolution.

The most articulate expression of "Third World" nationalism which, like the Russian Narodniks, reduces "socialism" and "revolution" to feudalistic revivalism, is to be found in that darling of the café revolutionaries, Frantz Fanon—the official ideologue of the Algerian FLN. While his *L'An Cinq de la Revolution Algérienne* (translated as *A Dying Colonialism*) is a testament to the courage and fortitude of the Algerian revolutionary woman—showing how involvement in the FLN revolutionized her social standing—Fanon finds her strength not in the liberating experience of equality imposed by commando life, but in patriarchal Moslem tradition:

> "What is true is that under normal conditions, an interaction must exist between the family and society at large. The home is the basis of the truth of society, but society authenticates and legitimizes the family. The colonial structure is the very negation of this reciprocal justification. The Algerian woman, in imposing such a restriction on herself, in choosing a form of existence limited in scope, was deepening her consciousness of struggle and preparing for combat."

Fanon is quite correct when he states that after participating in the national liberation struggle the Algerian woman "could not put herself back into her former state of mind and relive her behavior of the past." But for Fanon, as for the Narodniks, the very cultural and social backwardness of the masses is itself a source of their revolutionary capacity. The Narodniks, the supreme petty-bourgeois radical democrats, denied the *bourgeois* character of the democratic revolution, i.e., agrarian revolution, national independence and democratic rights, which constituted the parameters of their program. For the Narodniks, for Fanon and for the official Algerian regime and its sundry Stalinist-Maoist-Pabloite apologists, such regimes are "socialist" despite their incapacity to carry through even the basic democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. What emerges is a "Third World" nationalism, profoundly anti-democratic, feudalistic and in this case Moslem fundamentalist.

Women of the Red Guard laud Mao in Peking demonstration.

Women and the Russian Revolution

If the Algerian experience is the negative confirmation of the Permanent Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was both positive and negative confirmation. The Russian Revolution emerged from the cataclysmic experience of world war in a country which, like the colonial countries, combined the latest in capitalist technology—industries that were totally merged with finance-capital and as such ultimately controlled by the Bourses of Western Europe—with the most backward medieval institutions. At the same time Russia was the "chattel-house" of nations, itself an imperialist power with expansionist appetites in Asia Minor and the Balkans. Given Russia's belated bourgeois development, it skipped over that stage which nurtures a strong urban petty-bourgeoisie with strong democratic institutions and illusions. When the radicalized female of the intelligentsia entered politics, it was not as a feminist or suffragette, but as a terrorist. According to the reports of the Tsarist Minister of Justice, Count Pahlen, of the 620 people summoned before the courts for revolutionary activities during the 1870's 158 were women. The 29-member Central Executive Committee of Narodraya Volya (People's Freedom) in 1879 had 10 women. One of the members of this group, Sofya Perovskaya, directed the assassination of Alexander II.

The terrorist activity of the radicalized middle class women was the prelude to the militant class battles of Russia's working women. Concentrated primarily in textile industries, they were in the vanguard of the strike struggles of the late 1890's. After the turn of the century bourgeois feminists organized "Women's Political Clubs" in St. Petersburg. In the winter of 1907-08 the Russian Social Democrats organized the "Society for Mutual Help Among Working Women" and issued the publication *Woman Worker*. When the bourgeois feminists organized the first All-Russian Women's Congress in 1908 the "social-democratic women were represented by their own separate class group, numbering 45 women. Having passed their own independent resolutions on all questions, the women workers finally walked out of this 'ladies' congress" (A. Kollantai, *Women Workers Struggle For Their Rights*, 1918).

One of the differences between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was over whether to organize an independent proletarian women's group or participate in the bourgeois feminist groups. After the final split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1912 the Bolsheviks distinguished themselves by continuing to struggle to draw proletarian women into the revolutionary movement. The Bolsheviks resumed publication of *Woman Worker* in 1914 for International Woman's Day. This holiday, which had originated in 1908 in Manhattan's Lower East Side (Rutgers Square) by women in the needle trades, was adopted by the 2nd International under the leadership of Clara Zetkin in 1911. It was first celebrated in Russia at the instigation of the St. Petersburg textile workers in 1913 and celebrated again in 1914 complete with processional, mass meeting and the first appearance of the red flag in St. Petersburg. The next celebration was in 1917 and marked the opening of the Russian Revolution.

The Stalinists who try to fit the Russian Revolution into their two-stage schema claim that the February Revolution was the bourgeois-democratic stage of the Revolution. While the February Revolution was bourgeois in that it put the bourgeoisie into power, there was very little democracy about it, especially in relation to the emancipation of women. Taking the Church and ecclesiastical courts out of the private affairs of marriage and divorce was achieved only later, by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Likewise, it was only after the Bolshevik Revolution that a real effort was made to alleviate the domestic slavery of women through the establishment of nurseries, creches, maternity care, public dining halls and laundries.

The Bolshevik Revolution established another basic tenet of the Permanent Revolution—the need for proletarian leadership over the peasant movement. While the agrarian revolution was spontaneous, the struggle to summon peasant women to a full public and political life was not. The political mobilization of the peasant women required the courageous and persistent efforts of the Bolshevik party women, many of whom were recruited from the St. Petersburg textile factories which had been in the vanguard of the Russian class struggle for three decades prior to the Revolution. Organized in the

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Capital's Labor Trustee: Australian Labor Party Elected

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND—The victory of Gough Whitlam and the Australian Labor Party (ALP) over the Liberal-Country Party coalition in the December elections has brought Social Democracy back into power in Australia for the first time since 1949. Labor's victory in Australia, coming hard on the heels of the landslide election of Kirk and the New Zealand Labour Party indicates broadly-felt dissatisfaction with conservative bourgeois rule in Australasia.

For differing and essentially counterposed reasons, sections of the bourgeoisie as well as of the working class supported labor in the elections. The labor parties, closely linked with the trade unions in both countries, and traditionally the expression of the political consciousness of the broad masses of the Australasian working class, won new supporters in the class on the basis of growing dissatisfaction with capitalism's attacks on their living standards, and of the great number of social democratic reforms Labor promised. But elements of the historically enfeebled Australian bourgeoisie were also disgruntled by the proven ineptitude of the Liberal-Country Party coalition in the face of the growing economic and social problems. Newspaper magnate Robert Murdoch and retail store millionaire Kenneth Myer were but some of the most prominent recent recruits to Labor. The image that the Labor bureaucrats sought to create, no matter how sweeping the reforms promised, was of responsible reorganisers of the capitalist system. Before his election, Whitlam said quite openly that taxes on the wealthy and corporations "are already high enough." Clearly in the face of growing inflation and unemployment the McMahon-led coalition had lost its authority to rule in the eyes of the working class and among some of the more far-sighted elements of the bourgeoisie as well.

So long as capitalism can rely upon willing Social-Democratic and Stalinist allies to assume the reins of government during difficult times, chanelling working-class ferment in the directions of petty reforms, it witl be able to weather the severest storms.

Newsworthy Policies

In his first month of office Whitlam has consotidated his authority by implementing some of his most newsworthy policies: the abolition of conscription, tiberalisation of the divorce laws, institution of a national health scheme, recognition of the Peoples Republic of China, free off-peak transport, equal pay for women in the public service (to be phased in over three years), tiberallsation of Immigration rtghts for Asians and Pacific Islanders. All this has lent the regime an aura of dynamism, capturing world attention much the way Roosevelt did in the U.S. during his first hundred days in 1933. While significant, these changes hardly toucb the real needs of the masses and in fact disarm them by helping to prepare the way for the very harsh measures Whitlam will be forced to institute for the benefit of Australian capitalism. On the other hand, in New Zealand Kirk is incompetentiy emphasising his continuity with the previous conservative government.

Historically, Australia and, to a somewhat lesser extent, New Zealand have been direct appendages of imperialist capitalism—at first solely Britisb, since the Second World War more American, and now in the last few years increasingly Japanese. Australia has been a source of wool, wheat and now importantly iron, uranium, bauxite, zinc and oil, in addition to being a market for western manufacturers. When the wave of inflation sparked by the Vietnam war broke out in the United States, Australasia felt the impact and was hit even harder. In both countries inflation has averaged about nine per cent per annum, and last year Australian unemployment rose to its highest level in a decade. Most large industry in Australia is foreign-owned, and this foreign ownership has increased spectacularly in recent years. According to a government White Paper issued last year, in the 1970-71 financial year total overseas investment increased by 46 per cent. In the ten years previously it had been growing at an average annual compound rate of 26 per cent. A measure of overseas ownership used in the White Paper was the percentage of the total company income payable abroad. In 1948-49 this was around 20 per cent; in 1970-71 it was around 35 per cent. The Australian bourgeoisie has been ineffective in stemming the root causes of the economic problems without dealing a blow to the very foreign capitalists upon whom it is ultimately dependent. The economically and socially conservative former governments were hamstrung by their social base and governing philosophy in the latitude of measures they were able to develop to solve the problems besetting them. Finally, the shift in the relationship of forces in the international imperialist system, with the Japanese controlling the entire Pacific basin, poses other problems for the Australian bourgeoisie. The change to a Labor government will undoubtedly ease the political accommodation to Japanese imperialism which the bourgeoisie is finding necessary as a concomitant of the Japanese investment which has flooded Australia since about 1968.

ALP vs. the Labor Movement

The main base of support for the labor parties is the organised working class. In response to rising inflation and unemployment, trade-union militancy has increased, occasionally bursting the confines of craft or industrial disputes, spilling over into social and potitical issues as well. When in 1969 Stalinist union bureaucrat Clarrte O'Shea was jalled for defiance of anti-union penal laws, a mitlion workers went on a nationwide general strike to free him. Most recently, in January the waterside workers went on a political strike against the American shipping companies in response to the renewed bombing of North Vietnam. It took all of the skill of Australian Councti of Trade Unions President Bob Hawke to end it by promising a general strike if the bombing were resumed again. Hawke's ability to facilely combine a socialist face to the working class with actions that objectively aid the capitalist system make him the doyen of trade union bureaucrats.

It will he the task of the ALP to improve the anti-union laws. Even before its election to office sections of the party leadership showed their true class allegiance. The bourgeoisie was frightened by the 1969 Clarrie O'Shea strike and the new Minister of Labour in the Labor Government, Ctive Cameron, originated a series of notortous proposals for the suppression of the working class, including the illegalisation of political strikes and the imposition of fines (unions $500 a day and individual workers $20 a day) for participating in very broadly defined "illegal" strikes of an industrial nature. Whitlam supported the Cameron proposals at the 1971 Annual Federal Conference of the ALP, and although they were shelved in the face of left-wing opposition, they surely are not dead.

In the last few of their twenty-three years in office, the Liberal-Country Party Coalition was riddled with dissention, and, attempting to appeal to as wide an audience as possible, the Labor Party's main campaign slogan was the classless, non-political epigram "It's Time"! In a large part of its propaganda the Labor Party—knowing full weti that the most conscious part of the working class would vote for it anyway, and seeking to dispel some of its image as a class-controlled party—sought to characterise Liberal-Country ineptitude as the sole reason for the country's economic plight. Yet by far one of the most outstanding features of the campaign was Whitlam's attempt to outdo McMahon in his recourse to nationalist fears and ambitions. At his main policy speech Whitlam conjured the impression that a Labor government would fight to repatriate Australia's foreign-owned resources: "A Labor Government will enable Australia and ordinary Australians to take part in ownership, development and use of Australian resources. It's time to start buying back Australia."

Whitlam went on to elaborate his fealty to capitalist industry: "[Labor policy]... recognises that the national government must by consultation and cooperation with all sections of industry, achieve a growih rate of 6-7 per cent in each of the next three years." Implicit in this announcement was not simply an attempt to curry favour with Australian capital, but an attempt to win the confidence of the wavering and electorally crucial petty-bourgeoisie. Conscious of the many faces of the Labor Party, Whitlam went on in the very same speech to concitiate the left wing within his Party, easing their consciences about the aborigines by promising them "land rigbts," the removal of apartheid-like laws in the state of Queensland, financial aid to aborigines, and an end to racial discrtmination.

Left Accommodates to Reformism

The ostensible revolutionary socialist organisations failed abysmally to guide and lead the working class in the election. A correct orientation to the Labor Party called for a Marxist understanding of its *contradictory* nature and the implementation of the Leninist tactic of critical support. The tactic of critical support for a mass social democratic or Stalinist party is designed to exploit the contradiction between its formal program and the aspirations of its working class base on the one hand with its betrayals in practice and its traitorous, bourgeoisified leadership on the other. None of the ostensibly revolutionary socialist groups adequately pursued this policy!

The Australian Communist Party gave essentially uncritical support to a Labor government as a good thing, although not quite as good a thing as a Communist government. Although in markedly different ways, both the Socialist Labor League of Australia (SLL), which claims solidarity with Gerry Healy's International Committee of the Fourth International, and the Socialist Workers League (SWL), associated with the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, acted as left pressure groups on the Labor Party.

THE AGE (Australia)

Freighter idled by Australian seamen's union strike against renewed bombing of Vietnam, January 1973.

Of the ostensibly revolutionary groupings, the Communist Party of Australia is the largest, with several thousand members. Since its break with Moscow over the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia it has moved to the right, hoping to absorb much of the New Left. In the process the CPA has become the home for almost the entire non-Leninist left—Stalinist, left-social democratic, New Left or ostensibly Trotskyist. (There are also pro-Peking and pro-Moscow groupings of significant size.) In the last parliamentary elections the CPA stood seven candidates of its own on a platform favoring such varlegated positions as Zero Population Growth, religious tolerance, electlon of the police, and self-determination for the aboriginal population (of about one hundred thousand).

The Australian electoral system is unique in that voting is compulsory and there is a system of balloting such that every voter must mark the names of all candidates standing in his constituency in order of his preference for them, the second and third preferences being used to decide the winner if none receives fifty per cent. This sytem allows for the formal trading of preferences among political parties. Because of this system the CPA was able to make sure that its candidature in no way detracted from a potential Labor victory and, indeed, the CPA managed to capitulate to the ALP-sponsored priority of defeating the reactionary Liberal-Country coalition, without raising much criticism of the Labor Party besides noting that it was not revolutionary. The CPA presented the relationship between revolutionary socialism and labor reformism as part of a *continuing spectrum*. Thus, a mass-distributed election policy sheet stated, "Begin with number one for your Communist candidate or your favored choice amongst the reformist candidates, then vote for all the other reform candidates

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...Financial Chaos Looms

trade union movement in Europe. In early December, the Pompidou government announced a new "anti-inflation" program, which included cutting back government-supplied social services and raising interest rates, even at the risk of losing votes to the Socialist-Communist Party electoral opposition. The German Social Democrat-Free Democrat popular front government has recently announced an "anti-inflationary," budget with sharp tax increases and a cutback in funds slated for housing construction. While Europe's ruling classes were compelled to fight their workers to prop up the dollar standard, the dollar fell anyway.

The Epochal World Money Crisis

The current dollar devaluation is a manifestation of an epochal international monetary crisis. The continual international monetary "crises" are a clear and dramatic proof of the Leninist assertion that since August 1914, the nation-state system has become a fundamental barrier to the expansion of production. All the imperialist powers financed World War 1 through domestic inflation, insulating their currencies from the gold standard. World War 1 destroyed the gold standard which unified the various national currencies. This unity has *never* been restored. The first of an endless series of conferences to create a new monetary system based on mutual credit was held in Genoa in 1922. The issues and conflicts at that conference were essentially the same as those at the international monetary conferences to be held in this and the coming years. Discounting all the technical complexities, the "problem" of the international monetary system is this: all capitalist states violate the agreed-upon "rules of the game" when serious economic damage results from obeying those rules. Thus, all the major devaluations since World War II, including the present one, are *illegal* according to International Monetary Fund regulations! Ours is an epoch of fundamental international financial anarchy.

This anarchy is disguised by *temporary* agreements by which the currency of the country enjoying large gold reserves relative to its international debt becomes the world money (Britain in 1925-31, the U.S. in 1945-71). The system is inherently self-contradictory. The "strong" key currency always becomes the weakest in the system. As soon as the capitalists of the favored nation realize their money is "as good as gold," they go on a foreign investment spree flooding the world with their currency well in excess of their gold reserves and foreign demand for exchange holdings. The other capitalist powers are then faced with the excruciating choice of forcing the devaluation of the key currency (which means sacrificing their competitive advantage), reducing the value of their reserves and throwing the system back into chaos or continuing to accumulate decreasingly valued currency which feeds domestic inflation. The British (pound) standard was destroyed in 1931, the American (dollar) standard in 1971.

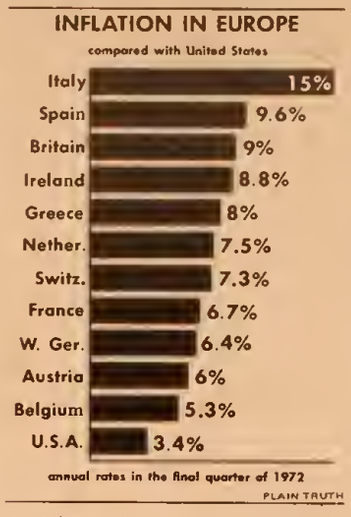
Monetary Cranks and Catastrophe-Mongering

Because all major economic crises disrupt the existing payments system, there is a strong tendency to blame economic crises on bad money and credit policies. In both left- and right-wing radical circles, there is a long history of money cranks proclaiming that the ills of capitalism can be eliminated through some radically new credit system. Predictably, the U.S. left has produced its own money crank—one Lyn Marcus, head of the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Marcus' major contribution to socialist theory was his observation that depression can be overcome in one day through the organization of bank clerks! Because Marcus identifies capitalism with the existing monetary system he asserts that the devaluation of the dollar leads to instant world depression which can only be prevented through the imposition of fascism. After the August 15th dollar devaluation, Marcus wrote:

> "U.S. money-managers have correctly and repeatedly warned the U.S. Presidents and Congresses that any instability in the dollar would wreck the international monetary system and bring the entire capitalist world down into a new depression. . . . The capitalist system veers toward depression for the lack of $35 gold parity to give stability of trade. . . . Whether actual world depression can be postponed for a few months has little fundamental bearing on the situation as a whole. . . . Forty years after September 1931, we are again plunging into a new world depression. . . ."
>
> —*New Solidarity*, 30 August 1971

The headline of NCLC's *New Solidarity* right after the current devaluation was "Nixon Makes Depression Official."

There are few better proofs of the theoretical poverty of Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League (SLL) in Britain and Tim Wohlforth's Workers League (WL) in the U.S. than their rote dependence for an analysis of post-war capitalism on Lyn Marcus, who is himself at least a creative crackpot. The 15 February *Workers Press* is headlined "Capitalism Hits the Dust as Nixon Puts the Boot In." Discussing the effects of the devaluation, the article states, "For Europe especially it will mean massive recession, the physical destruction of capital and millions and millions of unemployed." The same article informs us that the capitalist system is



dead (which leaves us wondering who killed it and what social system we are living under now):

> "Ever since 1914 the capitalist system has been gripped by contradictions that could only be solved by slump or war. Now its corpse—bloated by the post-war inflation—has burst. And the system is turning to dust. . . ."

The SLL/WL use Marcus' economic catastrophe-mongering to whip their followers into a hysteria for various campaigns (e.g., the WL's instant labor party, the SLL's "long marches" against unemployment). The SLL/WL crisis-mongering is equalled only by their ignorance of and contempt for Marxist political economy.

A good deal of Marx' writing on money and credit was designed to attack the theoretical basis of monetary crankism. Marx insisted that the basis of economic crises was in capitalist *production*, not circulation. He held that the root cause of all crises was that capital expanded faster than the surplus value that it generated (i.e., the rate of profit fell). Marx dismissed credit theories of crisis out of hand:

> "Not a single responsible economist of the post-Ricardian period denies the plethora of capital. On the contrary, all of them regard it as the cause of crises (in so far as they do not explain the latter by factors relating to credit). . . .
>
> "In investigating why the general *possibility of crisis* turns into a *real* crisis . . . it is therefore quite superfluous to concern oneself with the *forms* of crisis which arise out of the development of money as *means of payment*." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Theories of Surplus Value*, Ch. 17

Because currency devaluation is a single, dramatic event, there is a strong tendency to attach undue importance to it. Currency devaluation is only one *manifestation* of fundamental economic conflicts and weaknesses, and often not the most important one. Probably the most important aspect of the international monetary situation this past year is *not* the second dollar devaluation, but the rampant European inflation resulting from an attempt to prevent that devaluation. The West European inflation has produced a marked leftward electoral shift and has intensified the class struggle at every level.

No single economic event (e.g., currency devaluation, runaway inflation, a given rate of unemployment or a stock market crash) can mean the collapse of the capitalist *system*. That is because the capitalist system does not collapse of itself; it must be "pushed" to collapse through the revolutionary action of the working class. The revolutionary action of the working class arises out of the intersection of three elements—the immediate economic and political pressures bearing down on the workers, the workers' past experience which shapes their attitude toward the immediate situation and the character of the historically evolved leadership available to the organized working class. To talk about the collapse of the capitalist system independently of the internal political life and revolutionary struggle of the working class is objectivist idealism.

Socialist Internationalism Against Autarky and Empire

The second dollar devaluation in 14 months means that the system of relatively stable exchange rates is being replaced by continuously fluctuating ones. Fluctuating exchange rates are self-reinforcing as speculation intensifies change brought by changing competitive advantage. With fluctuating exchange rates, it is impossible to calculate profits on foreign transactions; this is fundamentally disruptive of international trade and investment. This is why the ruling classes of the world have made considerable efforts to maintain stable exchange rates.

Faced with the financial chaos associated with fluctuating exchange rates, the capitalist class attempts to retreat into autarky—national economic self-sufficiency, in which trade and production are confined within national-state barriers through economic protectionism and other measures. Foreign goods and money are kept out through high tariffs, quotas and direct state control over exchange transactions. The "two-tier" foreign exchange market (a standard device in the 1930's) which France instituted a year ago to manipulate foreign investment is a sign of things to come. National autarky deprives the working masses of the enormous productive power associated with the international division of labor, one of the most valuable historic achievements of capitalism. National autarky is retrogressive and a clear sign of the decadence of contemporary capitalism. In addition, autarky greatly strengthens domestic monopolies—imagine what GM and Ford will charge for cars if it becomes impossible to import Volkswagens and Toyotas. Autarky adds a systematic deformation to the world economy over and above the fundamental irrationalities of the capitalist system.

Capitalist powers which are heavily dependent on food and raw material imports—like Japan, West Germany and Britain—cannot aspire to economic self-sufficiency. The disruption of normal trade patterns drives such nations to carve out empires among backward countries, attempting to draw them into their autarkic structure, rigidly isolating them from the world market and other capitalist powers. The onset of international financial anarchy in the early 1930's led to Japan's attempted conquest of China and Nazi Germany's economic-political offensive in East Europe. With the disruption of dollar-dominated trade among the advanced capitalist nations, Japan's investment in Southeast Asia and West Germany's Ostpolitik will become more important in the economy of those countries. This is an ominous development. The policy of seeking a monopoly in foreign markets, which is the policy of empire, leads directly to colonial oppression and inter-imperialist war.

Only victorious socialist internationalism can provide the material abundance available through the rational international division of labor and reverse the drive toward colonial oppression and imperialist war. ■

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...Mine Workers' Election

garner the pensioner vote, Miller proposed increased pensions, making no mention of the obvious democratic demand that retirees should not have equal say in union affairs affecting the working miners. Miller's call for the reclamation of land destroyed by strip mining to be done by UMW members was merely an attempt to capture the strip miners' vote, which had swung to Boyle; when Miller was a Democratic Party candidate for the West Virginia state legislature, he had called for the abolition of strip mining.

For all its talk of union democracy, the 1972 MFD convention was run in typically high-handed bureaucratic fashion. No literature was distributed without the permission of the rules committee; speakers were cut off from the microphone; no vote was taken on program proposals from the floor. One of Miller's first actions after taking office was to fire the pro-Boyle members of the international Executive Board and replace them with his own supporters, while promising new elections. And his proposal for a percentage reduction in officer salaries is an easily reversible demagogic point.

At bottom, Miller's program is specious because it is the campaign promises of an individual rather than a systematic defense of the workers' basic interests; he has no ties to a disciplined political caucus but only to an election campaign committee of his friends. When a union oppositionist wins leadership on the basis of a powerful, organized movement among the ranks, he cannot so cheaply betray his program or that movement might sweep him out of office again. But Miller has no real program, and he must keep faith only with the Labor Department/liberal Democrat cabal which installed him at the head of the UMW.

This is the real lesson of the UMW elections. For communists, whose fundamental aim in the labor movement is to transform the unions into a tool of the revolutionary will of the proletariat, no reform can increase the power of the working class if it is won by placing the unions under the trusteeship of the capitalist state, thus destroying the first pre-condition for their mobilization in the struggle to smash that state. Those pretended Marxists who offer excuses for this disastrous policy, posing the MFD's ties to the liberal bourgeoisie as merely a negative item on a linear balance sheet, demonstrate their complete abandonment of a revolutionary working-class perspective. ■

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New Pop Frontism in France

the Popular Front set off a tremendous expansion of the trade unions and an unprecedented wave of strikes, culminating in the general strike of May-June 1936.

At the outset, these strikes were largely defensive, frequently beginning as protests against firings, and centering on the demand for a 15% wage increase. However, they almost all involved the tactic of factory occupations (the "sit-down strike") which terrified the bourgeoisie (and the CGT union leaders as well); and they spread rapidly and were unified, particularly in the key metal workers federation. The outgoing government quit, and prematurely handed over the reins of power to Blum on 4 June 1936. Under the pressure of the still-solid general strike, the Blum government negotiated the Hotel Matignon agreement between the CGT leaders and the main organizations of French businessmen and industrialists. The agreements provided certain concessions: the principle of union recognition and collective agreements with the unions, a 40-hour week with no loss in pay, paid vacations, and a 12% wage increase. The condition, however, was immediate cessation of the factory occupations. This the masses refused to accept, and the settlement negotiated by their leaders was solidly voted down by the ranks of Parisian metal workers, demanding that the many loopholes be closed and that significant industries be nationalized.

At this time Leon Trotsky wrote, "The French Revolution has begun." This was precisely what the CP leaders feared, as they made clear by their unconditional support for the Matignon agreements. Thorez declared, "There can be no question of taking power at this time" and "we must know how to end a strike," thereby making quite clear where the CP stood. The action of rank-and-file Communist militants had won the party considerable authority during the early stages of the strike, and thus by 14 June, with the CP forcing its militants to withdraw from the struggle, the strike disintegrated. Coincidentally the Blum government closed down the Trotskyist paper (*Lutte Ouvrière*), which had called for extending the strike. During the next two years, primarily because of the CP's refusal to head a new workers' offensive, the French bourgeoisie, led by the Radical members of the Popular Front government, gradually won back what it had been forced to give up. The CP's betrayal of the May-June 1936 general strike was the basic price of the popular front—this is what it was formed to accomplish. By 1938 Daladier and the Radicals expelled the CP from the front, and a year later, in connection with the Hitler-Stalin pact, outlawed them along the road to the fascist Vichy regime.

Popular Front Restabilizes Bourgeois Order

The second popular front, following World War II, was, if anything, even more obscene. During World War II (after the German invasion of the USSR), the CP was the leading element in the French underground resistance against Nazi occupation. At the end of the war there was an armed force of some 10,000 CP workers-members who wanted to struggle for socialism. Under these conditions DeGaulle was forced to accept the CP and SP into the government, in exchange for Stalinist aid in disarming the partisans. Despite the fact that the CP and SP had won an absolute majority in the October 1945 elections, they refused to form a government of their own and instead voted in DeGaulle.

The situation remained precarious because of the resistance of the partisans to giving up their arms. It was then that the CP took the lead in the campaign to disarm the workers. Maurice Thorez, head of the CP and vice-president of the Republic, summed up the Stalinist position with the famous slogan, "A single government, a single army, a single police force"—that is, a bourgeois government, a bourgeois army, a bourgeois police force. Jacques Duclos (today the head of the CP group in parliament) proclaimed: "Yesterday our duty was to fight. Today our duty is to work, work, work."

From its ministerial positions in Armaments, National Economy, Industrial Production, and Labor the CP's main job then became the repression of the recurring strike waves and the stifling of opposition to the reestablishment of the French Empire. The principal CP slogans were "Produce first, make demands later," and "Strikes are the weapon of the trusts." (This was in the face of galloping inflation, resulting from the economic policies of the CP-supported DeGaulle regime. Thus with 1938 as a standard of 100, the price index at the end of 1944 was 307, at the end of 1945 it was 497, at the end of 1946 it was 865, and by the end of 1947 it had reached 1,356! According to the bourgeois state statistics, the French standard of living did not reach the 1938 level again until 1960.)

The CP supported the colonial policy of French imperialism. CP ministers voted in favor of military credits for the beginning of the Indochina war in 1946, while the CP deputies abstained in the parliament vote! The CP Minister of Aviation did not object to the French bombing of Setif, Algeria, in a repression of a nationalist uprising which claimed 45,000 victims. *L'Humanité*, paper of the CP, stated: "For order to exist in Algeria, the Hitlerite killers who participated in the events of 8 May and the pseudo-nationalist leaders who consciously tried to trick the Moslem masses must immediately be punished as they deserve" (19 May 1945). The justifications for these betrayals? The "theoretical" journal of the CP wrote:

> "At the present moment, the separation of the colonial peoples from France would go against the interests of these populations for two reasons:
> 1) The French nation...wants to install a real democracy which could not but bring democracy to these populations;
> 2) Because the lands inhabited by these populations are the objects of threatening appetites, so long as they are unable to guarantee an independent existence."
>
> —*Cahiers du Communisme*, April 1947

It was only with the Renault strike in 1947 and the beginning of the cold war that the CP broke and left the government. By that time, its betrayals had discredited it to the point where it was a simple matter for DeGaulle to boot it out. These policies of "reason" and "moderation" in fact prepared the way in the 1930's for the victory of fascism and after the war for the slaughter of millions of Vietnamese and Algerian workers and peasants—and in both cases frustrated the French working class' clearly manifested aspirations for socialism. In all aspects of its politics the CP proved itself the faithful watchdog of the bourgeoisie, true "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," to use the phrase of Daniel De Leon.

But today, according to the CP, things are different. Now the CP is the largest force in the "Popular Union." The revisionist (ex-Trotskyists) of the Ligue Communiste add that this time only a splinter party, not the main party of the bourgeoisie, is involved in the electoral bloc. But things are *always* "different." *Plus ça change....* In the first popular front, the CP was not in the government itself, thus enabling it to put more pressure on from the outside. After World War II, they were on the inside, enabling their counsels to be heard more effectively; and besides, this time the CP-SP had a majority of the popular vote to back them up. In 1936-38 the program only called for a 40-hour week, while in 1945-47 it contained a large number of nationalizations, etc. But in any and all cases the essence of the popular front is to serve as a brake on the masses by clearly and definitely tying the working class to the "progressive" capitalists, and thereby forestalling revolution.

When is a Popular Front Not a Popular Front?

The whole history of Leninism and Trotskyism has been a determined struggle against the popular front. What else can be the meaning of Lenin's determined fight against the Mensheviks who supported the bourgeois provisional government in 1917? Or of Trotsky's fight against the Farmer-Labor Party in the U.S. and the Kuomintang in China? The Trotskyist cadre of the 1930's were steeled in the fight against the French and Spanish popular fronts. Yet it is a sad fact that not one of the three major ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France today calls for a clear opposition to the Union of the Left, the new popular front.

The Pabloite Ligue Communiste, French section of the United Secretariat, has perhaps the most consistent position—that is to say, consistently opportunist. It can be summed up as follows: *"A victory for the Union of the Left will be seen by the workers as a defeat for the bourgeoisie and a victory for the workers' movement.* It will serve as a stimulus to workers' combativity...It is this hegemony of the CP over the alliance as a whole that gives it its class nature, and not the presence of this or that bourgeois politician" (*Rouge*, 16 December 1972). More specifically:

> "In contrast to the Popular Front, the Union de la Gauche does not have the support of any appreciable wing of French capitalism whatsoever, not even among those elements today that have no confidence in Gaullism or Pompidou. To those who raise the objection that Radical office-holders have associated themselves with the Union de la Gauche, it is easy to answer that these figures represent neither a political or a social force....The Union de la Gauche therefore is an alliance of reformist parties solely and not an alliance between the reformists and any bourgeois party. From this standpoint, *the Union de la Gauche is not a new Popular Front.*" [emphasis in original]
>
> —Pierre Frank, "On the Coming French Legislative Elections," *Intercontinental Press*, 12 February 1973

Therefore:

> "In the first round, the Ligue Communiste is calling for voting only for the revolutionary candidates [i.e., the LC and Lutte Ouvrière, which is in an electoral bloc with the LC] and for abstaining where they are not on the ballot. In the second round, it will continue to denounce the program of the Union de la Gauche and its purported roads to socialism. But in order to enable the workers to learn by their own experience and not to put any obstacle in the way of this, the Ligue Communiste will call on its supporters...to eliminate the candidates of the bourgeoisie by voting for the candidates—but not for the program—of the Union de la Gauche."
>
> —*Ibid.*

The argument that the Left Radicals no longer represent the bourgeoisie in the same way the Radicals of Daladier did in 1936 is empirically true, but is irrelevant. Since when is the class character of a political organization determined by its electoral importance? The inclusion of the Left Radicals is the logical consequence of the Common Program, a second gloved hand extended to the bourgeoisie, a guarantee of the intentions of the CP, a seal on the overall strategy of class collaboration. It is true that their inclusion did not change the program of the CP-SP bloc in any way, but this is because the alliance was a popular front in intent from the very beginning. A successful mass struggle to throw the Left Radicals out of the bloc could hardly leave the popular front program intact.

The importance of these rag-tag bourgeois politicians in the "Union of the Left" is to set a limit beyond which the new government cannot be forced by mass pressure without causing a fundamental governmental crisis, a split. That is why Robert Fabre or Maurice Faure, true bourgeois politicians of the finest water, or bankers such as Jean Filippi are sitting at the front of every Popular Union demonstration. No, they do not represent the decisive sectors of the bourgeoisie. In Spain during the Republican period the bourgeoisie was overwhelmingly on the side of Franco. All that Stalin and the reformist socialist and anarchist leaders could get in the way of direct bourgeois participation in their governments were two motley lawyers, Azaña and Companys. Yet Trotsky spoke of a popular front "with the shadow of the bourgeoisie." Their importance stemmed not from their (non-existent) popular influence, but from the fact that they represented the principle of the "democratic" stage of the revolution. Fabre, Faure, Filippi and Co. in France today represent this same shadow, and to call for a vote for the Union of the Left (whether on the second ballot or the first) is an act of betrayal of the working class.

The Ligue combines its class collaborationist approach with a publicity-stunt electoral campaign totally devoid of any real connection with on-going political work in the class (of which the LC has precious little). The stated purpose is to permit "revolutionary candidates" to be present in a large number of constituencies, over 300 or about half the total number, and to get use of 7 minutes of national television time.

"...As Far Left as Possible"

The semi-syndicalist Lutte Ouvrière group has formed an electoral no-contest agreement with the LC for the elections, for the stated purpose of presenting an anti-popular front candidate in the maximum number of constituencies. We have seen above, however, what the Ligue's "opposition" to the popular front consists in, namely left-talking support. The LO's own campaign is characterized by pervasive workerism, emphasizing that all its candidates are honest workers and quantitatively increasing the demands put forth in the Common Program: thus, 1,500 francs minimum wage instead of 1,000, and so on.

The most important difference with the LC, however, is that instead of calling for a vote for the Union of the Left on the second ballot (i.e., after the LC and LO candidates are eliminated), the LO will call for abstention where the pop front candidate is an actual bourgeois politician (meaning, all of the Left Radicals and leading SP politicians like Mitterand, Mollet and Deferre):

> "...we may call on all people to vote for the CP or the SP candidate on the second ballot, if such is the will of a majority of workers, or at least, we will put no obstacle in front of him. But in no case shall we call for a vote for the Union of the Left, a last ditch political solution for the bourgeoisie.
> "In the minds of many workers there is no difference between a vote for the SP or the CP candidate, considered as the workers' candidate and for the candidate of the Union of the Left, who happens to be the same man. "But it is precisely that difference that revolutionaries must try to demonstrate by their tactics on the second ballot whatever the difficulties may be."
>
> —*Lutte de Classe/Class Struggle*, February 1973

It is not just the backward workers who fail to see this "difference," comrades of LO. The difference does not exist. Normally, reformist workers' parties, such as the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, have a dual character. Namely, on the one hand, they function as the political representatives of the working class, while on the other, they represent the political interests of the bourgeoisie. This dual character is closely tied to the nature of their leadership, based on a petty-

bourgeois stratum of labor bureaucrats, the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." However, when the CP or SP enter into an electoral bloc with a section of the bourgeoisie, this duality is suppressed formally and in practice, because the reformist parties then campaign and promise to govern on a common platform within the purely capitalist limits set by their overtly liberal-bourgeois allies. Thus in this situation there is no basis for the Leninist tactic of critical support to social-democratic and Stalinist parties. What is urgently in order is the demand that the reformist parties break their bloc with bourgeois parties—as a condition for support by class-conscious workers. Only then can the contradiction between the professed labor/socialist/communist principles of the reformists and their actual practice be exposed before the working class. It is precisely the fact that a vote for the CP in this election can only mean a vote for the popular front which makes the difference. *Today in France, every ballot cast for the CP is a ballot for the bourgeoisie.* This the comrades of Lutte Ouvrière have failed to understand. To go ahead and support the CP and SP despite their participation in the pop front is to vitiate the essential content of Trotskyism.

LO's inability to grasp the fundamental class line was further demonstrated when a member of its national political leadership, Arlette Laguiller, evidenced a purely linear, quantitative notion of class. Speaking on national television, she called on the workers to "vote as far to the left as possible" (*Le Monde*, 24 February 1973).

The Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (pour la reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale) likewise calls for opposition to the Common Program and the Union of the Left. The OCI correctly characterizes the CP-SP-Left Radical bloc as a popular front. And it points out that "the Fourth International was constituted in combat, having as the center of its struggle the unity and class independence of the proletariat against the 'Popular Fronts,' the 'Unions of the Left,' and other combinations which subordinate the proletariat to the bourgeoisie" (*Programme d'action de la classe ouvrière*). In a polemic against the Ligue Communiste, the OCI writes:

> "If the Union of the Left is treason of the Popular Front type, the duty of proletarian revolutionaries is to denounce to the masses the danger of their illusions. Not to submit themselves to them....It is incompatible to support the Union of the Left and to belong to the Fourth International."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 10-17 January 1973

Yet where its own candidates are not an option, the OCI calls for a "vote for the workers' party or organization of your choice: the SP or CP"! The OCI position is essentially that of Lutte Ouvrière, with the difference that the former is putting forward only 20 candidates of its own and, where there are no OCI candidates, is calling for a CP-SP vote on the first ballot. (in the first round all candidates will be on the ballot and victory is only possible through a majority. Thus this tends to be simply an opinion poll. in the decisive second round the minor candidates are eliminated and a plurality is sufficient for victory.)

The key to the OCI position is in a letter to the editors of *Le Monde* by Pierre Lambert of the OCI, in which he says:

> "...though taking a position against the union of the CP and SP with the bourgeois party of the left radicals, the OCI considers that an electoral victory of the workers' parties would constitute a powerful stimulus for the workers' struggles."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 20 December 1972-4 January 1973

Again, empirically it is undoubtedly true that a victory of the workers parties (and of the Union of the Left, for that matter) would constitute a powerful stimulus to the workers' struggles. The victory of the popular fronts in Spain and France in 1936 certainly gave rise to a powerful wave of workers' struggles, but Trotsky did not therefore call for electoral support to the CP-SP-Radical blocs at the time. The reason is clear: A popular front victory would create illusions about the possibility of substantial improvements for the working class without breaking with the bourgeoisie and capitalism. And this at the very time of sharpened social polarization which makes an independent working-class policy most urgent. One can logically demand of the CP, SP or other reformist workers party that it implement the demands of the working class; there is no basis to demand this of the Radicals, for they represent another class altogether.

In addition to this appeal to class collaboration, the OCI manifests a systematic adaptation to the bureaucrats of the CP, SP and CGT labor federation. This is embodied in their theory of a strategic united front. The OCI correctly states that, "The workers government is the government of the proletarian revolution, the government which opens the way to socialism" (*Programme d'action...*). "But," they go on, "the working class cannot wait. It cannot wait until the workers' government is miraculously constituted."

The adaptationist implications of the OCI position are spelled out in a Proposed Resolution submitted to the delegates to the National Meeting for the Workers United Front:

> "In order to impose the workers government which would satisfy the aspirations and demands [of the workers], it is *sufficient* that the organizations unite, that they call for the struggle against the governments of capital, for a government of the SP and CP without ministers representing capital. This is possible immediately on the direct battleground of the class struggle." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 6-13 December 1972

Thus the CP and SP are miraculously transformed into revolutionary parties which "would satisfy" the demands of the workers if only they would get rid of the Left Radicals! The adaptation is also reflected in the fact that the OCI hesitated for two months after the signature of the Common Program before criticizing it publicly, and even then it confined itself largely to piecemeal criticisms. Not until December (five months later) did the OCI once characterize the Union of the Left as a popular front, and then apparently as the result of a polemical battle with the Ligue Communiste.

Moreover, the whole campaign of

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Neo-Reutherites Stage Farce

was a legitimate representative of a union oppositional grouping, or even to grant the speaker extra time to respond. Fox and the entire conference were silent as the MSC speaker used most of his minimal three minutes to point out calmly that such red-baiting is intended to aid witchhunters seeking to keep the unions "purified" of all militancy and opposition to betrayal. Fox left the session muttering aloud that "outsiders" would never again be allowed to attend UNC meetings. This is a warning to all those such as the IS who collaborate with would-be bureaucrats for petty organizational advantage. When their usefulness to these careerists is completed, they will be discarded as so much worthless, excess baggage.

UNC's Economic Nationalism

UNC reformism was epitomized by the presentation on unemployment—supposedly the main subject of the conference—by Rodger McFadden of Local 160. Fondly recalling the good-old-days of the 1930's, McFadden held up as an example, not the struggles of the workers, but the fact that the American Federation of Labor (AFL) had managed to push a resolution for 30 for 40 through the Senate (but not the House) in 1933! "This is what can be done with pressure," concluded McFadden. McFadden's entire program on unemployment, to be accomplished by such "pressure" on the ruling class, consisted of lowering the social security eligibility age to 55, more public works, and "doing something about the export of capital" to prevent the loss of American jobs to imports!

The last point raises a key issue facing the international working class: economic protectionism. While not openly protectionist (neither is the UAW bureaucracy itself), the UNC approaches the question from a narrow, nationalist viewpoint which must eventually give in to the demand for protectionism. Only a program based on the interests of the international proletariat can provide an answer to protectionism and the threat of a new inter-imperialist war which lurks behind it. Lay offs and closures caused by "run-away" companies seeking to escape union wages and conditions must be opposed by strikes, across international borders if necessary. But the UNC's call for restrictions on the export of "American" capital to protect "American" jobs is reactionary: it assumes American workers should become partners in their own exploitation in order to maintain relative privileges over the rest of the world's workers. A working-class program must call for international class solidarity and organization to eliminate international differences in living standards at the expense of capital, not for "reform" measures to protect some workers at the expense of others.

The UNC's nationally limited, narrow view—necessary for a caucus which sees its program as relevant only to the members of its union and not the international working class—went completely unopposed by the friends of the "International" Socialists, CP, NCLC and other UNC supporters. The IS- and CP-backed factions simply pushed different versions of trade unionism, not in opposition to the reformism of McFadden, but in support of or in addition to it. While the pro-IS spokesmen worked on nice-sounding bargaining demands, the CP-backed members concentrated on balting the other leftists and opposing anything that smacked of politics in favor of "base-building" in the plants around the most minimal issues. The NCLC, meanwhile, tried to pretend its class-collaborationist bloc with liberals in the NWRO represented a "class-wide" alternative to UNC trade-union parochialism, but its antics did nothing to counterpose a working-class *program* to the UNC and only gave the anti-communists another excuse to try to purge the entire left.

Political Zoo

The IS-backed effort to provide a left-face for the UNC was based entirely on "militant" trade unionism. This culminated on the second day when a resolution for a labor party and no support to bourgeois candidates in the elections was proposed by UNC executive board member Jack Weinburg. While the proposal gained the support of a section of the UNC members and leadership, such as Nat Mosley of Local 25 and co-chairman Sims, it was passed over the objections of the bulk of the UNC leadership, including Art and Edith Fox, Charles Dewey, Mike Singer, CP supporters and friends of the NCLC such as Louis Smith of Cincinnati. The core of NCLC support in the UNC abstained on the vote.

The IS-backed motion stated, "UAW must call for a national congress of labor to formulate a collective response to the government assault on American workers. At such a conference a program that speaks to the problems of the American people could be hammered out, and the work of building an American labor party begun."

The discussion revealed the hopelessly *dis*-united character of the UNC coalition, which the IS seeks to keep pasted together. On the extreme right were Singer, arguing consistently for no politics whatsoever in the UNC program, and Dewey, reflecting the CP line of support for "lesser-evil" capitalist politicians.

The abstention of NCLC supporters reflected more than just their sectarian position of calling for a mass workers' party but *not* one based on the only mass workers' organizations, the trade unions; it also reflected their class-collaborationism. The NCLC, which is no different than Dewey in its *quantitative* criteria on bourgeois politicians, openly invites liberals into its pro-NWRO bloc. The NCLC recently warmly invited the CP to participate jointly with it in an electoral bloc in New York (*New Solidarity*, 19-23 February 1973).

In the center of the political spectrum, Kelly squirmed out of taking a position or voting on the question with the excuse that he was chairing that particular session, while Fox, with all the Reutherite zeal he could muster, pledged his undying support for the labor-party demand except that, as always for Reutherite fakers, "now is not the time."

Behind the IS' "Labor Party" Slogan

On the left, the IS-backed faction argued for a labor party without mentioning, naturally, the need for a *programmatic* break with UNC reformism; thus their call meant a labor party to carry out the UNC's nationalist, trade-unionist program of pressuring the U.S. ruling class for reforms. The demand for a labor party genuinely based on the Trotskyist program of transitional demands (which the IS claims to support) and a struggle to oust the trade union bureaucracy would have required the sharpest possible attack on the rampant careerism of the UNC and its use of the bourgeois courts to sue the union, as well as its gross trade-union reformism. This would have meant a deep political split in the UNC and would have alienated much of the IS' support, such as that of the reformist-careerist Sims, which the IS is completely incapable of contemplating. The IS' labor-party demand "victory," then, simply served to provide the grossest trade-union reformism with a more "progressive" political face. The worst of the reformists naturally didn't want to take the medicine, but the IS successfully completed its task of gently forcing it on them!

With such medicine applied in such a way, the recovery of the patient can never be expected. In the first place, the UNC requires no formal agreement with any part of its program for membership, thereby ensuring that each leader will apply the "program" according to his or her own tastes. When it does act as a body, the UNC always treats its formal "positions" for this and that with contempt anyway. At the last UAW constitutional convention in 1972, it dropped its entire formal program in favor of a big single-issue push for referendum election of officers, since that was popular with the dissident stratum of local bureaucrats (see *WV* No. 9, June 1972). Its special January 1973 issue of *UNC*, designed to build for the conference, made no mention of its formal opposition to the war or of its pre-existing "position" for a labor party. The IS, which treats its own "program" in the same manner, has never criticized the UNC for this looseness with its politics.

In sum, the UNC is an unprincipled cabal of venal careerists. Only its ineptness and total lack of cohesion prevents it from becoming a dangerous stumbling block to the development of a real programmatic opposition in the UAW. ■

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...Women

special Communist Party sections dedicated to drawing in the oppressed women masses behind the revolution, party cadre, often disguised in *paranyas* and *eluchvons* (the veiled clothing worn by the women in Moslem territories of the Soviet Union) would carry the message of the revolution to the most backward areas of Russia. In order to reach women in nomadic tribes the CP's women sections would organize Red Yurtas, or large tents which dispensed medical as well as political propaganda. Their efforts culminated in the First All-Russian Conference of Proletarian and Peasant Women in November 1918, attended by 1,700 delegates. One of the participants described the conference as follows:

> "In 1918, when the civil war was raging, when we still had to struggle against hunger, cold and unprecedented devastation, when it was still necessary to defeat the enemy on countless fronts, at this juncture the conference of proletarian and peasant women was summoned. Hundreds of working women, from the remotest factories and villages, had come to Moscow with their complaints, grievances and doubts, with all their cares great and small...."
>
> —F.W. Halle, *Women in Soviet Russia*, 1933

Thermidor Reverses Gains

But the Soviet Union, an economically backward country to begin with, ravaged by imperialist intervention and civil war, encircled and blockaded by hostile capitalist powers, was unable to provide the economic basis for the construction of socialism; it could only "generalize the want." Lenin and Trotsky realized that just as the democratic revolution must grow into the socialist revolution if the democratic tasks of the revolution are to be solved, so must socialist revolution grow directly into world revolution. The failure of the revolution to spread led to the seizure of power by the conservative state bureaucracy under Stalin in 1923 which converted the Soviet Union's isolation from a profound defeat into a rhetorical "victory" with the anti-Marxist, nationalist "socialism in one country" doctrine. As Stalin consolidated power, the new ruling elite also required the revival of the monogamous family as the bulwark of this national "socialism"—just as it was a bulwark of the fascist political counter-revolution in capitalist countries.

The Stalinist political counter-revolution simply ran the film of the revolution backward in the realm of women's rights. The party women's sections were liquidated in 1929; homosexuality was made a crime in 1934; abortion, which had been legalized in 1920, was illegalized in 1936; from 1935 through 1944 divorce was made increasingly expensive and complicated; and in 1944 even co-education was abolished. To accomplish these measures, Stalin relied on the conservatizing influence of the peasantry, which generally was alone in welcoming them.

Of course, at each stage Stalinist apologists could find economic and social reasons for each of Stalin's counter-revolutionary measures. As Trotsky said in the *Revolution Betrayed*, "You cannot 'abolish' the family; you have to replace it. The actual emancipation of women is unrealizable on the basis of 'generalized want'!" Thus, even the revolutionary government of Lenin and Trotsky had to face horrendous problems, especially in terms of the family and women's emancipation. For example, in 1922 Lenin's wife Krupskaya estimated that there were 7-million homeless children, while Lunarcharsky, Commissar of Education, estimated 9-million. And adoption had to be illegalized in 1926 to prevent the exploitation of child labor by the peasantry! The chief "accomplishment" of Stalin was to turn difficult conditions into a rationale for entrusting all power to a conservative, counter-revolutionary ruling clique which *adapted* to the backwardness in order to survive.

Women Under "Third World" Stalinism

In Yugoslavia, China, North Vietnam and Cuba, petty-bourgeois leaderships commanding peasant-based armies succeeded, because of exceptional historical circumstances, in overturning capitalism despite their completely pro-capitalist, "democratic" programs. This fact alone has enabled these countries to play a role free of direct economic and political subservience to imperialism; that is, enabled them to fulfill the basic task of the anti-colonial revolution. But these victories took place as military confrontations which were lost by the imperialist and allied native bourgeois forces despite the best efforts of the "revolutionary" leaderships to sell-out the struggle in exchange for a "revolution" safely contained under capitalism (such as did happen in Algeria and *most* similar situations). The proletariat, a victim of earlier defeats, lacked leadership and failed to play a role as an active contender for power in these revolutions.

As a consequence, what emerged was not proletarian democracy, but regimes as bureaucratically deformed as that which emerged from the degeneration of the revolution in the Soviet Union—i.e., deformed workers states. Within these regimes, once again the emancipation of women is a most accurate gauge of the general emancipation. While women have been granted formal equality, no consistent, concerted effort has been made to liberate them from domestic slavery. While women have increased their access to socially productive roles, they are generally restricted to those areas which are a simple extension of domestic work, such as textiles and nursing. In North Vietnam, after 26 years of war, women are still not permitted to play a combat role in the regular army. And only the exigencies of war have forced the North Vietnamese bureaucracy to establish nurseries and creches. Birth control and abortion are legalized and illegalized at the whim of the bureaucracy.

Politically, women are no more or less disenfranchised than their husbands in the absence of proletarian democracy. In the absence of special party sections for women, there are no special vehicles to train and equip them to enter the party. The recruitment of women is generally done through moral exhortation. Most women are shunted off to the local Women's Democratic Federation where they can circulate petitions for peace, justice and equality. In China, the Women's Democratic Federation, which once claimed a membership of 70-million, was headed by Liu Shao-chi's wife; it was therefore abolished by the Cultural Revolution!

In backward and colonial countries, petty-bourgeois classes oppressed by feudalism and imperialism, particularly the peasantry, are more numerous than the proletariat. In order to come to power, the proletariat must mobilize these classes behind it in the struggle against imperialism and for basic democratic rights. Yet the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary, anti-capitalist force in these countries. In order to overthrow capitalism and begin an unobstructed path toward socialism, the revolution must be made on the proletariat's terms and with its program. The family as an economic

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... *France*

the OCI, rather than focusing on a sharp call to CP and SP militants to force their parties to break with the bourgeoisie, instead focuses on opposition to Pompidou and the UDR! If, as Lenin said, the tactic of critical support means support such as a rope gives to a hanging man, then it was certainly not the CP and SP who were left hanging by the OCI campaign. In addition, a main emphasis is put on the campaign of the OCI's J.P. Speller, who three years ago lost an eye as the result of a beating by a UDR goon squad which included his opponent's son. This kind of scandal-mongering in no way differs from the Ligue's publicity stunts, and represents a serious subordination of the Trotskyist program.

One can argue, as do the LC, LO and the OCI, that it is necessary to share the experiences of the working class. Certainly we must seek to show *in practice* that the reformist policies of class collaboration mean defeat for the working class. But the vanguard can never "share" with the backward elements of the class illusions on the class nature of the state or the electoral process, on the possibility of collaborating with the bourgeoisie, and so on. And to place a primary emphasis on "sharing" the experiences of the class ultimately amounts to adopting a social-democratic conception of the "party of the whole class"—the conception of Kautsky and one from which Rosa Luxemburg never fully broke. This is the ultimate logic of the OCI's "strategic united front."

For Critical Support to LO and OCI Candidates

It is a hard fact that none of the major ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France today have been able to clearly grasp the need for a sharp break with the popular front—that every vote for the CP and SP in this election is a vote for the bourgeoisie. The OCI and Lutte Ouvrière are attempting to counterpose the workers parties to the popular front. But they are offering critical support to the reformist workers parties within the Union of the Left, rather than calling upon the CP and SP to break the alliance with the Radicals as the *precondition* for critical support in this election. So long as the CP and SP do not break organizationally and programmatically from their bourgeois allies, the contradiction within these formations—which are at once bourgeois and proletarian—has been suppressed in favor of a purely capitalist content.

French worker-militants must therefore refuse to vote for *any* candidate of the Union of the Left. The electoral policies of the OCI and LO, however, embody a contradiction: while opposing the Union of the Left, they contain an element of capitulation to popular frontist illusions in the class. Therefore a vote for the OCI and LO candidates must be accompanied by criticism of the ambiguity that they are on the one hand running their own candidates opposed to the Union of the Left yet on the other are calling for at least second-round votes for the CP and SP components of the class-collaborationist bloc.

The OCI and LO have maintained at least remnants of Bolshevik class independence by refusing to support openly bourgeois politicians. This cannot, however, be said of the Ligue Communiste, which for all its "revolutionary" verbiage ends up justifying a vote for class collaboration on the fraudulent grounds that the inclusion of the Left Radicals in the electoral bloc—what Trotsky, regarding Spain, termed "the shadow of the bourgeoisie"—does not affect its class character. The LC's denial of the popular-front character of the bloc removes all political obstacles to its own participation in the popular front.

The militants of these ostensibly Trotskyist organizations must reject this dangerous political line. If the Popular Union is elected and forms a government, it will certainly come under sharp attack from the bourgeoisie, and in such circumstances the pressures to adapt to the popular front will become enormous. The softness already manifested in the OCI's and LO's election policies poses the danger of future betrayals of far greater magnitude.

Revolutionaries certainly can and should use the electoral process to publicize their opposition to the popular front. This cannot be done by "critical support" to the CP-SP-Left Radicals, but through a call for a CP-SP government on a revolutionary program. The struggle against the "capitalist ministers" must be complemented by an equally determined struggle against the capitalist policies of the ministry.

A significant weakness of the OCI's perpetual call, particularly upon the Stalinists, to break with class collaboration and struggle for the workers government is that now, when this issue is indeed posed most sharply before the French working class, the OCI's year-in, year-out usage undercuts the demand's specific impact. This demand, which the OCI poses in a timeless and therefore abstract manner, acquires the greatest urgency in the present context. For the demand that the workers parties must break their bloc with the Radicals and contest for power in their own name means a fundamental polarization along class lines within these formations—the reformist parties in which the working class places its confidence but which have shown themselves to be at the same time the determined guardians of the bourgeois order. In this context, the demand for a government of the workers parties alone implies the shattering of these formations—through setting the proletarian base against the treacherous leadership—which stand between the working class and the achievement of its revolutionary will. ■

Seated at a recent press conference: (from left to right): George Marchais (CP), François Mitterand (SP), Robert Fabre (Left Radical).

SL FORUM

The Origins of World War III

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League

THURSDAY 8 MARCH
University of Illinois, Circle Campus
7:30 p.m.
Room to be posted

CHICAGO

unit enslaving women could then be replaced through socialization of the means of production and reproduction of labor power. But the revolution which rests on the peasantry or on a specious amalgamation of the interests of peasants and workers (that is, on a modified program of a section of the petty-bourgeoisie) finds that for the peasantry, the family *is* the existing economic unit of small-scale agriculture, as opposed to the factories and socialized industries of the workers. Unlike the workers, the class interests of the peasants are based on deepening private ownership of small plots, which means retaining the family structure. But the peasants are incapable of reorganizing society. Their conservatizing influence can only be overcome through the leadership of the workers.

Thus, the interrelationship between the land question and the family is a key to understanding the zig-zags of the degenerated and deformed workers states. For industrialization requires a food surplus; a food surplus requires mechanization; mechanization requires industrialization, etc. How to break out of this vicious cycle? The New Economic Policy (NEP), primitive socialist accumulation (the tax in kind), persuasion and example were the methods of Lenin and Trotsky. Bureaucratic fiat, whose parameters are only the precipices of catastrophe, is the method of Stalinism, which veers from Stalin's "Kulaks, enrich yourselves" and Mao's New Democracy to forced collectivization and the Great Leap Forward. During the Great Leap Forward and Stalin's forced collectivization, women were encouraged to participate in social production, and the family tended to be subordinated. But these measures did not correspond to the real tempo of economic development, and no substitutes for the family as an economic unit were developed. Stalinist regimes were thus forced to strengthen the family structure as the only non-revolutionary way out of the chaos they had created and to conciliate the enraged peasantry. The proletariat, precisely the class for whom the family plays no economic role, is destined by history to lead the struggle for women's emancipation.

Women and Permanent Revolution

While class exploitation is the main axis of social struggle, it is not the only form of social oppression. Insensitivity to the special forms of oppression, national, racial and generational as well as sexual, is a form of opportunism. Economism, the ideology of trade union bureaucrats and their hangers-on like the Labor Committee and the Workers League, thrives on such opportunism. However, refusal to see the interlocked nature of special oppression and the class struggle, to posit roads (e.g., bourgeois feminism) other than the class struggle for dealing with special oppression, is both reactionary and utopian. Because the question of women's oppression and the family is fundamental to class society, the solution can only be a global uprooting of capitalist property and the preparation for a classless communist society. Only an international proletarian party, conscious of its tasks and mission, can provide the necessary leadership for such an upheaval. ■

BLACK OPPRESSION

A Communist Strategy to End It

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League

THURSDAY 15 MARCH
7:30 pm

East Side Community Center
911 East Ogden

Milwaukee

Continued from page 10

Australian Labor Party Elected

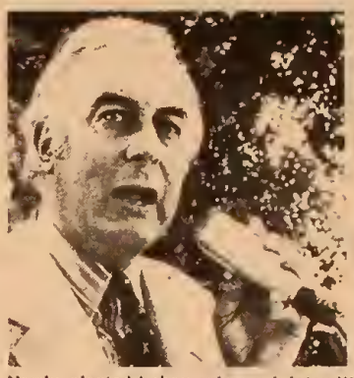
and then place the rightwing candidates last." And, "In our view, experience of a Labor government—which we hope and believe will be elected—will show that another course altogether is necessary to end capitalist control of Australia" (*Tribune*, 21 November 1972). A communist government is presented simply as a more effective, more consistent, in short better version of a Labor government. In reality, a reformist party is directly counterposed to a revolutionary party and, in that sense, is an enemy of the working class.

The Socialist Labor League (SLL) had its paper-thin anti-revisionism crumble beneath the weight of an opportunist, economist approach to the ALP. Like its fraternal organisations in Britain and the U.S., the SLL used scare-mongering to present the ALP vote as a mass working-class upsurge against reaction. "If the Liberals are returned they will be the most reactionary government this country has ever seen.... The workers are not playing a passive role in these elections. On the contrary, they are consciously and actively putting a Labor government into power..." (*Labor Press*, 1 November 1972). By presenting the vote as little short of the defeat of fascism, the SLL avoided the central task of attacking the Labor Party leadership and program.

The ALP is a well-established and openly reformist party. The struggle against the ALP is essentially a struggle against reformist and social-patriotic attitudes and currents within the working class. And here the economism of the SLL is gross. The SLL calls for a "Labor government pledged to socialist policies"—policies which do not include the liberation of women and do not go beyond Whitlam's modified version of the traditional anti-Asian "White Australia" immigration policy. Further, the SLL emasculated the *Transitional Program's* demand for a sliding scale of hours and wages (which is a bridge between the felt needs of the working class and revolutionary consciousness), capitulating instead to the Stalinist and Left-Labor bureaucrats' openly reformist 35-hour week campaign: "The ALP leaders must pledge themselves to the immediate implementation of the 35-hour week—with 40 hours pay—throughout industry, with the provision for a 30-hour week, with 40 hours pay, in the near future."

The SWL attitude toward the ALP, in line with the political character of its American co-thinker, the SWP, was unalloyed reformism. Its demands on the ALP included gay liberation and punitive nationalization: "nationalize any firm which cannot justify price rises," "nationalize any firm which will not stop polluting the air." Predictably, the SWL's Pabloist policy of pressuring the Labor bureaucracy (rather than counterposing a transitional program to the reformist program of the ALP) rebounded in their face when Whitlam's initial reforms closely mirrored their own program. Left with little to criticize Whitlam for, they enthused over his actions: "The fact that the ALP victory was a victory for the working class and its allies was demonstrated very clearly. Labor expressed the hopes of thousands whose political consciousness has been awakened by many diverse issues in recent years and Whitlam's reforms are a clear response to the mass movements that developed on those issues" (*Direct Action*, 21 December 1972). The SWL policy builds the dangerous illusion that perhaps mass pressure will force Whitlam to reform away Australian capitalism.

For a number of reasons, critical support for the ALP in the election was a significant issue for Australian revolutionaries. First, the ALP was not running in collaboration with a purely bourgeois party, a popular front, and thereby can be held accountable in the eyes of the workers to govern solely in their interests. Secondly, the ALP is *the* party of the Australian working class and, as such, is a strategic obstacle to the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party. Thirdly, the victory of the ALP partly reflected working-class discontent with a worsening economic situation. However, the ALP victory also reflected increased bourgeois and petty-bourgeois support produced by a program of economic rationalisation and nationalism. Therefore, the central axis of principled, critical electoral support to the ALP was to counterpose a concrete, revolutionary program to the basic thrust of the ALP's program. To capitalist economic "rationalisation," we counterpose expropriation of private industry and social planning; to Australian nationalism and isolationism, we counterpose proletarian internationalism. ■



THE NATIONAL TIMES (Australia)

Newly-elected Labor prime minister Whitlam and trade-union head Hawke.

Continued from page 16

...MAC Vindication

For Candidates Night, the leadership imposed a "gag rule" against criticism of other candidates, and when MAC candidates defied the censorship and continued to expose their opponents' records, they were shoved away from the microphone.

Although all other union groups were permitted to post material, MAC's campaign literature was pulled off the *union* bulletin boards because the *company* objected to MAC's call for "nationalization of the phone company under workers control." Ibsen, who grieved the case, agreed to a settlement that anything derogatory to the company could be taken off the union bulletin board and that MAC members would be fired if they posted literature on the union bulletin board.

During this period, the leadership was carefully testing the response of the local, noting carefully the failure of the *Bell Wringer*, CESS, and a group of black militants in the local to defend the MAC's democratic rights or to recognize each attack against MAC as part of a drive to wipe out organized opposition.

Branning, who was backing off the fight for elected stewards, since it put her into confrontation with the leadership, was getting angrier at MAC when it exposed her during the campaign. Instead of the *BW* being able to move her to the left, as *BW* had claimed to expect, its commitment to the bloc with Branning was preventing it from defending MAC.

In the election, MAC candidates pulled about 35% and 14% of the vote in their respective areas. Their support was mainly passive, members willing to vote for their program, but not willing to come to the union meeting or take an active role. The elections were indicative in that they defeated President Blasingame and Secretary-treasurer Eleanor Hart, those two of the old regime who had been seen as most responsible for the heavy-handed tactics such as adjourning meetings when they lost a vote. Ibsen, who won for president, and White, who was re-elected as a vice president, had both been part of the previous administration, which they did not criticize during the campaign; however, they had managed to maintain a lower profile than did Blasingame or Hart.

Branning also lost her election and saw MAC as a factor in her defeat.

At the November union meeting, following the election returns, Blasingame and Hart—with nothing left to lose before their replacements took office—railroaded through a motion to censure MAC for allegedly lying in its literature, then quickly adjourned the meeting. As MAC members lingered in the union hall to protest the motion they were physically attacked by Vice-President Alta White, Traffic Representative Mary Lou Kindem and Mike Budd (who later brought charges against MAC).

The violence, which was only an extension of the earlier attempts to silence MAC, did finally arouse a defense. A member of the black militant grouping jumped in to pull Budd away, and the *BW* issued a leaflet condemning the violence.

Although the *BW* never formally repudiated its bloc with Branning or appeared to understand why its strategy generates such consequences, the *BW* at this point recognized the danger facing MAC and the entire left. They empirically broke from Branning and fought to keep MAC in the union, playing an active role in the Committee to Defend MAC.

For the moment, 9415 is entering a new period. Freed from the threat of a dangerous purge trial, having won the right to debate and criticize, the local can use these gains as a step toward discarding the politics which have nearly paralyzed it, to alter the pattern of years of sellout and betrayal and to begin to adopt new programs to combat the crises it faces: the forced transfers, layoffs, Phase III of the wage controls and the upcoming 1974 contract. The continued principled struggle of the Militant Action Caucus for a leadership based on a revolutionary transitional program is key to determining whether it will be a period of class struggle or of class collaboration for the Local 9415 phone workers. ■

PURGE ATTEMPT FAILS IN CWA LOCAL:
MAC Vindication Is Victory for Union

OAKLAND, Calif.—Charges against the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of CWA Local 9415 for "bringing the union into disrepute" have been dropped, a victory for union democracy that will set a precedent in upcoming labor struggles. The local here has undergone a critical test and emerged strengthened, having refused to stand by and watch an opposition caucus be railroaded out of the union.

Because of defense of MAC by other oppositional elements in the union, the overwhelming sentiment which made itself felt throughout the key work locations, membership and stewards' meetings, and the intervention of a newly-elected local leadership which was unwilling to lend itself to a blatant witchhunt In the first months following its election, the charges were dropped on February 15.

Five days before the January 1973 union meeting, eight caucus members and sympathizers learned that a "liberal," Virginia Branning and a right-winger, Mike Budd had charged them with "bringing the union into disrepute" —specifically for publishing campaign materials that criticized local officers and stewards for crossing wildcat CWA lines and lines of other unions in the phone industry. Branning denied that they scabbed; Budd did not. Both asserted that to talk about those who scabbed showed the company that the union was internally divided, thereby weakening it. If found guilty, MAC could have been suspended or expelled from the union.

MAC had five days before the January union meeting, where a trial board was to be elected, to mobilize a membership demoralized and apathetic after years of sellout into a fight for MAC's right to remain in the union. Five days to make people understand that at issue was not just a couple of the former bureaucrats' appointees squabbling with the Militant Action Caucus, but a question of whether or not organized or individual opposition could exist in the union and fight to change its course—and that only the intervention of a conscious membership could step in with its weight to get the charges dropped.

MAC's task was to effect a change of consciousness in a membership long dominated and made cynical by the leadership of conservative, self-serving bureaucrats; to enable it to take action, to feel its own power and thus enter the relation of forces. That this was successful and condensed into a time-span of weeks provides a glimpse of the explosive way in which the consciousness of a seemingly passive working class can accelerate.

Initial Inertia Overcome

The membership did not at first see themselves affected by MAC's trial. The atmosphere In early January had somewhat the quality of a Roman circus. Rumors circulated that MAC was "going to be taught a lesson." Not yet seeing the threat to the union, members were merely curious to see if MAC could really prove what they said in their leaflets, curious to see if MAC could extricate itself from this predicament. The new liberal leadership of President Harry Ibsen stated it was taking a position of strict neutrality. If one member of the local wanted to charge another, it said it could do nothing but ensure that the trial was conducted in a "fair and democratic" manner.

The MAC and the *Bell Wringer (BW)*, another opposition grouping in Local 9415, worked in the days before the union meeting to impress upon the local the extreme seriousness of the issue, showing the connection of the trial with the 6-month effort to drive the caucus from the union; pointing out that MAC was on trial not for *acts* which weaken the union such as scabbing, but for its exposures of the scabbing of candidates for local office; that the charges against MAC violated the rights of free speech in the union and that if MAC was allowed to be kicked out the whole union would be weakened.

The local membership responded to this call. They had just thrown out of office the despised and heavy-handed President Loren Blasingame and Secretary-treasurer Eleanor Hart, in whose defeats MAC's exposures had been a factor. They saw behind the charges of the "liberal" Branning an attack from the Blasingame-Hart right wing.

WV PHOTO

Jane Margolis of MAC

The turnout at the union meeting was the largest since the 1971 strike. Sixty-two members voted to recommend that the charges against MAC be dropped as "representing a dangerous precedent and abuse of the CWA constitution." When this vote was narrowly defeated, the membership elected a fair and independent trial board, preventing attempts of the right wing to pack the court.

MAC came out of that meeting with sixty-two people determined to ensure there would be no kangaroo court and with a fighting chance to win the struggle. At the union meeting dozens of "Defend MAC" buttons were handed out and two days later the Committee to Defend the Militant Action Caucus held its first meeting. The Committee called on all members to join who agreed to work to acquit MAC of all charges and who saw in the charges against MAC a threat to the democratic rights of all members to criticize the leadership. Membership in the Committee did not depend on agreement with the program of the caucus. In the Committee were representatives of the *Bell Wringer* and independent militants from all over the local. Attending as fraternal representatives were the *Yellow Pages* group and other oppositionists from CWA Locals 9490 and 9410.

Blasingame Discredited

Putting MAC on trial for "bringing the union into disrepute" raised the fundamental question of its fight for leadership in the union, and why other forces wanted to drive it out.

In the four years of the Blasingame regime (during which time Ibsen was a vice president), which was voted out of office this January, approximately one-third of the membership dropped out of the local. Those who remained were demoralized by a rotten contract settlement in 1971; by the leadership's failure to fight grievances; by its inability to counter the process of automation, firings, forced transfers and layoffs which threaten to cripple the union. Things were so bad that during a seven-month period in 1972, only one membership meeting attained a quorum!

The Defense Committee collected literally scores of affadavits from members who attested that if the local was in disrepute, it was not due to the activities of the Militant Action Caucus: Many affadavits dated the disrepute of the union from the sellout 1971 contract. Others said the disrepute started way before the MAC was formed.

Members from all over the local attested that MAC had fought to strengthen and build the local. MAC documented its record in recent years: it had worked tirelessly to recruit new members; to fight the firings of plant workers and operators; to stay out to reject the 1971 contract and, while politically opposing Blasingame, to defend him when he was fired. In addition, MAC raised the demands of its program, including the election of all union officers; lowering the quorum; labor strikes against the war and the wage freeze; and the principle of international workers solidarity.

Far from bringing the union into disrepute, MAC was threatening the present leadership's ability to wheel and deal with impunity. To the challenge of MAC's program, the leadership had no response but to cut it off, to try to silence it for their own survival.

Union Democracy at Stake

The task of the Defense Committee was to make it clear throughout CWA that the attack on MAC was only the tip of an iceberg, which if successful threatened to drive all militant individuals and groupings from the union. It planned area-wide leaflets on union democracy, issued petitions and buttons, and set up information tables at work locations.

It became public knowledge that MAC could produce witnesses confirming the scabbing charges, which threatened to embarrass many people.

Groups of stewards met to brainstorm ways to get the charges dropped. The support for MAC was building and affecting every level of the union. The new liberal leadership became unwilling to be held responsible for a widely publicized purge and witchhunt and they changed from their original position of formal neutrality to actively encouraging MAC's accusers to drop the charges.

At the executive board meeting on February 15, Ibsen announced that the charges had been dropped and later that week produced Branning's and Budd's statements withdrawing the charges. Subsequently MAC withdrew its countercharges filed in the union against three members for assault (see *WV* No. 16, February 1973).

MAC Gains Authority Among Ranks

Those who had wanted to "teach MAC a lesson" had bitten off more than they could chew. The relationship of forces changed from one in which MAC looked relatively unprotected to one in which the right wing was isolated and unwilling to test its strength.

When MAC first began to fight in 9415, it was a tiny group with little support, tolerated by the leadership. It put forward motions in union meetings demonstrating how a leadership really committed to fighting for the working class would handle situations threatening job security, and political issues like the war and the wage freeze. In general MAC was seen by the leadership as not much more than a persistent irritation.

However in the summer of 1972, the Blasingame group began to change its attitude, precipitated by its own demonstrated impotence in the Franklin Street walkout in contrast to the authority gained there by the caucus. Although the bureaucrats' inability to steer the local had long been obvious, they became completely discredited in this incident. In April 1972 there was a wildcat walkout of operators in the Franklin Street complex in Oakland when management fired a black trainee. MAC called for rehiring the fired operator and for a sanctioned strike should reprisals occur. When the company suspended all who had walked out, the Blasingame leadership in face of mounting militancy sought to contain the flare-up and called for a one-day "work holiday" limited to the Franklin Street building, apparently thinking that if they didn't call this action a strike, PT&T wouldn't notice it. The Company retaliated by firing Blasingame, suspending most of the officers and many militants. MAC, though opposing the leadership's hopeless maneuvers, took a leading role in defending them against the company attack and sought to widen the scope of the union's defense by calling for such action as Central Labor Council support through a general strike and massive picketing. Faced with an overwhelming vote for a strike and afraid of the rising militancy of the local, the Beirne International rushed in to negotiate with the company, achieving a settlement that reversed Blasingame's firing, but left most of the officers and many militants on final warning.

Shortly afterwards, MAC candidate Jane Margolis ran and won election to the local executive board. The discredited leadership began to see MAC as a threat to its authority.

Vacillating Lefts Embolden Bureaucracy

As the fall elections for local officers and executive board representatives drew closer, the Blasingame group grew more concerned about MAC's exposures. The caucus had become extremely obtrusive, while at the same time the formation of the Committee for Elected Shop Stewards (CESS)—a bloc between the *Bell Wringer* group and several "progressive" stewards—seemed likely to isolate MAC as the far left wing of the local.

The *Bell Wringer* had originated as a split from MAC in early 1972. It split on the basis of advocating building non-programmatic shop-floor committees that would "get workers into motion" around popular issues and asserted that such motion would lead in the direction of progressive change. This strategy was opposed to the MAC perspective of winning workers to seeing the necessity of replacing the entire International and local leadership of CWA by a leadership committed to a revolutionary program of transitional demands—including nationalization of the phone company under workers control and the fight for a workers government.

Believing that workers' own experience of fighting against their oppression will lead in a linear fashion to the correct path of struggle, the *BW* opposes a fight for leadership based on a class-struggle program and commits itself to the strategy of supporting "progressive" individuals and groups within the union who appear to be in motion.

MAC insisted that whereas the reaction to class exploitation, to having one's labor stolen and used for the profit of a few, produces a spontaneous militancy, this will not necessarily lead to advances for the working class. Without the conscious intervention of a caucus with a principled program, this spontaneous militancy can develop *at best* only into bourgeois trade union consciousness and not revolutionary consciousness.

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 18 X-523 April 1973

UAW Bargaining:

Woodcock Gears Up No-Strike Offensive

The auto companies and the UAW are conducting their final maneuvers and firming up their positions for the 1973 contract negotiations. Special contract meetings have been held in UAW locals, as well as delegated production and skilled workers conferences and a special bargaining convention of the entire union in Detroit. The meetings reflect the pressure which local leaders are under to produce some real gains and reverse Woodcock's galloping retreat before the capitalist offensive.

Woodcock, however, is concentrating all his energies on preventing a strike when the present contract expires next fall, hardly bothering even to present a militant face to the companies. Verbally at least, the companies are reciprocating Woodcock's amiable attitude, in order to disarm the militants. GM Board Chairman Gerstenberg announced in a friendly tone just before the bargaining convention that GM *probably* would not raise prices for the rest of the 1973 model year—a "concession" serving to provide his friend Woodcock with an argument against wage demands in excess of Nixon's 5.5% wage guideline, which is still in force. Warmly greeting the pro-company grovelling of the bureaucrats, Gerstenberg said:

> "We in General Motors agree fully with Mr. Woodcock that there is no need for a strike in 1973....
> "I now suggest that we have come to a time when we can acknowledge that we have so far more in common than in conflict, when we can jointly pay our respects to the buried animosities of the past.... These differences have no place in our country today: they have gone the way of the sweatshop."
> —*New York Times*, 20 March 1973

He also described as "another welcome indicator" a letter by the UAW's Bluestone to all locals urging them to press for better quality production (*Wall Street Journal*, 20 March).

The strongest point of Woodcock's ruling bureaucracy is its ability to provide a pressure release valve for the seething discontent of the membership, in the best Reutherite tradition. This technique was demonstrated at the recent production workers' conference in Atlanta this February where local officers were allowed to blow off steam in a giant encounter group session designed to prepare them for next fall's capitulation. The international leadership responded to the legitimate anger and impatience of the assembly workers with calls for such class-collaborationist panaceas as profit-sharing (a reactionary plan to tie the workers to the "profitability" of their exploiters), productivity bonuses (a regressive measure in the direction of piece-work) and finally, the promise that the next production workers' conference would include a Resolutions Committee—thus openly admitting that the Atlanta conference, unlike the Skilled Trades Subcouncil, was never intended to have any decision-making powers at all!

The real negotiating demands were to be determined at the Detroit special

continued on page 4

Renault workers to Séguy, 27 May 1968: "Don't sign." French workers overwhelmingly voted down the first Grenelle Accords, thus rejecting the CGT leaders and provoking a pre-revolutionary situation.

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES

French Elections: Gaullism Wins a Reprieve

The results of the recent French elections amount to a relative victory for the Gaullist coalition. A substantial majority in parliament allows President Pompidou to rule unhindered by the demands of a wider bloc, even with the bourgeois moderates of the so-called "Center" and "Reformer" parties. The main responsibility for this temporary strengthening of a decaying Bonapartist regime must be placed at the feet of the reformist Communist and Socialist parties, the main components of the popular front "Union of the Left." (See "New Pop Frontism in France," *Workers Vanguard* No. 17, March 1973.)

The first unity between the CP and SP since the late 1940's increased the credibility of a left bloc government, leading to an initial wave of enthusiasm for the Union of the Left. Many French workers believed that for the first time in decades there was a real possibility of a government of "their own." It was not to be.

The "Communist" and "Socialist" leaders were, of course, more than eager to get their fingers into the ministerial pie, but at the same time they took great pains not to scare the bourgeoisie with the spectre of socialism lurking around the corner. The necessary reassurances included holding down strike struggles, a moratorium on mass demonstrations, promises to respect the "strong state" constitution of the Fifth Republic, and the Common Program of Government, which calls for a "reformed" capitalism and limits expropriations (*with* compensation) to domestic banks and 9 (nine!) trusts. (At least in the good old days of the 1930's popular front they claimed they were going to destroy the power of the *200* families.)

This consistent policy of class-collaboration was signed and sealed by the alliance with the bourgeois Left Radical party, making the Union of the Left a classical popular front, that is, an alliance of workers parties with a section of the capitalist class (the "progressive, democratic, peace-loving, anti-fascist" section of the exploiters, of course). The net result of this pop front and the deliberately placid election campaign by the left bloc was apathy in the working class and a turn by the petty-bourgeoisie to the more determined leadership of the forces of "law and order."

President Pompidou maneuvered intelligently, with demagogic election promises, some of them quite similar to the Common Program, and a hard-hitting anti-communist campaign. In a last-minute speech the day before the final vote, the former manager of the Banque Rothschild reiterated the constant Gaullist theme: "The choice is simple: on the one side, Marxist communism and the allies it has secured, on the other side everyone else" (*Le Monde*, 11-12 March 1973). The UDR success was also based on widespread gerrymandering: in past elections it has taken approximately four times as many votes to elect a CP deputy as a Gaullist, because of the way the districts are drawn.

Revolutionary Marxism and the Popular Front

> "The Fourth International, already today, is deservedly hated by the Stalin-

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BI-WEEKLY WORKERS VANGUARD!

Beginning with the next issue *Workers Vanguard* will appear every other week, except during August and December. This substantial increase in the frequency of our press is an important aspect of the transformation of the Spartacist League, and reflects the substantial growth of the SL in the recent period. It will strengthen the voice of authentic Trotskyism, enabling us not only to comment on, but also to actively intervene in, the course of the class struggle on a more frequent basis. The changeover requires that we raise the subscription price of *WV* from $2 (for 11 issues) to $3 (for 24 issues) a year, including *Spartacist*. During the next month locals of the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth will be conducting a subscription drive in connection with the launching of the bi-weekly. As the achievement of a solid subscription base is vital to the expansion of *WV*, we encourage all class-conscious militants to aid the campaign by subscribing, making a financial contribution and circulating the only serious Marxist press in the U.S.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Monthly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board: Liz Gordon (chairman), Chris Knox (managing editor), Karen Allen (production manager), Jan Norden.

Circulation manager: Anne Kelley.

West Coast editor: Mark Small; New England editor: George Foster; Midwest editor: Joseph Seymour; Southern editor: Joe Vetter.

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Editorial Miscellany

Fusion and Confusion in the U.Sec.

Under the heading "German Trotskyist groups fuse" the *Militant* for 16 March 1973 carries the story,

> "In Germany two Trotskyist organizations held a fusion conference December 30-January 1 in Kassel. The two organizations—the Gruppe Internationale[r] Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group) and the Revolutionär[e] Kommunistische Jugend (RKJ—Revolutionary Communist Youth)—formed a new, united section of the Fourth International, retaining the name of the GIM....
>
> "During the discussion, broad agreement was reached on some key points: a basic orientation toward the workers' vanguard, now developing within given limits in the factories, and the mechanisms of the GIM's trade-union work; the working out of qualitative, transitional demands for the struggles of this vanguard; the political linking of this workers' vanguard to the revolutionary potential...that has been generated by the youth radicalization."

The 3 February issue of *Red Mole*, the paper of the international Marxist group (British section of the U.Sec.) carries a substantively identical account, which does, however, stress rather more strongly "the extent of the youth radicalisation," which it implicitly places on a par with the working-class mass street-actions in support of the Brandt government last year after it lost its parliamentary majority.

What neither story sees fit to mention is the fact that the so-called "Revolutionary Communist Youth" was in actuality the youth section of the GIM; or, since it seems to have been a case of the tail wagging the dog, perhaps one should reverse the priority and term the GIM the adult section of the RKJ. The "fusion," like the principled agreement reached on all major points, is thus just as fraudulent as that of the (British) Spartacus League with the IMG, which the U.Sec. similarly trumpeted about.

These actions—by Bolshevik standards of democratic centralism and youth-party relations totally anomalous—can perhaps be explained by a revealing passage in the political resolution of the U.Sec. majority submitted to what is laughably termed the "Tenth World Congress—Fourth Since Reunification" (if you can't agree on the past history of your organization, advance two counterposed positions simultaneously!). In this document ("The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe"), which asserts the correctness of the U.Sec.'s tactic of protracted entrism up till 1968 (when it was forcibly borne in upon these "revolutionary Trotskyists" that perhaps after all the working class might just possess some revolutionary potential—though, of course, only in conjunction with other "sectors of intervention"), we learn that because of "over-specialization in entryist work" the U.Sec.'s European sections

> "...generally went about making this shift [to the "new vanguard"] in too slow and stiff a way. The turn was carried out in the best conditions everywhere there was a youth organization led by revolutionary Marxists existing independently that could 'skirt' the problem of a section identified in the eyes of the vanguard with an entryist orientation."

Apart from the application here of the term "vanguard" not to the revolutionary Leninist party of the proletariat and its most class-conscious elements but to an undefined amalgam of (perhaps) subjectively revolutionary ex-Stalinist or -Maoist students (a practice followed throughout this document), we see that the adult sections of the U.Sec., tarred with the entrist brush, were by its own admission so totally discredited among this "new far-left vanguard" as to lack any appeal. Hence the resort to building up youth sections under another name. So far did this process proceed that these "hybrid revolutionary youth organizations...in certain contexts and in view of the relationship of forces...function[ed] as substitutes for adult revolutionary organizations," while bearing "many of the failings typical of the radical student milieu."

Evidently sufficient time has now intervened since the palmy days of entrism for the U.Sec. to feel secure in unmasking itself, to shine forth again like Lucifer in all its pristine glory. Thus from the same document we learn that the "Fourth International opted for a rather rapid fusion between the youth organizations that in reality were substituting themselves for the revolutionary Marxist organizations that did not function within the new far left, and the old sections...." And, of course, while we're at it, why not draw maximal propagandistic advantage among the uninformed by announcing these "fusions" as if they pertained to independent Trotskyist groupings?

Truly, in the view of the U.Sec. the proletariat is possessed of a memory exceedingly short indeed! (Not to mention that of their so-called "new vanguard.") May our account serve as a short reminder!

NCLC/SWP: Cops, Crime and Class

The National Caucus of Labor Committees has for some time been a member of that select club of "Marxists" (together with the Workers League) who consider cops part of the working class. This was brought to light again recently in the 12-16 February issue of the NCLC paper, *New Solidarity*, when they gave their "trade union swine of the week award" to Robert M. McKiernan, head of New York City Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. It seems that "narrow, chauvinist union leaders like McKiernan and Maye [head of the firemen's association] continue to reject a class-wide organizing perspective." One can only conclude that for the NCLC a class-conscious PBA, together with a reconstructed NWRO, would represent a giant step forward towards the creation of a "proto-soviet" of the "political working class"!

To consider the hired guns of the capitalist class as fellow workers is a disgusting betrayal of the most elementary principles of Marxism and the interests of the proletariat. However, it is not without parallel among allegedly socialist groups in the American left. Thus the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party inadvertently showed its appetites for achieving bourgeois respectability by topping off its fall 1972 election campaign with candidates for sheriff, district attorney and commissioner of precinct 3 of Travis City, Texas (*Militant*, 3 November 1972, p. 19)! These intrepid revolutionaries apparently want to become little Noskes, maintaining law and order on behalf of the bourgeoisie. (The Social Democrat Noske used the bourgeois police to smash the Spartacus uprising in Berlin, 1919.)

Now the Labor Committee has outdone itself again by discovering that jails are the result of a "barbaric religious ritual of retributive justice"! Lenin and Marx, who considered jails and police as part of the bourgeois state apparatus, necessary to suppress the workers and maintain its class rule, are apparently vulgar materialists in this dream world. Naturally, we who thought that most crime was a by-product of capitalist exploitation are revealed as hopeless formalists. In a special pre-convention supplement to *The Organizer* published by the "Committee to Rebuild the National Welfare Rights Organization," the NCLC-supported faction in the NWRO, we read: "Actual crimes must, of course, be prevented, and persons disposed to such anti-social acts must be treated... With the aid of concerned former felons, who thus have useful insight into the problem represented by such anti-social tendencies, the problem must be approached in the same terms as diseases. Prisons, or places of confinement to the extent they must continue to exist, must become effective rehabilitation centers..." Naturally, in this whole brochure there is not one mention of socialism or revolution, so what is being talked about is *capitalist* "rehabilitation centers."

The Spartacist League has always maintained a class line on the cop question. We sharply attacked the Workers League for their support of the 1971 police strike, and have called for kicking the cops out of the AFSCME (public employees) and SSEU (social workers) unions. (See "Police Militancy vs. Labor," *Workers' Action*, April-May 1971.) As for the prisons, the SL calls not for their reform but for their elimination through socialist revolution:

> "The prison system cannot be reformed; it must be abolished. While it is correct to struggle for demands which meet the immediate needs of the prisoners, it is essential that we raise the banner of *Smash the Prisons*! We must point out that the main bulk of the reforms proposed can only be realized when bourgeois property relations are overthrown. To abolish the prisons, we must abolish the bourgeois state of which they are part, and the class in whose interests that state is administered." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Massacre at Attica," *Workers Vanguard*, October 1971

PL: Clean Teeth and Little Red Apples

Apparently as a result of Progressive Labor's recent activity in the Medical Committee for Human Rights, we are now being treated to a "Health Page" in *Challenge*. In the 22 March issue under the headline, "Fight to Live—Live to Fight, Part I: Eat Plenty of Apples," we are treated to an attempt manqué at being a left-wing Adele Davis:

> "An apple a day (thoroughly washed) will do what it promises plus a bit more....We've got nuthin to lose.... Some years back we learned that many Russian workers were big on apples. They eat apples because they enjoy them like most of us, but they also eat them for laxative purposes....a heluva good move."

In case you happen to live in a penthouse on Manhattan's Upper East Side, PL can tell you specifically how to stay healthy:

> "Workers living in New York City should know that each year during apple season the Gristede Bros. Grocers come out with their own brand of apple juice in gallon jugs and quart containers. It's unadulterated and without additives."

Incidentally, if you live in the areas where Gristede Bros. have their grocery stores you might also own a genuine pearl necklace. Well if you do, "don't ever let your kid drop real pearls into a glass of vinegar. Pearls dissolve in it. Now a pearl is merely lipidlike (fatty) tumescent exudations, solidified layer by layer."

Well, if that last bit was a little too technical, PL puts it all together for you in that down-home folksy style that only *Challenge* knows how to write:

> "As this guy down at the mill was sayin bout union leader Georgy the 'm," while munchin his apple, 'I'd ruther see no worm than half un.'"

This may all seem a little bit off-the-wall, and not directly related to the struggle for socialism. But that just shows your narrow-minded sectarianism. Milt Rosen explained it carefully for us in the January 1973 issue of *PL* magazine:

> "...if you went to the doctor and he told you to brush your teeth every day and take a pill which would help you, you would brush your teeth and take the pill. Now I am all for brushing your teeth and taking medicine to help yourself. However, fighting the ruling class for socialism, against racism and for '30 for 40' is more important."

PL has a way of reducing every political struggle to the level of personal habits and inanities. Some time back their National Committee suspended one of their members, Jared Israel, for not washing dishes enough. Perhaps Jared will now be able to get back by suspending Rosen for smoking.

Communist Work in the Trade Unions

The Lessons of Historical Experience

Speaker: CHRIS KNOX, Labor Editor of Workers Vanguard

Wednesday, April 18 at 7:30 p.m.
Washington Square Methodist Church
133 West 4th Street
NEW YORK

Friday, April 6 at 8:00 p.m.
SUNY/Buffalo
Norton Union, Room 240
BUFFALO

Open Letter to the Ranks of the Black Panther Party on the Oakland Elections

Comrades:

In the wake of the Nixon landslide and the ceasefire in Indochina, the bourgeoisie is attempting to stabilize finance capital at the expense of the working masses in this country and internationally. The welfare lines grow; already painfully inadequate childcare, educational and medical facilities are cut back even further; food prices soar; and the extreme fragility of the economic boom is underlined by the further devaluation of the dollar. 1973 will see contract battles in five major industries in the U.S. at a time when the union ranks have grown increasingly fed up with the sellout policies of the labor bureaucracy. Because of the pervasive racism of capitalist society, all of this comes down hardest on the black proletariat and other specially oppressed minorities.

The working people here and abroad are well aware of their deteriorating conditions. But what is lacking is a tested revolutionary leadership, a program and party that can lead the working class and oppressed masses toward the expropriation of the capitalist class—the perpetrators of exploitation—and the establishment of a socialist society.

At this time the Black Panther Party is running Bobby Seale for Mayor and Elaine Brown for Councilwoman in the city of Oakland. We have followed your press and public statements as well as attended several campaign rallies for Bobby Seale in order to determine our stand on this campaign. As Marxists, we must ask the question: who will benefit should Seale win this election? We look at the program that Seale and Brown are running on, and consider the composition and policy in practice of your party. A minimum condition for any support is that the party must represent independent working-class political action, not some variation of bourgeois politics that may have support from sectors of the workers.

Looking directly at your program—the Ten Point Program—nowhere do you come out clearly against support for bourgeois candidates. Nowhere do you come out with a strong statement against the Democrats, who have cynically manipulated blacks in this country for decades, coming into the ghettos just before elections to promise a few reforms, just enough to pacify the workers, the unemployed, the welfare clients. The liberal legislation of the 1960's was powerless to make a dent in the problems which daily grow more intolerable: jobs, housing, medical care, childcare, drugs, schools. The reforms of Johnson's "Great Society"—the "Model Cities" program, "Headstart" and OEO grants—where millions of dollars disappeared into projects which did little to help poor blacks—have now proven to be as reversible as are all reforms under capitalism.

BPP Leaders Repudiate Your Party's Past

From its inception, the Black Panther Party was based upon a contradiction: on the one hand, a subjective identification with the most oppressed blacks (working people, the unemployed, welfare recipients, youth, etc.) whose fundamental oppression under capitalism clearly could not be solved or even substantially lessened by a few small and reversible liberal reforms; on the other hand, the ideology of black nationalism, which denied the class basis of society and social struggle and opened the door to the BPP becoming merely another pressure group seeking to play the ethnic politics game of competing for a bigger "slice of the pie" within the status quo.

The Spartacist League was often sharply critical of the BPP in this period, pointing out that black nationalism and Stalinism-Maoism are ideologies of defeat for black working people, struggling against the BPP when it lent itself to the bourgeoisie's attempt to mobilize the indignation of ghetto residents against the unions in the 1968 New York teachers' strike, exposing the "community control" myth as a reactionary fraud, cautioning against substitutionist adventuristic terrorism, denouncing the reformism of some of the Panthers' "community" projects. At the same time we recognized that the BPP was the only one among the various black nationalist formations which was seeking to be more than simply "porkchop nationalists." We respected the courage of the Panther militants who embraced a mistaken adventurist policy because of their desire to fight against oppression. And we gave credit to the BPP for its opposition to the hustlers who sought nothing but their own lucrative careers through meaningless "anti-poverty" programs and to the black Democrats and Republicans who keep the ghetto masses tied to the parties of exploitation, racism and imperialism.

In the early years of your party you called for opposition to the Republicans and Democrats. It was largely because of this position that the Spartacist League gave critical support to your 1968 Congressional ticket in which Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Kathleen Cleaver ran for seats in the California legislature. At the same time we were extremely critical of the middle-class, Eugene McCarthy-like politics of the Peace and Freedom Party whose ticket you used to gain ballot status. We pointed out that the PFP was attempting to use the militant image of the Panthers to gain radical petty-bourgeois and working-class support for its own reformist program.

WV PHOTO

Bobby Seale speaking at Oakland campaign rally.

In 1968 you opposed the election of black Democrat Willie Brown, pointing out that he did not represent the interests of oppressed blacks, and ran your own candidate, Kathleen Cleaver, for his seat in the California State Assembly. But only four years later, in the recent 1972 elections, your party urged the Oakland "black community" to vote for the "People's Candidates": Shirley Chisholm and Ron Dellums. And now in the current campaign your ads on KDIA start with, "Hi, I'm Bobby Seale, a Democrat..." and end with "vote for Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown, two Democrats, people's candidates." How is it that your party, which once claimed to seek a revolutionary transformation of society, can now support candidates who are members of the Democratic Party—the party of war, racism and repression—and run as Democrats yourselves? The theme song of Chisholm's whole campaign was to give everyone a "fair share" so that we can *"make the system work."* In your campaign material you use the slogan, "It's not a race problem, it's a job problem." No, comrades, it is a *class* problem. Chisholm and Dellums are traitors to the oppressed blacks in this country, because they represent conciliationism with capitalism, i.e., the maintenance of the status quo. These black Democrats are truly enemies of the working class. By joining this bosses' party of war, racism and exploitation, Seale and Brown are placing themselves in the same camp with Chisholm and Dellums... and with Daley, Wallace and the rest of their ilk.

Where Is the Program for the Working Class?

But, you object, the Ten Point Program is in the interest of black and white working people in the city of Oakland. You call for full employment, decent housing, education, free health care, an end to the murder of black people. Certainly, no Marxist could oppose such reforms; we fight for any measure that will relieve, even if only in a small way, the problems of the oppressed and exploited.

But to call for full employment without such demands as Organize the Unorganized, Jobs for All, 30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay, Expropriation of Industry under Workers Control, For a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions, Forward to a Workers Government, leads to union busing. You seek to eliminate unemployment by demanding that 50% of the people hired by businesses who have contracts with the city of Oakland be unemployed Oakland residents. Such a demand will simply lead to deals with big business and government at the expense of organized labor. Taking jobs away from the unions destroys their bargaining power and weakens the position of the whole working class, including the unemployed. No matter how reactionary their leaderships, the trade unions represent the first step of the working class in overcoming atomization and impotence at the hands of their employers.

In an expression of the fundamental nationalism of the BPP you call for the preferential hiring of blacks. This will only serve to intensify racial antagonisms, antagonisms which must be *overcome* in order for the working class to make a strong, *unified* struggle against the capitalists. Intensification of racial antagonisms within the working class not only prolongs capitalism by trapping the class in disunity and reactionary ideology, but also differentially endangers those who have the least social power with which to defend themselves. Demands like "30 for 40" cut across racial divisions by creating more jobs, instead of gaining employment for blacks at the expense of other workers.

In a recent campaign speech at Laney College Seale advocated the creation of a black police force in the city of Oakland. Changing the color of the police force does not change its function—the armed guardian of bourgeois "law and order." Black cops are just as effective at strikebreaking and repressing black ghetto residents as white cops.

Black Version of the "April Coalition"?

Your program for this election bears a striking similarity to the "radical" program of the April Coalition—the bloc of movement activists and Democrats who elected three members to the Berkeley City Council in April 1971. Since then the miserable record of these "radicals" and their impotence in effecting even the most minimal reforms have been so unmistakeable that even the *Militant*, newspaper of the crassly reformist Socialist Workers Party, carried a four-part exposé of their performance in office. While embroiled in conflicts among themselves between proposals addressed to the needs of women and proposals addressed to blacks as though the two were contradictory, all three have concentrated almost exclusively on trying to achieve their aims by maneuvers within the city council. In the words of Ilona Hancock, one of the Coalition council members: "Radicals are here to stay in Berkeley and so are conservatives. The question is how are we going to live together" *(Militant*, 9 June 1972).

The Black Panther Party supported the election of the April Coalition. Granted, your paper also criticized these "people's" candidates after the election. Too little too late. Revolutionaries must always, as James P. Cannon wrote, know "what to do next." Using the criteria of program, practice and

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Spartacist Local Directory

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND..... (415) 848-3029
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON..... (617) 661-8284
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO..... (716) 881-3064
Box 412, Station C
Buffalo, NY 14209

CHICAGO..... (312) 548-2934
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND..... (216) 696-4943
Cleveland *WV* Committee
Box 2492
Cleveland, OH 44112

DETROIT
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

LOS ANGELES..... (213) 467-6855
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90038

MILWAUKEE
Box 5144, Harbor Sta.
Milwaukee, WI 53204

NEW ORLEANS..... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

SAN DIEGO..... (714) 272-2286
Box 22052, Univ. City Sta.
San Diego, CA 92122

SAN FRANCISCO..... (415) 863-1459
Box 40574
San Francisco, CA 94140

Continued from page 1

Woodcock...

bargaining convention, where Woodcock carefully maintained control by presenting a laundry list of promises which reflected the pressure of all sectors of the union on the leadership, but contained nothing new. As usual, most of it will be dropped in bargaining. Calling his critics "fools and liars" and "enemies of this union" Woodcock successfully co-opted the disgruntled local leaders and outmaneuvered the UNC opposition. None of these elements transcended the reformist trade unionism upon which Woodcock's demagogy was based.

A good example of the worthlessness of the spontaneous "militant" leadership was provided by Gary Bryner, Local president and "hero" of the Lordstown strike. Bryner's speech lauding the International bureaucracy which sold out the Lordstown workers provided the most disgusting example of the subservience of the local UAW bureaucracy to the class-collaborationist leadership of Solidarity House.

Under the guise of setting up unassailable security for the union against union-busting, the bureaucracy's collective bargaining resolution contained the most blatant statement of its class collaborationism in its history:

> "...the growth and success of the company are of direct interest to the workers and their union, and success of the union is of direct interest to the company... each party therefore pledges... that it will not, in any way, impede the growth or success of the other."

The virtually unanimous passage of this resolution codified what has been the policy of the UAW bureaucracy since its inception.

The United National Caucus managed to attract some sections of the left-leaning bureaucracy to a speech given at its public meeting by ex-Western Region Director Paul Schrade. Schrade argued for not pointing the finger of blame at anyone in particular (i.e., Woodcock or himself) for past failures such as the 1970 GM contract (which he supported). He carried this out by refusing to speak in opposition to the bureaucracy on the floor of the convention. At the UNC meeting, one speaker generally reflecting the views of IS—the UNC's chief outside supporters—challenged Schrade to adopt a caucus orientation, which could only mean joining the UNC. There is nothing in either the UNC's or IS' programs which would prevent a complete subordination of both groups to the bureaucratic aspirations of a purely self-serving careerist such as Schrade.

Real Issues Buried

Behind this facade of a labor-management love affair lie the real issues. Woodcock and the entire UAW international bureaucracy, supported by the local officials, are consciously defending the interests of the companies for higher "productivity" with fewer workers on the basis of the false notion that the success of American capitalism will somehow benefit American working people. Especially important is success over foreign competition, so that American jobs are protected. Lay-offs, however, are required in order to achieve this!

Because of Woodcock's brand of labor "leadership"—the class-collaborationist result of reformist trade unionism—the companies are assured that there will be no hard UAW demand for fully voluntary overtime, no effort to curtail the speedup and overwork upon which the "productivity" drive depends, nor any attempt to defeat the wage guidelines enforced by Nixon's "advisory committee," upon which Woodcock sits. Thus for the UAW tops there is "no need" for a strike, since Woodcock has already surrendered!

Until the reformist bureaucracy is replaced with revolutionary leadership, the UAW will continue to sell out on job conditions, layoffs, etc., in exchange for small increases in wages and benefits, or, if the bosses come upon hard times, for nothing at all. The interests of the workers, however, call for a drastically different policy, beginning with international working-class solidarity against capitalism of all nations and embracing full workers control of production, including line speed; a shorter work week at no loss in pay to end unemployment; and preparation of the struggle for political power through the call for a workers party based on the trade unions and the demand for a workers government.

It is on such a program, representing the historic interests of the international working *class*, that a real opposition in the unions must be built. Various fake-left tendencies act as if such a program is fine for lipservice by them, but "too advanced" for the workers. "Stick to the immediate issues—wages and hours," they say. They are only playing Woodcock's game. As long as "revolutionaries" restrict themselves to simple trade unionism, it is the real trade unionists who will ultimately win out. Internationalism, workers control of production, a workers party and a workers government: *these* are burning issues of the day.

The UAW's position on internationalism and the shorter workweek makes this clear. Said Woodcock:

> "If we're going to move to a shorter workweek—say a four-day week—and then have that capital equipment lying idle for three days every week, costs are going to skyrocket, and we do have to be concerned with the import problem in our domestic market."
>
> —*U.S. News and World Report*, 12 February 1973

He makes no secret of the fact that his concern is for the maintenance of American capitalism's dominance of the world market, in spite of all his pious speeches in favor of international workers solidarity at meetings of the International Metalworkers Federation.

The 1971 British Ford strike provided a clear example of the cynicism with which the union tops view their participation in the IMF: soon after declarations of solidarity were passed at the London IMF conference in support of the strike, the company was able to successfully route shipments of crankshafts to the Cologne, Germany plant through their Canadian plant in Windsor, Ontario, with the full knowledge of the union leaders.

The bureaucracies of the national unions are well aware of the threat to them represented by any manifestation of real workers solidarity across national boundaries—a truly international union could not be contained within the bounds of narrow patriotism and loyalty to a particular national bourgeoisie. Thus, in 1963, when the workers of UAW Local 600 offered money to the English stewards at the Dagenham Ford complex to aid them in organizing a union of auto and ancillary trade workers, Reuther threatened the Detroit workers with an injunction, while his British counterpart Carron threatened with expulsion those members of the engineers union involved in the negotiations.

"Left" Echo

Capitulating to Woodcock's social-democratic trade unionism, the "revolutionaries" supporting the United National Caucus (UNC) fail to take a firm stand against the national chauvinism so prevalent among American workers. At the rare times when they actually refer to an issue beyond their typically opportunist scope, such as their sporadic opposition to the Vietnamese war, they can only echo the social-patriotism of the Woodcock bureaucracy. The November 1969 issue of *UNC* uncritically quoted the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) statement against the war, which attacked "the reprehensible activities of a small minority who burn the American flag and equate Anti-Americanism with Anti-War."

The opportunists of the UNC appear to be vying with Woodcock for the favors of the imperialist rulers. Last spring's UAW Constitutional Convention endorsed a proposal to seek national legislation requiring federal licensing of multi-national corporations seeking to export capital. At its recent conference in Detroit, the official spokesman for the UNC on unemployment, MacFadden, called for the same thing: "restrictions on the export of capital" (See *WV* No. 17, March 1973). According to the UAW formula, such a license to export capital would be issued only if the corporation could prove that the projected export was "in the national interest of the U.S." (*Monthly Labor Review*, July 1972).

Defense of "the national interest of the U.S." means nothing other than defense of the interests of the U.S. ruling class. The American workers have no stake in furthering the imperial aims of these parasites—the multinational corporations must be fought with international proletarian solidarity, not with narrow nationalist protectionism. Without an effective organization which unites in a single force the workers of every country, the capitalists will continue to pit one group of workers against another, using the threat of runaway factories to defeat those struggles which remain limited within a single nation (a technique used successfully by Ford to win strikes in Argentina in 1966 and in Belgium in 1968).

Similarly, the American auto workers are doomed to failure unless they recognize the necessity of forging bonds with their brothers and sisters across the world, through international strike solidarity, a truly international metalworkers union with uniformly high wage scales and a program of international class struggle.

"Opposition" is Cheap

Opposition to the openly defeatist policies of the international leadership costs little these days. A militant, anti-Woodcock posture is the minimum needed for any UAW local leader to maintain credibility today among the union ranks. Every ambitious careerist desiring higher office in the union is leaping onto the "critical" bandwagon, and loyally tagging along behind are his "socialist" covers—one or another allegedly revolutionary group to protect his flank from attack as he prepares to lead the workers into yet another reformist dead-end.

A case in point: A certain Bob Carter at the Jefferson Chrysler plant in Detroit was elected to the Executive Board of Local 7 with the support of the United Justice Caucus, an IS-supported local caucus affiliated to UNC. Carter then promptly turned around and quit the caucus. He had apparently decided that the caucus would alienate the workers by attacking the international leadership instead of devoting itself exclusively to the problems of Local 7. The plaintive query of the UJC: "Why does he suddenly discover a need to resign now?" is left unanswered (*United Justice Train*, January 1973). There is a moral in this for those who are willing to learn: If you grovel at the feet of an opportunist, he is quite likely to use you as a stepladder to power. The IS will never learn from this, since the lesson destroys its entire basis of existence.

Faced with ripening opportunities for political activity in the UAW, almost every fake-left organization now has supporters in this union. Yet not one of them calls for a *communist* policy in the unions. Stalinist, social-democrat, Maoist, pseudo-Trotskyist—every self-styled "Marxist" tendency on the American left is following a deliberate and consistent policy of explicit reformism in the trade unions.

FOCUS

Fremont, Calif. auto workers on eve of 1970 GM strike move to prevent a shipment of trucks. "Radical" Paul Schrade, then West Coast UAW director, denounced action as work of students, formed liaison committee with cops against "outside agitators," set up goon squad and called tactical police to prevent rally called by oppositionist United Action Caucus.

Having abandoned any prospect of winning the working class to an internationalist, revolutionary consciousness, these universally opportunist formations are competing with one another to see how fast they can dissolve themselves into the UNC and the "rank and file."

Typical of "radical" programs to be advanced for the 1973 contract battles are those proposed by supporters of the Communist Party (CP), International Socialists (IS) and the Workers League (WL). One is struck by an amazing similarity between these programs, which share a number of elements: higher wages, shorter hours, the right to strike, a range of minor reforms and the complete absence of anything that would qualitatively distinguish them from old-fashioned, "pure-and-simple" reformist trade unionism.

The Question of Power

Nowhere do any of these groups pose the necessity for a struggle for *power*, the need to organize the working class to extend the endless skirmishes for partial demands into an all-out battle for the expropriation of the capitalists, the overthrow of their government and the establishment of a socialist society under the rule of a workers state. Instead, the long-range goal is always separated from, and subordinate to, the immediate economic demands of the next set of contract negotiations.

All these ostensibly revolutionary

Militant, Internationalist Policies Required for Shell Strike Victory

NEW ORLEANS—The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW) is currently on strike against the Shell Oil Company. The principal demand of the union is for a Health and Safety Committee representing both labor and management. Seeing that the strike will likely be a drawn-out affair and not wanting to create turmoil in the labor movement which might be reflected in the OCAW's own rank and file, the national leadership of OCAW had called for a consumer boycott of Shell Oil's products along the lines of the famed grape boycott.

While it is the elementary duty of all working-class militants to defend the strike and not buy scab products, it is an act of betrayal to simply follow the wishes of the OCAW's bureaucracy. But opportunist tendencies like the New American Movement, the Red Collective of New Orleans and the October League have done just that.

First, no labor militant can believe that Shell Oil or any other company has the right to determine in any manner what are "safe" conditions under which workers should work. For the bosses, the question of safety boils down to the question of safety for their profits. We must call instead for *workers'* Health and Safety Committees with the right to shut down plants when safety hazards are present. For Workers Control of Production!

Secondly, since Shell is owned by British and Dutch capital, the union leadership has made patriotic appeals for support of the strike. As Alex Livingston, president of OCAW Local 4-750 at Norco, La. put it: "The Queen is going to try to tell us Americans what to do?" But whether it's the Queen, Nixon or Rockefeller, all have a common interest in fighting unions. Instead of appealing to patrtotism, the fundamental issue must be the solidarity of all workers both here and abroad against their international capitalist enemies. For the OCAW (as with the farmworkers before them) this should be obvious when the Defense Department stated that it would not honor the boycott of Shell products.

Having prepared themselves for this capitulation to patriotism by their uncritical support of the robbers' peace in Vietnam, NAM and the Red Collective have not raised one criticism or counterposed one internationalist slogan to the position of the union leadership. At a recent demonstration at Shell's southeastern headquarters in New Orleans, the only organization putting forward an internationalist position was the SL/RCY which marched with its own signs including: "Workers' Struggle is International/Safe and Equal Working Conditions for Workers of All Countries," "U.S. and Foreign Capitalists the Same/Exploitation is the Name of the Game."

Third, at a 16 March meeting of the Shell Boycott Coalition, while the SL/RCY, the Black Workers Congress and the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU spoke in favor of going to the unions to get their active support, elements of NAM, the Red Collective, the OCAW international representative and various environmentalists pressed for continued consumer boycott protest activities, e.g., the picketing of Shell service stations. The real power to win this strike lies in the organized working class and its solidarity. While the OCAW had received passive support from a number of unions many of these unions (such as the NMU) continue to handle Shell products. At the meeting, Gene Herson, presidential candidate of the MSC in the upcoming National Maritime Union elections, called for "hot cargoing" Shell products. The international representative of the OCAW argued that hot cargoing was illegal. Herson replied that many unions were built through militant tactics such as these.

The opposition of the OCAW leadership to attempts to *mobilize* rank-and-file support for the strike both here and abroad is a sign of their willingness to lose the strike rather than cut across anti-labor laws and offend their capitalist friends. The appeal to patriotism has its roots in this same attitude, which requires that the OCAW rank and file keep its distance from giving active support to and getting active support from workers on strike against Shell in Venezuela, Curacao and Japan. ■

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groups reveal an opportunist adaptation to the present backwardness of the masses instead of a commitment to building the revolutionary vanguard through raising the level of consciousness of the class. Certainly it is essential for revolutionists to participate in the everyday struggles of the workers over wages, hours and working conditions in order to ensure the closest contact between the class and the party—to establish its authority and legitimacy in the eyes of the workers by demonstrating in practice that the communists are the most militant, far-sighted and consistent defenders of the interests of the class. This does not mean, however, that we attempt to win leadership as simple trade unionists, within the framework established by capitalism and its defenders in the labor bureaucracy.

We aspire to lead the class as *communists*, which will often necessarily entail counterposing the historic, world-wide interests of the proletariat to its immediate consciousness. In fact, except during periods of revolutionary upheaval, during which the class leaps ahead to transcend its traditional patterns, the consciousness of the working class will generally reflect the dominant ideology, the ideas which serve the interests of bourgeois society. Capitalism is seen as permanent and omnipotent; struggle against it, as futile and utopian. If the continued existence of the capitalist system is taken as the framework, the only struggle possible is simple trade unionism—the fight to sell one's labor power at the highest price; to make exploitation more expensive, but never to abolish it altogether. The ideology of trade unionism is bourgeois ideology, as Lenin insisted in *What is to Be Done?*, the classic attack on trade-union reformism and economism, a work which has lost none of its polemical relevance.

How then is it possible to win the working masses to a truly revolutionary perspective, to an understanding of the need to overthrow capitalism and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat? It was the third, Communist International, while it was still the world party of Lenin and Trotsky, which first clearly posed the answer:

> "The Communist Parties must put forward demands, and they must fight with the masses for their fulfillment, regardless of whether they are in keeping with the profit system of the capitalist class or not. What the Communist Parties have to consider is not whether capitalist industry is able to continue to exist and compete, but rather whether the proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance.... *The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists is: the struggle for the concrete needs of the proletariat and demands, which, in their application, undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, form the transition to proletarian dictatorship, even if the latter have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.* As the struggle for these demands embraces ever-growing masses, as the needs of the masses clash with the needs of capitalist society, the workers will realize that capitalism must die if they are to live." [emphasis in original]
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> —*Theses and Resolutions adopted at the Third World Congress of the Communist International*, "Theses on Tactics," June-July 1921

The American section of the Comintern carried out work in the unions based on these guidelines, by calling for a "united front of the revolutionary and progressive elements in the labor unions...through the Trade Union Educational League." Unlike the "united fronts" based on minimal reformist programs so common today, the TUEL was based on a full program which clearly distinguished it from the reformist "socialists" and trade-union bureaucrats:

> "This organization is carrying on an aggressive campaign in favor of the program of the Red International of Labor Unions, including a policy of aggressive class struggle instead of class collaboration, the workers' republic, independent working-class political action, affiliation with the Moscow International, the general strike, support of the Russian Revolution, industrial unionism through amalgamation, etc."
>
> —*The Labor Herald*, February 1923

This was the tradition which Trotsky developed a step further with the Transitional Program of 1938, the founding document of the Fourth International. The transitional program is necessary to bridge the gap between the existing consciousness of the class and revolutionary class-consciousness, i.e., communism. It does not represent an abstract list of slogans to ensure one's revolutionary purity; the transitional program embodies a *strategy* of concrete struggles, by posing the real solutions to the oppression of the working masses—solutions which fundamentally challenge the survival of outmoded capitalism and point to international socialist revolution as the only possible answer to the needs of the masses.

Pseudo-Trotskyists like the Workers League and International Socialists reject the Transitional Program as artificial, sectarian and irrelevant to the needs of the workers in this period. By abandoning a principled program based on the *objective* needs of the working class for the role of left-wing of bourgeois trade unionism, they are condemning themselves to historical irrelevance.

The Spartacist League consistently defends a program for the unions which reflects the lessons learned by the communist movement; thus the SL only supports caucuses which represent a qualitative break with reformist unionism and seek to provide an alternative leadership on the basis of principled revolutionary politics instead of opportunist adaptationism and reformist panaceas. Because of this, the SL will be a real force in developing revolutionary consciousness through the development of a solid core of communist cadre in the unions, capable of exerting independent and revolutionary leadership, long after the other tendencies have thoroughly betrayed the revolutionary aspirations and goals of the working class. ■

THE UAW IN PICTURES

Detroit Chrysler sit-down strikers in March 1937 respond to court injunction ordering them out of the plant.

As International Class Struggle Sharpens...

TOWARD THE REBIRTH OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

Speaker—

JOHN SHARPE
Spartacist League
Central Committee

WEDNESDAY
APRIL 4
8 PM

UNIV. OF TORONTO
Graduate Student Union (Upstairs Lounge)

PL on the Road to Reformism: AN INSIDERS' VIEWPOINT

By Art Carling and Jay Franklin

[*Editor's note:* The authors are two former members of PL. Jay F. was a member of the Progressive Labor Party from before its founding convention in 1965, and active in the Bay Area PL, primarily in trade union work, for six years. Art C. was involved in PL's army work.]

The transformation of Progressive Labor from an aggressive left-centrist grouping into reformism is almost complete. The class orientation which marked PL through the summer of 1971 has been largely submerged in a desperate search for gimmicks promising mass influence. PL nose-dived into the bourgeois-led NPAC, created its own single-issue reform groups in SDS and WAM, and now begins to consider the possibility of work within the Democratic Party.

A combination of continual zigzags in the line, theoretical disorientation, moralizing sermons rather than political struggle and now a qualitative right turn has led to accelerated internal demoralization within PL. Scores of members and close sympathizers have left PL on the West Coast alone during the past two years. Unfortunately, most of these dropouts have fallen into political passivity rather than attempting to analyze the crisis facing PL. An index of this organizational crisis is the party chairman's recent speech to the ranks reprinted in the latest *PL*—a homespun assortment of petty homilies begging the members not to quit and declaring that the very act of "fighting is winning."

For PL the only existing organizational cement is super-activism based on this "fighting is winning" line; an orgy of paper sales, 30 for 40 petitions and anti-racist textbook campaigns substitute for political clarification. The inability of PLers to grapple with political criticisms, especially those of the Spartacist League, leads to responses along the line of, "at least we're building something! What do you guys do, except bother us?" This can keep militants going for a few months, but more and more PL members are now asking themselves, "what exactly *are* we building?" Only a struggle to assimilate the lessons of the past, a programmatic fight against PL's eclecticism, will prevent the continued demoralization of subjectively serious potential communists.

PLers must closely examine the results of an enormous amount of energy and work—an objective balance sheet of PL's mass work must be drawn. We will focus on PL's Bay Area trade union work and PL's efforts at an army base. Such an examination, based on our own experiences, in fact shows that PL has really "done" very little in building a revolutionary party.

PL in the Trade Unions: Hot Breakfasts and Softball

PL's trade-union work really began in the Bay Area in the Steelworkers local at American Can Co. and two other unions. The articles in *Challenge* about these workers were only a reflection of their militancy which in no way extended the workers' understanding. For example, this Steelworkers' local voted unanimously against sellout by Abel (the USWA president). But despite the potential and despite the fact that three PLers worked in this plant for three years, there was *no* attempt to channel this militancy into class consciousness by means of a caucus based on a class program. Three years of "revolutionary communist" work in this union produced a petition campaign to get hot breakfasts served earlier in the cafeteria and a softball team which lost repeatedly and whose politics matched its league record! Of those non-party members of the team, not one is in or around PL today—not even the left fielder! Proof that this was not an isolated opportunist deviation in Bay Area union work is that a similar caucus and softball team was led by the West Coast leader of PL.

PL did initiate an active caucus at Safeway stores, at one point having more than 30 members attending caucus meetings. But beyond selling *Challenge*, there was nowhere for them to go, no way to develop into communists. Lacking programmatic direction, the caucus began to degenerate, at one point having anti-semitic remarks in its newsletter, and eventually becoming an opportunist front-group which had to be liquidated. The extent of PL's intervention in the key 1970 GM strike was to tail the spontaneous militancy of the strikers and to serve them rice and tuna fish. The PL auto caucus in the Bay Area was put on parade more than once during the SF State strike defending and promoting "revolutionary" nationalism. On the job, however, this caucus was impotent, eventually becoming demoralized and falling away from PL. In fact, the entire San Jose PL operation was eventually liquidated—it should be noted that San Jose is the proletarian center of Northern California (auto, food processing and warehouses, electronics, aerospace, etc.).

These experiences seem to have been a nation-wide phenomenon, as there was a sharp "rectification" in early 1970. Two lessons were drawn from these failures: the job of communists is to fight for the proletarian dictatorship, not to initiate reform fights or reform organizations, and most PLers from middle-class backgrounds should be pulled out of the unions, off the "front lines," to become students, librarians, etc. whose main task would be the bombardment of "real, live center" workers with *Challenge*, attempting to win the more advanced to "Challenge Sellers' Collectives." Among other examples, in the Bay Area this meant dropping work among Muni Bus Drivers, who have a tradition of militancy, because the PL supporters in the union were deemed too middle-class!

This truly infantile ultra-left turn was based on the contradiction between PL's crassly reformist union work (which had its student counterpart in the infamous strategy of fights around slippery floors in the campus cafeteria) and a subjective communist impulse. If outright reformism not only didn't work but was also demoralizing the members in the unions then the solution must lie in shouting "Communism" from the treetops—and pulling a chunk of PL supporters out of the unions! A frenzy of *Challenge* sales, contacting sessions and embryonic Challenge Sellers' Collectives produced very little. A few workers and students were attracted to this source of energy, but the turnover rate was very high. In addition, a number of members and sympathizers left during this frenzied "rectification," convinced that PL had forsaken its main attribute, that of "building a base in the working class."

The idea that advanced workers will be won to communism largely from the outside, in the absence of a communist pole within the unions fighting and exposing the present union leadership, is doomed to failure. When this failure became clear, when it became obvious that each issue of *Challenge* was not being read by 100,000 "masses," primarily workers (the claim of the leadership), and that workers were not being attracted to the Challenge Sellers' Collectives, then a change had to be made. Obviously, if "communist agitation" failed then a zigzag to reformism was the answer. The only difference was that now PL had fewer cadre in the unions and the turn to blatantly reformist organizing was much deeper, based on the shambles of the "ultra-left" period.

A series of gimmick reform movements has dominated PL's work in the class over the past two years, ranging from the "fight racist unemployment" campaign to the current "30 for 40" struggle. These campaigns have been single-issue attempts to create a "center," basically outside the unions, from which PL can recruit and which can serve as focal points of activity to siphon off the anxiety of the ranks. An organization of PL's limited size and influence, an organization which has proven its inability to build opposition caucuses within the unions, is absolutely incapable of really waging a fight against unemployment or for 30 for 40. The attempt to hold PL together with promises about building a mass fight is simple opportunism which will lead to the further disillusionment of the PL ranks.

PL in the Army: "GI Joe's a Red"

PL's initial attitude toward GI organizing was abstention. Tailing after the new left and black nationalists, the "center," PL was among the most energetic fighters for "Hell no! We won't go!" draft resistance. PL gave this position a militant, avowedly anti-imperialist thrust to the left of the pacifist-liberal forces; but it refused to conduct a principled fight for the Leninist position that revolutionaries must accept induction in order to politicize worker-soldiers.

By 1968 a combination of growing spontaneous GI struggles, the success of other left tendencies' work in the military, a romanticism of the left about so-called GI organizing and the success of an inadvertently drafted PLer in organizing an anti-imperialist paper on his base led PL to abandon its earlier policy of draft resistance. The approach to this work was pragmatic, with little attempt to understand the history of communist work in this arena or to formulate a program for GI work.

PL's lurch to the left in early 1970 found its reflection in the army in a sharp tactical turn. We were no longer supposed to be just one of the guys but instead "revolutionary communists fighting for the proletarian dictatorship." The idiocy of this ultra-left turn is perhaps better seen in the army than in other arenas. The objective situation was truly ripe—the vast majority of GI's strongly hated the war and military discipline and were neutral to communists (the usual response was, if you're against the army you can't be too bad). The spontaneous level of struggle was high not only in Vietnam, exemplified by "fraggings" and some refusals to fight, but also stateside as seen in a spiraling AWOL and desertion rate and stockade rebellions. On almost every major base there were indications that this individual rebellion could be transformed into collective struggle, as coffeehouses and GI organizations attracted a nucleus of potential organizers. The ferment in the military in the late 1960's and early 1970's presented an excellent opportunity for revolutionaries.

But the sum total of PL's program in this period was "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and Challenge Sellers' Collectives. Every barracks was seen as a potential red fortress, with the only obstacle between PL and the recruitment of GI's being the lack of exposure to "communist" ideas, i.e., *Challenge*. The only tactic of PL supporters was to talk about communism and try to win GIs to the Challenge Sellers' Collectives. The tense objective situation and the energy of PL's work attracted handfuls of GI militants at various times, but the overwhelming majority was not ready to make the big leap of joining a communist organization. The other result of PL's work in this "rectification" period was a number of busts. Given the adventurism of PL's tactics this is not surprising. An organization whose newspaper could carry the headlines, "GIs, WACs, Beat, Kill Officers!" was obviously out of touch with reality, unable to pose any perspective other than individual martyrdom for radical worker-soldiers.

But the political vacuum which PL helped to perpetuate was partially filled by the reformist coffeehouses and organizations. PL's attitude toward the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM) and its coffeehouse at Fort Ord was typical. This particular MDM effort was politically controlled by the right Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU), with some CP influence. Its activities consisted of running a coffeehouse off-base in which GIs could congregate, printing a newspaper modeled after the *Black Panther*, undertaking defense work and some attempts at organizing on-base. The MDM's work at this base lasted only about six months, falling apart from cop and military harassment, lack of funds and the contradictions inherent in the RU's politics. But in this period, especially during the summer of 1970, MDM attracted a large chunk of the more radical GIs, those who were looking for a way to fight against the war, military discipline and racism.

PL's approach to these militants was the "united front from below," which meant that we made sporadic efforts to win these guys by baldly posing the Challenge Sellers' Collective as the alternative to the "reformist, CP-controlled, cop-out MDM." But the very purpose of the united-front tactic is not only to provide unity in action, but also to be a means of testing and exposing reformist leaders before their membership in the course of practical struggle. PL demanded that these militants just abandon their reformist illusions and join them—the result was *no united front at all and the continued stranglehold of the reformists on the most advanced GI militants.* Opportunities for PL to intersect these militants existed without actually joining MDM, e.g., defense cases, demonstrations, MDM public activities, etc. But PL was content to continue building the Challenge Sellers' Collective—a group which at this base never recruited outside of PL and sympathizers who had already been close to PL before entering the army.

Another aspect of PL's sectarianism during this period was the attitude toward democratic rights. Basically, PL's position was that democratic rights don't exist, therefore it is unprincipled to ever appeal to democratic precedents in bourgeois law as this builds illusions. In one case, PL refused to take the cops to court to prevent them from harassing and preventing literature sales off-base, although there was considerable evidence

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Israeli Government Attacks Anti-Zionist Militants

As the deteriorating living conditions of Israeli workers begin to eat away at the Zionist mythology of the "promised land" and the "non-capitalist" nature of Israel, the Israeli ruling class has been forced to employ more open terror against the left and working masses. This terror is not reserved for the more traditional victims alone—suspected Arab guerillas, Arab homes, a Libyan airliner, etc.—but is also directed at sections of the Jewish population as well—oriental Jews, striking workers and Jewish leftists.

Israeli Repression

Recently the Israeli government indicted a number of persons including members of the "Red Front" and the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle) as members of an alleged Syrian spy ring. The message intended is clear—the advocacy of unity between the Arab and Jewish working classes is equivalent to treason. In response to these attacks, five Israeli leftist organizations—the Vanguard Group, the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen), the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (Struggle), the Arab Students' Union at Hebrew University, Jerusalem—issued a statement appealing for international solidarity against attacks on the left by the Israeli State (reprinted in the *Militant*, 2 February 1973).

Zionist "Civil Peace" Crumbles

The arrests take place against the background of increasing class struggle within Israel. Last year an unprecedented strike wave led to more than 200,000 workdays lost, placing Israel seventh in the capitalist world and first in the category of public service workers' strikes. Also during 1972 inflation rose at a rate of 16%, hitting the lowest-paid sections of the working class particularly hard, especially the unskilled and semi-skilled Arab workers.

Further signs of the increasing break-up of the Zionist *Burgfrieden* (civil peace) are seen in the growth of various left organizations. These range from the left Zionists of SIAKH, and the oriental Jews of the Israeli Black Panthers, to a number of ostensibly Marxist groupings. Last year the Black Panthers called a May Day demonstration attended by most of the left groups and attracting 1,500 participants. The police broke up the demonstration and arrested 80 on various charges.

The various ostensibly Marxist groupings originated in the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen), a loose left-of-the-CP organization founded in 1962. At that time it was made up of some survivors of the Palestinian Trotskyist movement and former members of the CP expelled for their protest against the lack of democracy in the Stalinist party. During the period up to 1970 a gradual political clarification took place in Matzpen, which had come to be an umbrella organization of all the anti-Zionist groupings. In September 1970 a period of splits began with the departure of the Vanguard group, which rejects the concept of a special anti-Zionist (i.e., "democratic") stage in the revolution and the conciliation of Arab nationalism characteristic of the other groups in Matzpen. At about the same time a Maoist, third-worldist group, the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, split off. This group later split into the RCA (Struggle) and the RCA (Red Front), with the latter accusing the former of opportunistically adapting their propaganda to the level of backward workers. The remaining ISO was split again in February 1972, with one wing, the ISO (Matzpen-Marxist), linked to the revisionist ex-Trotskyist United Secretariat of Frank and Mandel, and the other, ISO (Matzpen), being a loose combination of anarchist and "state-capitalist" elements.

Today the Vanguard group is associated with the French OCI and the ISO (Matzpen-Marxist) with the U.Sec.; the Red Front is loosely tied with Progressive Labor in this country and ISO (Matzpen) similarly with the British International Socialists.

Defense Demonstrations in the U.S.

In the United States, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the youth section of the Spartacist League, in spite of its differences with the organizations issuing the appeal, took the lead in initiating a series of united-front demonstrations in defense of the Israeli Left. The RCY called on all left and working-class organizations to perform their elementary duty—the defense of the left against capitalist attack—by demonstrating around the slogans:

Defend the Israeli Militants!
For Unconditional Defense of the Left Against Bourgeois Repression!
For International Working-Class Solidarity!

The RCY made clear the principled nature of this united front, indicating that all organizations and individuals agreeing with the slogans were free to join the demonstration and carry their own banners, slogans and literature.

The RCY in addition to the three central slogans carried banners declaring the need for a section of a reborn Fourth International in the Mid-East that would unite Arab and Jewish workers around a class-struggle program. One of the key elements of this program would necessarily be *the recognition of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples*. This demand is absolutely crucial to break through the nationalist chains which bind the working masses to their respective bourgeoisies, redirecting national hatred into hatred of the class enemy—the bourgeoisie of one's own country. A second key element is the demand *for a socialist United States of the Mid-East*, as the only road along which the democratic rights of both the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples can be fully realized.

The first in the series of demonstrations was held in New York City on 21 February 1973. (See *RCY Newsletter*, no. 16, April 1973 for details.) At the Israeli Consulate to the U.N. approximately 75 persons including members and supporters of the SL/RCY and representatives of the National Caucus of Labor Committees and Vanguard Newsletter demonstrated and drove off an attack by lead pipe-wielding thugs of the Jewish Defense League (JDL).

Buffalo: The SL/RCY initiated a demonstration at the Federal Building in downtown Buffalo which was held 1 March 1973 (coinciding with Golda Meir's arrival in Washington, D.C.) in which several members of the NCLC and the Students for a Democratic Society participated. On first being approached for the united front the Buffalo Labor Committee (BLC) declared that it was "irrelevant" and a distraction from the "real" struggle to "rebuild the National Welfare Rights Organization," the NCLC's latest pop-front scheme to reform an arm of the bourgeois state (the NWRO receives its funding from the federal OEO). On hearing, however, of the principled behavior of their comrades in New York City, the BLC literally overnight "changed its tune." The BLC further distinguished itself from its New York comrades by violating the discipline of the united front democratically decided on beforehand, that each group would have five minutes to speak, by grabbing the bullhorn and refusing to yield even at the RCY's suggestion for a second speaking round if all the groups agreed.

Progressive Labor Party refused to participate in its own name, declaring that PL doesn't "unite with revisionists," preferring to unite with "Grass Roots for McGovern" and the aspiring bureaucrats in the leadership of the United National Caucus of the UAW. Feeling the pressure generated by the contradiction between PL's sectarianism and the desire of the membership to defend the Israeli left (particularly an ex-PLer now in Israel) PLers participated in the demonstration under the name of SDS—which apparently does "unite with revisionists."

WV PHOTO

Boston SL/RCY demonstrates against Israeli state repression.

Chicago: Members of the RCY, the International Socialists, the Class Struggle League and several independents demonstrated in Chicago on 3 March, in defense of the Israeli left. Outside of the SWP/YSA, who deigned to send only an observer, every other group approached did not even wish to "observe" an action which *all, in principle, claimed to support*. Words are cheap! The NCLC revealed its inability to respond in a nationally coordinated way even to a simple united-front call, by refusing to participate, again citing "the real issue—rebuilding the NWRO," as an excuse. A group associated with the "United Front Against Imperialism" at the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, endorsed the demonstration, agreeing to the points raised by the SL/RCY as the basis of common action. But after meeting objections from their bloc partners in the "United Front" this group withdrew its support at the last moment. A member of the Iranian Student Association was more honest, stating that he was opposed "on principle" to *any* joint action with Trotskyists, *even though he agreed with the need to defend the Israeli left*. Not surprisingly, this absurd logic is held in common by the CP/YWLL, almost all Maoist groupings, and the once Trotskyist, now thoroughly reformist SWP/YSA who declared they wanted nothing to do with the demonstration because the SL/RCY are so "sectarian"!

Bay Area: In San Francisco the RCY-initiated demonstration was participated in by representatives of the IS, the NCLC, Socialist Forum and Venceremos, a Stalinist group in whose defense against a government witch-hunt the SL/RCY has been very active. The Revolutionary Union, the October League, Venceremos and several Arab student groups, after being approached by the RCY for the united front, called a separate demonstration for *the same time and the same place* to protest the downing of a Libyan passenger plane by Israel. When these groups arrived at the demonstration site, the RCY again approached them for a united front which was refused, the RU et al. (with the exception of three representatives of Venceremos) moving across the street. The SWP had at first refused to join the demonstration, then had agreed to send "less than a handful" to defend the demonstration against the Stalinists, ended up sending no one and demonstrating with the Stalinists. These Maoists and various nationalists were simply aping the splitting tactics of their Stalinist forebears, while the ex-Trotskyist SWP gave its approval. The Workers League/Young Socialists, meanwhile, managed to keep its record of sectarianism, phony internationalism and abstention from the defense of the left intact, by declaring that they was "moving offices," but even if they weren't, they "wouldn't have joined with the SL anyway."

Boston: The "May 15th [Israeli Independence Day] Coalition," a hodge-podge of New Leftists, radical pacifists, anti-Zionist Hillel-ers, SDS and the SWP all held together on the basis of a vague anti-Zionism, called a demonstration at Brandeis against Golda Meir, who was receiving an honorary degree there. The RCY, rather than entering the "May 15th" swamp, issued a statement urging people to attend the Brandeis demonstration and raising the issue of defense of the Israeli left.

Prior to the demonstration, the SL/RCY received a letter from alleged members of the JDL threatening physical violence if it attempted to demonstrate at Brandeis. The SL/RCY made this letter public and sought out other left groups for a bloc in defense of the demonstration against right-wing attack. The "May 15th Coalition," Youth Against War and Fascism, the NCLC and the Internationalist Newsletter joined in the defense bloc. At the demonstration of some 250 people, only the SL/RCY contingent, the largest in attendance with 60 participants, was clearly prepared for defense, other demonstrators remarking on the SL/RCY's excellent discipline and organization. The SDS which had promised 150 people brought along no more than 35 while the SWP produced about 40 people marked by no outward evidence of preparation for defense; fortunately no attack was forthcoming.

The SL/RCY has always and will continue to maintain that united action in defense of the working class and the left is an urgent necessity in building a revolutionary movement. This joint defense can only be built, however, on the Leninist principle of the united front, which ensures for all groups involved the right of criticism. The united front has nothing in common with the cynical maneuvering and dishonest talling displayed by the RU, the SWP and various other groups in their response to the SL/RCY's appeal to defend the Israeli left. ■

RCY FORUM

Vietnam: The Civil War Goes On

Speaker: RICHARD CRAMER
National Committee of the RCY

Thursday, APRIL 26 at 8 p.m.

BUFFALO STATE COLLEGE
Room 412

Continued from page 1

French Elections...

ists, Social Democrats, bourgeois liberals and fascists. There is not and there cannot be a place for it in any of the People's Fronts. It uncompromisingly gives battle to all political groupings tied to the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie. Its task—the abolition of capitalism's domination. Its aim—socialism. Its method—the proletarian revolution....

"The chief accusation which the Fourth International advances against the traditional organizations of the proletariat is the fact that they do not wish to tear themselves away from the political semi-corpse of the bourgeoisie. Under these conditions the demand, systematically addressed to the old leadership: 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power!' is an extremely important weapon for exposing the treacherous character of the parties and organizations of the Second, Third and Amsterdam Internationals. The slogan, 'workers' and farmers' government,' is thus acceptable to us only in the sense that it had in 1917 with the Bolsheviks, i.e., as an anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist slogan...."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, 1938

In all epochs and periods, Marxists have consistently called for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie. In France today, this principle means that the most pressing task of proletarian revolutionaries is a determined struggle against the popular front. It was in this fight that the early Trotskyist cadre in the 1930's were steeled, and it must be waged again today.

But this struggle cannot take place in isolation from the mass movement, which remains under the control of the reformist CP and SP leaderships. Therefore, the demand for a government of the workers parties alone, with no capitalist ministers, based on a revolutionary program, is a crucial weapon in breaking the workers from these treacherous misleaders. But while we must focus our agitation on the Communist and Socialist workers, we cannot call for a vote for these parties, for every CP and SP vote in this election was a vote for the popular front, that is, for the maintenance of capitalism!

Of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France, the Organisation Communiste internationaliste and Lutte Ouvrière both campaigned against voting for the Union of the Left, and for the Left Radicals in particular. However, both also advocated votes for the CP or SP, which in the last analysis means support to the popfront anyway. This softness in the LO and OCI election policies vitiates the essential content of Trotskyism. The Ligue Communiste, French section of the revisionist United Secretariat, however, is quite another matter. In a scandalous *open break* with Trotskyism, the Ligue called for support to the Union of the Left, denying it was a popular front. Going beyond its traditional Pabloist adaptation to various leftward-moving petty-bourgeois groups and capitulating to the bourgeoisie directly, the Ligue support for the Union of the Left represents an important shift towards reformism.

The Election Results

In the first round voting on 4 March, the combined total for the Union of the Left came to 11.3 million votes, or 46% of the electorate. This was more than 10% above their combined vote in the last elections (1968), but only equal to the previous elections (1967). The Gaullist coalition received only 8.4 million, or 34% on the first round. However, in the second round on 11 March the Gaullist coalition managed to mobilize the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie behind its banners and split the vote evenly (46% to 46%), enabling them to win a substantial majority in Assembly seats (256 to 181 for the left bloc). Within the Union of the Left, the Socialist Party won 89 seats, the Communist Party took 73 and the Left Republicans 11. A tiny petty-bourgeois left party, the PSU, won three seats.

Among groups claiming adherence to Trotskyism, the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière ran on a no-contest agreement in 261 out of the 491 electoral districts in the first round. Together with the OCI, they gathered about 300,000 votes, slightly over 2% of the popular vote and 9% of the CP votes in the districts where they ran.

Mitterand on the campaign trail. INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES

CGT leadership in 1968, Séguy on right. THE NEWSLETTER

Election statistics published in *Le Monde* (6 and 7 March 1973) seem to indicate that the majority of the Ligue/LO votes were transferred from the PSU. The 300,000 votes of the LC/LO correspond in large part to the loss of 400,000 votes by the PSU since the last election.

As opposed to the Ligue's 90 candidates and LO's 171, the OCI ran only 20 candidates, even though it is of comparable size. However, in spite of concentrating resources, the OCI candidates made a relatively poor showing: in virtually every district they received less than half the number of votes garnered by the Ligue or LO (against which they ran in competition), and only 3.2% of the votes which went to the CP.

The New Left Bloc Campaign

The CP-SP-Left Radical coalition maintained a consistent policy of capitulating every time Pompidou showed a hard face. Georges Séguy, head of the CGT labor federation, was forced to put the brakes on militant workers, declaring:

"In the aftermath of a left victory, to launch into a campaign to nationalize everything totally, on principle and without discrimination, would be economically absurd and could only compromise the success of the minimum reforms necessary for dealing with the major social problems in an economic equilibrium....

"The other means of spreading doubt consists in ascribing to the unions the intention of smothering the government with an avalanche of demands whose satisfaction would soon exhaust the public finances and ruin the companies....

"An era of new relations between the government and the trade union movement will be established.... Then, the participation—which the UDR has never been able to obtain from the unions—would finally have a socially progressive meaning."

—*L'Humanité*, 17 January 1973

Marchais, head of the CP, said that after the elections the Union of the Left would have better things to do than fool with the constitution. Séguy, head of the unions, says that after the elections they would have better things to do than go around nationalizing the monopolies. One can certainly understand why many French workers wondered just exactly what the Union of the left *would* do after 11 March!

The "Trotskyist" Votes

Lutte Ouvrière, a semi-syndicalist group which in the past has concentrated almost exclusively on factory organizing, was probably the most electorally-oriented of the ostensible Trotskyist organizations. "One worker out of ten voted for the revolutionaries," announced its press (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 6-12 March 1973), which is quite an overstatement. Among other things, LO distributed 12 *million* copies of its main election leaflet, "Why LO Candidates?" in this leaflet the only sentence which goes beyond electoralism in any way was: "As opposed to the politicians, the candidates of the LO do not promise to change your life by a ballot." And during the campaign, up to 15 out of the 24 pages of *LO* were devoted to the elections.

The most severe deficiency of the LO campaign, however, was its political content. Although it criticized the Ligue Communiste for supporting the popular front, LO at the same time formed a no-contest pact with the Ligue, and called on workers to vote for the "revolutionary" candidates of the LC! This, then, was not a pact of organizations opposed to the popular front, but simply an opportunist bloc of groups to the left of the CP.

LO's own demands did not focus on calling for the reformist workers parties to break with the bourgeoisie, i.e., smash the pop front, but simply called for quantitatively increasing the economic demands of the left bloc program. The headline for the article introducing the LO campaign crystallized the whole approach: "Why candidates of Lutte Ouvrière in the next elections? So that the workers can put Marchais and Mitterand in the government without giving them a carte blanche" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 19-25 December 1972). This policy was implemented by calling for votes for CP and most SP candidates on the second round, thus in the end voting *for* the popular front, while opposing it on paper.

The Ligue Communiste made a sharp turn towards reformism in this election campaign, by giving "critical" support to the new popular front, calling for votes for all candidates of the Union of the Left on the second round. They tried to spice up this craven capitulation before the bourgeoisie with minor acts of illegality (like smuggling Ernest Mandel into the country to speak) and "revolutionary" guerrilla theater. An account of the campaign in the CP stronghold of Nanterre (where Henry Weber, a LC leader, was running) speaks of colorful "red caravans" replete with flags and posters, speeches interrupted periodically by "revolutionary songs," a street theater group and a meeting on "sexual liberation"! The LC never got its cherished seven minutes of television time.

The support for the new popular front by the French section of the ex-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" is a scandal on the order of the support of the Ceylonese section, the LSSP, to the Ceylon popular front in 1960! Although the Ligue does not have the political weight of the LSSP, which was able to *enter* a popular front government with the bourgeois nationalist Bandaranaike in 1964, it could easily end up tacitly justifying the inevitable attacks on the masses carried out by a pop front regime.

This position represented on one level a break with the LC's previous policies of tailing after left-moving student sectors and simply trying to ignore the existence of the CP and the unions. Thus in 1970 the LC Central Committee declared that an identical "Union of the Left" was a new popular front formation. Today the LC claims it is instead a "global reformist alternative" to direct rule by the bourgeoisie, and not a popular front, because the CP has hegemony over the left bloc.

At a more fundamental level, however, this represents a continuation of the fundamental Pabloist position of capitulation to various non-proletarian strata and denial of the vanguard role of the working class in the socialist revolution. At first the Pabloists capitulated to the Stalinist bureaucracies during the 1950's, by a policy of deep entry (i.e., total submersion) in the West European CPs. With the "youth upsurge" of the 1960's this switched over to capitulation before Castro, Guevara, Ben Bella, Ho Chi Minh, terrorism, guerrillaism and the various other fashionable trends. Today, with the militant stirrings in the working class, it is back to the bureaucracies, and this time to the bourgeoisie as well!

Support for a "global reformist alternative" implies a wholesale rejection of Leninism. It means that systematic reforms are possible in the period of declining capitalism, a direct denial of Lenin's theory of imperialism. It means that the Transitional Program of the Fourth International is no longer valid. This fits nicely with Mandel's "theory" of "neo-capitalism," which claims that the productive forces increased after World War II (and that therefore reform struggles—dressed up as "structural" reforms—are on the order of the day).

This is made even more explicit by a recent document of 36 militants of the petty-bourgeois PSU who joined the Ligue Communiste last year, declaring:

"As far as the Fourth International is concerned, we recognize a series of merits: not only to have transmitted to the new generations the thread of Leninism and the lessons of the left opposition, but also to have understood early on the decisive importance of the colonial revolution, the increase of the productive forces after the war

and its consequences for the workers' struggles, the historic role of the Indochinese revolution and the emergence of new vanguards born outside of the Stalinist carcass...."

—*Rouge*, 24 June 1972

All these "further developments," the "colonial revolution," the "increasing productive forces," the "historic role of the indochinese revolution," the "new vanguards," are in fact denials of the program of the Fourth International. It has been known for some time, of course, that the "United Secretariat" considered the Transitional Program a "historical document" whose "method" alone was valid today. The PSU militants at least had the decency to demand that the program be dropped, that the Ligue cease to claim support for Trotskyism:

"The predictions on which the Fourth International was founded were not realized in the period following its birth. The program which accompanied its birth, the Transitional Program, is no longer an adequate instrument for the struggles of today."

—*Ibid.*

To which Gérard Filoche, member of the political bureau of the Ligue, responded:

"We are in favor of the centralized International undertaking to draw up a new program of world revolution. This is on the agenda of the next two congresses."

—*Rouge*, 22 July 1972

With our permission, comrades revisionists! Please draw up this new program so you can formalize your abandonment of Trotskyism. The sooner the better!

The Organisation Communiste Internationaliste

The most contradictory policy in the election campaign was that of the OCI. Thus they correctly focussed their leaflets and pamphlets on the call for the CP and SP to break with the bourgeoisie, form a workers government. They refused to join the "left of the CP" bloc with LO and the Ligue and carried on a sharp polemic against the latter's support for the new pop front.

Whereas both the Ligue and LO ran their campaigns on an exclusively electoral basis—and the Ligue openly supported the pop front—the OCI claimed to be running an exemplary campaign, integrated into its continuing organizational work:

"Playing at being a 'large party' at a time when the necessary ties between the revolutionary organization and the masses of the working class for the creation of the revolutionary party do not exist would amount to fighting on the terrain defined by the enemy, beginning with a pitiful publicity bluff as a substitute for organization and conviction...."

—*Informations Ouvrières*, 7-14 February 1973

By running only 20 candidates the OCI had the possibility of concentrating its forces and propaganda. Further, since the majority of the districts in which the OCI ran candidates was heavily working-class in composition (12 of them eventually elected CP or SP candidates), this created the potential for hard exemplary campaigns against the reformists and the popular front.

If we can judge the OCI campaign by the coverage it received in the OCI press, however, the OCI did little to realize this potential. *IO* instead stressed the scandal campaigns run against the radicals and Gaullist figures, such as Kaspereit, Giscard d'Estaing, Poujade, etc. Not until 10 days before the election did the OCI press include any significant space on its campaigns in the industrial strongholds. It seemed that the OCI was concentrating its propaganda on the bourgeois candidates in order to justify *to the reformist bureaucracies themselves* its call on the CP-SP to break with the bourgeoisie. But the main thrust of this demand is against the reformist parties, to mobilize the ranks to overthrow the class-collaborationist policies of the leadership. And by explicitly declaring that kicking out the Radicals would be "sufficient" for the formation of a workers government (never mind the Common Program), the OCI capitulates politically to the Stalinist and social-democratic agents of the bourgeoisie.

This failure to present a hard Bolshevik opposition to the popular front is directly linked to the OCI call for votes to the CP or SP where they did not present candidates themselves (i.e., virtually everywhere), thus in reality voting for the Union of the Left. In the elections the Spartacist League advocated votes for the candidates of the OCI and Lutte Ouvrière running against the popular front on the first round, while criticizing the capitulation involved in calling for votes for the CP-SP on the second (or first) round. Our preoccupations were apparently not unshared in France. A letter to the editors of *Informations Ouvrières* by a militant of the OCI said in part:

"Of course, not everything is resolved and there are problems to which we only respond quite superficially. Thus, we have found ourselves confronted with the following problem: "In the hypothesis that the CP and SP do not break with the left radicals, in voting for the CP and SP on the first round in those places where there is no OCI candidate, and on the second round, ultimately we are voting for the Union of the Left and the Common Program.

"One of the discussions which we can undertake, is of course, what should we do then, should we abstain. Must we boycott or in spite of everything vote for the organizations."

—*Informations Ouvrières*, 7-14 February 1973

We certainly do hope that the comrades of the OCI undertake this discussion, for it involves the fundamental question of the class independence of the proletariat versus a centrist accommodation to the bureaucracies, and through them to the bourgeoisie! ■

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PL...

that the case could have been easily won. After all, PL reasoned, if we do win the case it will only build illusions in bourgeois democracy, so all we can do is build a mass movement which will pressure the cops to leave us alone. Fortunately, other radicals in the area did sue the city and easily won the right of literature distribution. PL, of course, took advantage of this case.

These examples give a flavor of PL's approach to GI organizing for most of 1970. The failures of this ultra-leftism nationally led to a turn to the right, a turn which was gradual at first. A more cautious approach was taken to implantation of supporters. The Challenge Sellers' Collectives were given up and a series of front groups usually formed around single issues, e.g., defense cases, against on-base racism, etc., was set up. A completely uncritical attitude was taken towards the reformist GI movement (see articles in *Challenge* on Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Oleo Strut Coffeehouse at Fort Hood). PL has since entered VVAW on the basis of simply calling for more militant demonstrations.

PL had the resources to make a limited but real impact on GI radicals. Instead, by their inability to pose a programmatically-based organizational alternative to the reformist groupings, PL aided in the dissipation of GI militancy, and its zany zigzags demoralized many of its supporters in the Army.

PL's Failure in Proletarian Arenas

Thus, in two crucial arenas PL has not only failed to generate the mass struggles it aspired to, or to attract and hold advanced workers, but even had difficulty maintaining its cadre. The revolutionary impulse which motivated most PLers who colonized themselves into these arenas was criminally squandered. The leadership's answer to these failures is that the party must "rid itself of sectarianism," which to them means capitulating to reformism and diving into more "mass struggles." Any attempt to analyze these failures is termed a diversion; the important thing is to build the mass struggle—"fighting is winning."

But fighting is not winning—the history of the revolutionary movement is, unfortunately, full of examples where tremendous mass struggles were defeated due to the treachery or weakness of the leadership. Mass struggles alone do not generate a program which can lead the workers to power. Rather the prerequisite to *successful* mass struggle is a revolutionary leadership based on the revolutionary program. Concretely in this period, Bolshevik mass work must mean the penetration of the working class through its most advanced layers, rather than tailing the class at its present level of consciousness as PL does in its single-issue reform groups and its articles in *Challenge*. "Mass work" or "fighting" are abstractions; today in the workers' movement, communists do mass work by building opposition caucuses based on a full transitional program within the only existing mass class organizations, the unions.

PL's Internal Regime

PL still maintains Stalinist norms of "democratic-centralism," i.e., there is no mechanism by which a minority can organize to fight for its position or change the leadership, in contrast to the Leninist norm of factional democracy as the only real guarantee against bureaucratic control, subterranean cliques and a docile membership. The conception of "democratic-centralism" in PL is that the ranks can criticize the leaders for e.g., not washing enough dishes, but the political decisions are only the business of the leadership. The discussion bulletins around "Road to Revolution III" deliberately suppressed an orthodox Trotskyist criticism of Stalinism by Juan Fariñas (now a Workers League supporter) while printing a hack job on Trotskyism written in the Moscow Trials tradition by Mort Sheer. Rosen and Co. attempted to maintain an appearance of internal democracy by publishing a bulletin of critiques of "Road to Revolution III." But every one of the authors had already left PL, while papers written by opponents of the new line who were still members were not circulated! But Epton's ill-fated attempt to wage a fight against PL's break from Mao was met by an internal document which can only be characterized as slander and character assassination. Other attempts to raise fundamental questions about PL's history and line have been smashed, whereas a Bolshevik leadership would encourage—in fact demand—an open struggle on political questions.

Moreover, PL's organization into numerous small clubs, instead of local branches, enabled the leadership to severely limit communication within the party. Many PL trade unionists never knew what "Weatherman" stood for, and student activists had little or no knowledge of what was going on in the trade-union clubs. More generally, this practice of hermetically sealing off the different sections of the party is an excellent means of preventing any national factional challenge to the present leadership. In late 1969 three members of PL's leading national body, the national committee, were removed by PL's core leadership, not the membership which elected them at a national convention, because of alleged arrogance, not getting a job, not doing the dishes at home, and so on. The horror stories could go on—the point is that the leadership's political failures are protected not only by the "fighting is winning," mass-work mystique but by a tradition of political suppression internally.

Right and Left Together

After a period of ultra-left activity which brought no tangible results, PL has recently turned sharply to the right. In the unions this means hobnobbing with the bureaucrats and aspiring bureaucrats. On the political field this meant joining "Grass Roots for McGovern." Reportedly, in California some PLers are now registered Democrats. No doubt they have been sent into this capitalist party in order to do battle with the CP which has been there for decades!

But the reformist slot is already filled by two more competent and socially powerful groups, the CP and SWP. The CP has everything PL doesn't—a history in selling out real mass struggles, an experienced cadre, roots in the trade-union movement and ties to the Soviet bureaucracy. The CP's recent growth and mini-left turn give it added ability to continue its role as the main ostensibly revolutionary obstacle in this country. The SWP, although having lost its roots in the unions, has a revolutionary past, a new cadre schooled in "mass action" reformism, an efficient organization, a certain middle-class base and strong social-democratic appetites. PL will be unable to successfully compete for reformist hegemony with these groups—the alternative for the PLer is either to make a fight for the revolutionary alternative of Trotskyism or to continue building these mini-mass reform groupiets which will be easy pickings for a slick union bureaucrat or the CP.

The 22 February issue of *Challenge* carries the front-page headline of "Fight for Socialism!" just like the good old days. And the previous issue (8 February) carries an article on the upcoming WAM convention in which the 30 for 40 demand is described as a reform demand but one which "points out the basic nature of this system—which forces workers to produce surplus value for the profits of a tiny few...." The same issue notes that 30 for 40 must be taken into the unions if it is to have any influence. These points indicate a sensitivity both to criticism from the Spartacist League and probably an attempt by PLers to empirically turn back to a class line. PL has suppressed its "fight for socialism" line in favor of "fighting is winning" and has put forth 30 for 40 as simply a good economist demand essentially outside of the union movement. The mechanical reprinting of earlier militant-sounding headlines represents only a slight left shading to cover its own flanks.

A genuine turn to the left, a turn to revolutionary Marxism, can only be the result of a serious attempt to assimilate the lessons of Bolshevism, especially Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist attack on the fundamentals of Leninism and the degeneration of the Soviet state and the destruction of the Third International. If the subjectively communist cadres amassed by PL are not to be simply squandered—reprogrammed as aspiring reformists or lost to the workers' movement as demoralized drop-outs—it is absolutely essential that a fight be waged within PL against its current nose dive into reformism. ■

FORUM

Communist Strategy for the Trade Unions

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR

Central Committee Member, Spartacist League

FRIDAY, APRIL 6 at 7:30 p.m.
Trinity Methodist Church
13100 Woodward

DETROIT

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Open Letter...

composition, the Spartacist League was able to predict *before* the election exactly what would happen. It is with the same scientific method that we look at your campaign.

In the imperialist epoch there are two classes struggling for power—the bourgeoisie seeking to maintain its power and the proletariat striving to rid itself of its oppressors. There are only two sides to the class line. If a party's program does not base itself on the independent mobilization of the workers in their own *class* interests, it is in fact, regardless of intentions, a bourgeois program. Seale's plan is to channel all the funds from the Model Cities program, OEO, etc., into the Panther survival programs. One obvious problem is that Nixon has just cut out the majority of these funds. It is not a question of corruption or inefficiency in government, although both exist chronically under capitalism. The capitalist system depends for its survival on a large "reserve army of labor"—the unemployed—to meet the demands of its built-in "booms" and "crises" and to hold the wages of all workers down. The needs of the working class can be met only by eliminating the need for profit through working-class ownership and control of the means of production, i.e., socialism.

By raising your demands within the confines of capitalism, you are helping to maintain the illusion that capitalism can be systematically reformed! In fact, comrades, Bobby Seale himself is now campaigning openly as a member of the bosses' Democratic Party. In a recent speech at Laney College in Oakland, Seale ridiculed the "white radicals" who seek revolutionary solutions. In effect Seale is repudiating the BPP's past—the struggles that grew out of the revolutionary class hatred of ghetto youth against the agents of their oppression.

Social Work or Revolution

While still giving lip service to the need for revolutionary action, your leadership has made a right-wing turn into the politics of social work, not social revolution. In his book, *To Die for the People*, Huey Newton writes that the survival programs:

> "...are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors."

Actually your survival program dooms that sailor to wander on the high seas until he dies, because he has thrown overboard the only tool—a class analysis and the Marxist method—which can guide his journey. Without the Trotskyist Transitional Program, which propels the working class toward revolutionary consciousness through demands which stem from the immediate felt needs of the class, but which lead unalterably to the need for socialist revolution, the sailor (the working class) will never make it to the shore.

Black Capitalism?

The rudiments of a class analysis were expressed by Newton in an interview in 1968, republished by SDS in August 1968 in a pamphlet called "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement." When asked about the Panthers' practice of running candidates against other black candidates, Newton repeated Malcolm X's analogy:

> "...The Black Panther Party are the field blacks, we're hoping the master dies if he gets sick. The black bourgeoisie seem to be acting in the role of the house Negro. They are pro-administration. They would like a few concessions made, but as far as the overall setup, they have a little more material goods, a little more advantage, a few more privileges than the black have-nots; the lower class. And so they identify with the power structure and they see their interests as the power structure's interest. In fact, it's against their interest.
> "The Black Panther Party was forced to draw a line of demarcation. We are for all of those who are for the promotion of the interests of the black have-nots which represents about 98% of blacks here in America...."

In "Black Capitalism Re-Analyzed," Newton now calls this position counter-revolutionary and tries to prove that black capitalists are also victims of the "white power structure"! He says, "We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national (native) bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of decolonization...." He covers himself by stating that the contributions of the black capitalists to the BPP simply aid in their destruction. But in order to get the support of these black capitalists to begin with, the BPP had to water down its program.

It is clear that Newton has learned more than the cult of personality from Mao (who got it from Stalin). Panther support to black Democrats like Chisholm and Dellums is the same disastrous strategy of class-collaboration that resulted in the death of thousands of Chinese communists and class-conscious workers in 1926 and 1927. Applying that theory—that is, that alliances can be made with the national (progressive) bourgeoisie—under Stalin's orders the Chinese Communist Party entered the party of the national bourgeoisie (the Kuomintang) under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. As soon as the Communists disarmed, Chiang turned on them and massacred them, strangling the possibility of revolution for a generation. Mao repeatedly called for an alliance with Chiang in the late 1930's and 1940's, thus continuing Stalin's policies. The Chinese national bourgeoisie saw its interests as inextricably tied to those of imperialism, just as the black bourgeoisie in this country is today talking after its white mentors.

Rather than educating the black masses as to the fundamentally reactionary nature of religion, Newton now says that the church as the institution of the black community can be either progressive or reactionary. But in reality, both the black capitalists and the church represent class interests absolutely opposed to those of the black masses, because they are both fundamentally premised on the maintenance of private property, of the capitalist system itself. The function of the church, in the ghetto as everywhere else, has always been to promise rewards in "heaven" for the passive acceptance of injustice and oppression.

Minimum Basis of Support

We call on the Black Panther Party to decisively break with both parties of capital, Republican and Democrat, and with its own current policies of class-collaboration. Campaign independently, against the bourgeois parties! In this election and in your actions generally, fight for the independence of the working class and oppressed masses from their capitalist masters!

Should your party make this fundamental shift, then despite our many disagreements we could call for critical support for Seale and Brown in the coming election. But the present Panther program, and the Seale/Brown campaign in particular, is based on a strategy of class-collaboration. Such policies can only lead to the strangulation of the black masses (as well as the white), not to their liberation. The Panther campaign is not a working-class campaign. While the BPP has the support of some black and white workers, it does not depend on the existence of an independent workers' movement, and does not seek to base itself on and express the interests of the working class, but rather wishes to represent the "black community." The "black community" is not a working-class entity, but contains elements from *all* classes—the proletariat, lumpen-proletariat, petty bourgeoisie *and* the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, because we in the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth stand unalterably for the overthrow of the bourgeois state, *against class-collaboration*, against any faith in capitalists of any color, we must state that we cannot, as a question of principle, at this time support the election campaign of Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown. We hope that you comrades will recognize the disastrous right turn of the Black Panther Party and will struggle to replace the present BPP line of support for black Democrats, black churches, black cops and black capitalists with a revolutionary working-class perspective.

Finally, we would like to draw your attention to an article in *Workers Vanguard* No. 4 which contains a much fuller analysis of your party:

> "...The oppression of the black people cannot be ended by black activists alone, but only by the working class as a whole....That revolution will be made, not in the name of black power, but of working-class power—communism...."

Fraternally,
Bay Area Spartacist League

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...NMU

> posed can labor hammer out a program and course of action in our interests...."
> —attached to Herson's Affidavit Form; reprinted in *Beacon* Supplement, 5 March 1973

Nonetheless Herson refused to admit the bureaucracy's right to thereby stop him from fighting for the interests of his fellow seamen:

> "...I consider this 'affidavit' form to be illegitimate. At the same time I will not allow your bureaucratic regulations to bar me from my right to run for office; therefore I submit this form while attacking such witchhunting, red-baiting devices and seek to mobilize the NMU membership to destroy these dictatorial, undemocratic gag rules...."

The NMU Bureaucracy's "Neutrality" in the Current Elections

Faced with a restive rank and file, and with the threat of government intervention as well, the NMU National Office proclaimed a bogus "neutrality" for the period of the elections. This consisted in eliminating all reference to electioneering, comment on the candidates and signed national or branch reports during January and February from the pages of the *Pilot*, publication of which was then to be *suspended* for the months of March, April and May! A special election supplement would appear in March to which all candidates—from president to patrolman—would be able to submit a 100-word statement, which the National Office would naturally edit for possible "libel." The Curran bureaucracy has, of course, held tight control over the *Pilot* for 25 years and Curran's own multi-paged editorial viewpoint has appeared in every issue. Suspension of the *Pilot* is thus designed to stifle information and debate about union affairs at the very time in which members are most interested in hearing the views of others.

Denied the pages of the *Pilot* in which to present their views, oppositionists have also been harrassed in their efforts to distribute campaign materials in person. MSC candidate Herson was warned by union officials in New York that distribution of his campaign literature in the union hall was a violation of election rules. The MSC, however, refused to be intimidated by bureaucratic harassment; the Caucus continued to distribute its literature, collect signatures and discuss its program with interested union members. The only real saleguard of the rights of militant oppositionists is a conscious membership aware of the need for union solidarity. The "impartial" ally of the union bureaucrats, the Honest Ballot Association, was since then forced to permit distribution of campaign literature within the hall during the month of March. Despite the seeming insignificance of this retreat, the event constitutes a real victory for the rank and file: it marks the first time in 20 years that the membership will not be relegated to discussing union politics and distributing literature on the street. Now views can be exchanged inside the hall, where trade-union business belongs.

All these events demonstrate that the stress placed on the principle of workers democracy in the program of the MSC, and the emphasis on the class independence and solidarity of the working class, correspond to the immediate, felt needs of seamen smarting under 25 years of repression. Not only does the program oppose witchhunting anti-communism but all forms of discrimination against sections of workers in the union and society as a whole. Thus the caucus has fought for abolition of the "group system" within the union. This open shop system, which takes control over admittance of new members from the hands of the membership, was one result of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act and is used by bureaucrats and companies alike to divide the seamen, by keeping the lower seniority "Group 2's" in competition for jobs with the "Group 1's." Hence the caucus' demand for full shipping and membership rights for all after thirty days' seatime.

Recognizing that the rights of the working class are essentially "one and indivisible," the MSC program also includes defense of political prisoners and opposition to all forms of racial and sexual oppression. Morrissey, whose reputation as an opportunist rests on firm foundations, has, to the contrary, consistently refused to take a stand on such issues because, as he himself has explicitly stated, it might cost him some votes!

A Bankrupt Union vs. "I've Got Mine"

Curran's years of betrayal in the NMU have brought the union to the brink of disaster. While collaborating with the companies and government to eliminate jobs and erode the seamen's standard of living, Curran headed off action by the seamen in their own interest through a combination of tight dictatorial control and lying promises of fake remedies in the form of government action. But the protectionist 50-50 oil import bill, which was to have created jobs by requiring that half of all petroleum imported would be shipped in American bottoms, was recently defeated in the Senate. Nor have the Soviet grain deals provided new jobs. U.S. passenger ships have been sold to "foreign" companies owned by American capital. The excitement generated by Curran's election-eve hoax—the rumor now proven to be false that the passenger ship *Independence* was to be restored to service—is an indication of the state of des-

peration to which seamen have been reduced.

Ever sensitive to his own self-interest, Curran, faced with a decline in NMU membership from the job losses he has helped engineer and has accepted as permanent, began to diversify the union, herding in shoreside workers in unrelated industries to serve as voting cattle and to maintain his dues base; much the same cynicism is revealed in the leadership's recent proposal, rammed through the New York port meeting, to sell the $15 million union headquarters in New York City on the pretext of a need for union funds and for cutbacks in expenses necessitated by the decline of American shipping, an act which constitutes implicit acceptance of a permanent loss of jobs in the industry. Most significantly, the proceeds from the sale of the building are to go into the general fund, over which the union officers have unrestricted control, not back into the *strike fund*, which was *liquidated* to pay for this frivolous monument to Curran's ego. As Curran said at a convention several years ago, "I've got mine."

The pension plan which the bureaucrats touted as exemplifying the gains achieved under their leadership, and which seamen viewed as the only thing they had left, also seems likely to go by the boards. It was eroded in the 1972 contract by introduction of a minimum retirement age of 55 in addition to the requirement of 280 days seatime per year for 20 years; reports are now being circulated that the "Curran team" will succeed in raising the age minimum to 62 upon expiration of the current contract in June 1975.

The Question of Government Intervention

The only reason the Curran bureaucracy is making a phony pretense to "fairness" in the elections is their fear of government intervention, an ever-present possibility with the likes of James Morrissey contesting the presidency. Morrissey's chief claim to fame is the federal court suit whereby he forced a rerun of the 1966 NMU elections, the first national election ever to be supervised by the Labor Department (the UMW's was the second).

Hoping to use the Labor Department to bolster his own sagging campaign, Morrissey has again asked the courts, i.e., the government, to intervene in the NMU election procedures. This present suit is revealing in several respects, particularly the fact that he failed to tell the membership—his supposed constituents!—about it. Most significant, however, is his demand that the *Pilot* be published throughout the pre-election period with James Morrissey to be granted half the space in each monthly issue! This is the true nature of Morrissey's altruistic concern for union democracy—half the pie for himself and to hell with the rest of the membership! It is an ominous warning as to what a "democratic" NMU with Morrissey at the helm would look like.

Morrissey's entire strategy for securing Curran's plush office for himself boils down to bypassing the union ranks to instead ingratiate himself with the bourgeoisie, securing the services of its liberal lawyers and journalists in exchange for opening the door of the union to the capitalist enemies of labor. Government intervention in union affairs is aimed at destroying the unions, not democratizing them—an elementary fact well documented in labor history. But what does this matter to an aspiring labor-faker?

The true character of government "impartiality" in union elections is in fact demonstrated by the 1969 NMU rerun itself. In that farce virtually every Labor Department procedural decision was biased in favor of the incumbents. The present three-month suspension of the *Pilot* against which Morrissey is fighting is based on a Labor Department ruling made then—that the *Pilot* must contain the views of *all* candidates or *none*. For the bureaucrats, who have controlled the pages of the *Pilot* for decades, the answer was clearly "none."

Moreover, experienced bureaucrats such as Curran and W.T. Boyle of the United Mine Workers (UMW) are skillful at using the question of government interference in union affairs as a handle against oppositionists relying on such intervention to come to power. In the recent UMW election Boyle, despite his gross corruption, was able to mobilize substantial support around the correct charge that Miller and the Miners for Democracy were being run by government "outsiders"—liberal Democratic Party politicians and lawyers. Likewise, the NMU bureaucrats presented a motion at the January New York port meeting condemning the utilization of the Landrum-Griffin Act to bring the government into union affairs. Despite the blatant hypocrisy of this action on the part of a regime that has regularly preached reliance on the government to provide jobs and has even called the police into NMU halls to break up union meetings, Morrissey, who made no effort to defend his use of the courts, was thereby discredited once again before the membership.

The MSC has consistently opposed any and every interference of the capitalist government into union affairs. In its newspaper, the *Beacon*, and in countless leaflets, the MSC has pointed out that the purpose of its fight against Curran is to enable the NMU to undertake real struggles to defend the workers' interests against the companies and the companies' government. To seek, as Morrissey does, to come to power by way of government intervention is to vitiate in advance the purpose of principled opposition to the Curran regime, by chaining the union in advance to its irreconcilable enemy—the capitalist state!

The various articles which have recently appeared in the bourgeois press praising Morrissey, such as that in the 26 February *Philadelphia Inquirer* headlined "Maverick Leads Grass-Roots Revolt in National Maritime Union," make much of the similarity of Morrissey's campaign to that of Arnold Miller in the UMW. What the two share is a trend toward the emergence—admidst much fanfare from the liberal bourgeoisie—of a new brand of government-controlled labor-fakers.

In a period of sharpening capitalist attacks upon working-class rights and living standards, the old bureaucratic union regimes, discredited by their corruption and incapacitated by their inflexibility, have become increasingly incapable of containing the rising militancy of the workers. Aiming to utilize this massive upsurge of working-class discontent solely to come into office, the "oppositionists," for the most part simply out-bureaucrats like Morrissey, serve to head off working-class revolt through creating the illusion that meaningful reforms are possible "within the system." What renders Morrissey so attractive to the liberals is precisely this non-struggle perspective. He refuses to mobilize the ranks of seamen to struggle in their interests, and he limits his own efforts to running in elections—with his watery, liberal, class-collaborationist program. That he has called the government into the union to do a job only the membership can undertake—ridding itself of the bureaucratic parasites holding back its struggle—is for the liberal bourgeoisie only one more point in his favor.

The complete bankruptcy of such reformism is apparent in Morrissey's own program made up entirely of vague reform promises and mildly militant bread-and-butter demands (in reality, crumbs). He has none of the fake idealism that gave Miller's campaign a grass-roots facade. His program speaks to none of the crucial problems with which seamen are confronted and which amount to a matter of survival. Thus his solution to the job crisis is to spread the limited work available more equitably, not to provide new jobs; he would resolve the problem of runaway foreign-flag shipping simply with the social-patriotic appeal for a government program to expand American shipping, that is, with more of Curran's ineffective and totally discredited grovelling before Congress. (He calls for the taxing of American-owned foreign flag vessels and for the joining together of all labor to defeat the use of "cheap foreign labor" eroding American workers' conditions.) His demand for wage-and-hour parity with seamen in West Coast maritime unions, who face the same loss of jobs and erosion of living standards as do NMU members, is absurdly inadequate.

MSC's Principled Program

In contrast, the program of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus is based on the recognition that the fight for the jobs and living standards of seamen and of the working class as a whole can be waged only as a part of the broader struggle of the working class for political power, and only with the awareness that the interests of the workers and their capitalist employers are irreconcilably opposed. Morrissey's apparently "down-to-earth" demands, on the other hand, in accepting as given the "realities" of the companies' need to make profits and the right of the capitalist government to intervene in union affairs, are inherently a sellout: does anyone seriously believe that a Morrissey-led union would advance (let alone fight for) demands for a wage increase which would keep pace with consumer prices (presently advancing at a rate of over 20% per annum)? Should seamen be taken in by Morrissey's "realism," they will all too shortly and to their sorrow discover that it was Morrissey who was promising them "pie in the sky."

This is why MSC candidate Herson, far from simply seeking the "protest vote," is running for office on the basis of the *full program* of the MSC, which alone is adequate to conduct a militant struggle for seamen's needs. The MSC program incorporates demands which are vital to the immediate needs of seamen but which in order to be realized ultimately require the overthrow of a society based on exploitation of the working class in the interest of profit. Only such a class-struggle program can further recognition by seamen of the fact that their interests as workers are necessarily counterposed to those of the capitalists, their government and their agents within the working class.

Basic to the program is the concept of the *independence of the working class*. The demands advanced in the program are based not on what might perhaps be acceptable to the employers and their government but rather are designed as a vehicle for realizing the vital needs of seamen, and in the only way that this can be done: by a militant struggle of the rank and file which will not shy away from direct conflict with the capitalist myths. Thus the demand for a four-watch system and alternating crews on each ship receiving continous pay would increase jobs at the expense of employers and eliminate the virtual imprisonment of seamen aboard ship. For those who would say that realization of this demand would result in the total flight of shipping to foreign flags, the caucus puts forth the demand for *international working-class solidarity*, not jingoist protectionism (such as the ILGWU "Buy American" campaign): create an international seamen's union to fight runaway shipping by raising wages of foreign seamen to U.S. standards!

Similarly, the demand for wages and pensions tied to the cost of living corresponds to a vital need of all workers, but will be fought tooth-and-nail by the capitalist class; a key means of increasing profits is to reduce real wages through continuous inflation. The demand "Nationalization of Shipping Without Compensation under Seamen's Control" recognizes the twin realities that the shipping companies have existed only thanks to government subsidies (a typical instance of the American system of "socialism for the rich, free enterprise for the poor"), so that even by bourgeois standards their capitalist owners have no right to compensation; and that mere nationalization under capitalism will lead to increased regimentation of the labor force. Thus all these partial demands necessarily lead to the call for the building of an independent workers party based on the trade unions, and for a workers government. Economic struggle by itself is doomed to failure: what the capitalists give with one hand they take back with the other. Thus, for instance, wage increases are eliminated by speed-up and inflation. Only by politically uniting the class in resolute struggle against the bourgeoisie in every sphere will seamen—and all workers—be able to escape from the prison not just of the fo'c'sle but of capitalist exploitation. ■

Fake-Lefts Back Morrissey

Predictably, the existence of a candidate (Gene Herson of the MSC) running for the presidency of a national union on a full program of working-class struggle has revealed the appetites for betrayal and the unprincipled sectarianism of self-styled "socialist" groups who form a Holy Alliance supporting the aspiring bureaucrat, Morrissey.

- **The SWP, in the MILITANT for 30 March, while criticizing Curran and the CP for their histories of notorious class-collaborationism, nonetheless concludes that Morrissey, through his various court suits (i.e., government intervention) "has done more than anyone else to guard the union treasury and deserves support on that account alone."**
- **The International Socialists, in the 16-29 March WORKERS' POWER, true to their policy of supporting would-be future bureaucrats (in the UAW, Art Fox; in the UMW, Arnold Miller), listed Morrissey's program uncritically, not even mentioning the MSC.**
- **In a typical display of sectarianism, the Workers League formally claims to support a number of demands in the program of the MSC, but then turns around and calls on Morrissey to implement them. Criticizing Morrissey as one of the men the government would like to see in office, "to hold back the struggle," the 12 March BULLETIN nevertheless urges the ranks to "demand an accounting from Morrissey, a break from these policies and a program to defeat the shippers and Nixon..."**
- **Not to be outdone, the CP in the 3 March DAILY WORLD, published Morrissey's program, while red-baiting Herson as did the NEWS of Port Arthur, Texas, an oil port dominated by Gulf and Texaco interests.**

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Curran Loots Union, Retires

Class Struggle Opposition in the NMU

For the first time in over 20 years American workers in a national union have the opportunity to vote for a candidate dedicated to a program of resolute working-class struggle. Within the National Maritime Union, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, a group of rank-and-file militants organized in 1968, is advancing as its candidate for president Gene Herson, who is running on the full program of the caucus.

The attack on seamen's jobs and living conditions in this declining industry stems not just from the government-subsidized companies but also directly from the government, which, in the wake of the collapse of American world economic hegemony, is concerned to further the "competitiveness" of American industry through automation, job cuts and wage freezes. Recognizing this, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus is advancing a program for economic and political struggle which will unite seamen and the working class as a whole to combat this attack, under slogans such as "Labor Solidarity," "Nationalization of Shipping Without Compensation under Seamen's Control," "Fight against Government Control and Interference," "For a Workers Party" and "For a Workers Government."

The successes already registered in this campaign and the wide-spread recognition accorded Herson among the rank and file as a principled union militant expose the justifications advanced by ostensible leftists for adapting to what they regard as the abysmal level of consciousness of the American working class. What Herson's campaign demonstrates is that it *is* possible, despite anti-subversive laws and an entrenched bureaucracy, to wage a campaign of working-class struggle, one that does not contain in itself the seeds of future sellouts and betrayals, and that such a campaign will have wide appeal to workers who see in it the only possible answer to their immediate and deeply felt needs.

Bureaucratic Repression vs. Workers Democracy

A key demand in the caucus' program is the call for workers democracy, a demand whose need is immediately obvious to seamen who have suffered 25 years of Curran's bureaucratic control: "For Membership Control of the Union—End Bureaucratic Privileges." The other main opposition candidate for the presidency, the aspiring would-be liberal bureaucrat James Morrissey, makes a deliberately imprecise call for a "membership vote on officials' salary." This ignores the fact that the NMU membership has been coerced or maneuvered into "approving" most of the Curran machine's bureaucratic abuses over the years; where this technique has failed, Curran has simply packed the meetings with his hand-picked supporters. The MSC, on the other hand, demands that the maximum salary for union officers be no higher than that of the highest-paid working seamen, and demands that the right of immediate recall of all officers by the rank and file be written into the union constitution. And to ensure that oppositional voices are not stifled it calls for opening the *Pilot*, hitherto the house-organ and mouthpiece of the Curran bureaucracy, to *all* opposing views.

The immediate relevance of this section of the MSC program was made evident just last month, when NMU president Joseph Curran for once forsook the confines of his upstate New York estate to receive the "thanks" of "grateful" NMU members for his years of "self-sacrificing service" at the New York City union meeting on 5 March; Curran had chosen to step down so as to establish his hand-picked successor, Secretary-Treasurer Shannon Wall, as the incumbent.

The union meeting, however, failed to provide the automatic stamp of approval desired by Curran. To start with, the membership was clearly less than impressed by Curran's introductory address, in which he stressed his valiant efforts to build the union, despite the fact that he "could have left the waterfront with a lot of money" had he been willing to sell out. Perhaps the members thought that Curran's planned retirement from the union with $1 million in severance pay and lump-sum pension benefits more than compensated him for his earlier sacrifices. (Since then, faced with a court challenge by former members of his own bureaucracy and the general gasp of disapproval with which the bourgeois press greeted his plans, Curran has settled on a mere quarter million dollars in severance pay and a $53,000 per year pension for life.) The NMU membership which Curran "represents" leaves the industry with a pension of $3,000 per year!

Curran's bureaucratic flunkies then introduced the motion to give Curran "a vote of thanks," whereupon, as a gesture of "fairness," they permitted an "oppositionist" to speak—James Morrissey, who has discredited himself among many of the militant rank-and-file by resorting to government intervention in the union to further his own political ambitions. Constant heckling from union officials and Curran sympathizers, many of whom were bussed in from other East Coast ports, led to Morrissey's being ruled out of order(!), at which point the chair attempted to call the question.

But, refusing to be intimidated by the bureaucratic tactics which have always been the stock-in-trade of the Curran regime, the candidate of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, Gene Herson, demanded his right to speak and took the floor. Herson then gave an account of the early history of the NMU, emphasizing the bloody struggles fought by seamen to secure union recognition. Giving the lie to Curran's constant attempts, endlessly featured in the *Pilot*, to take personal credit for every action of the NMU past and present, Herson stressed the role of the union membership and denounced Curran for his betrayal of the militancy of the ranks. Herson pointed out the need for a new, militant NMU leadership which would fight the shipping companies and the government rather than continue Curran's policy of abject class-collaboration. At this point, the microphone was turned off on the pretext that Herson was not keeping to the subject.

After this, the meeting degenerated into a complete farce. First a union patrolman rushed to the front of the room to put the microphone away. Then another official came up to urge Herson to sit down, while a third became involved in a tug-of-war over the mike. Herson relinquished the floor, but not before denouncing Curran to his face for running the union in a way that deprived the membership of even the right to speak.

Since it was unclear whether the motion for a "vote of thanks" had passed, the chair then called for those in favor to rise. Such was the reluctance of the members to do so that the chair had ultimately to tell the membership peremptorily to stand up and be counted. Slowly most eventually did. A clearer indication of the true views of the membership is provided by the Boston port meeting, which Curran failed to pack with his flunkies: there the motion for a "vote of thanks" failed by a wide margin.

The farcical New York port meeting was not untypical of the manner in which Curran has maintained power for 25 years: bureaucratic manipulation coupled with brutal suppression of all "dissidents." As membership control of the union was eroded, so too were the wages and working conditions of the seamen: Curran's collaboration with the companies and government against the seamen, under the patriotic slogan, "Build the U.S. Merchant Marine," has led to the loss of jobs through automation and through sale of ships to "foreign-flag" companies to the point where, according to one union official, there are now 8,000 deep-sea jobs for 25,000 seamen.

Curran did not achieve this autocratic position in the union, which has allowed him to make himself—officially!—the sole interpreter of the NMU constitution and to receive an $86,000 a year salary plus unlimited expense account, without a brutal struggle against the union ranks.

Working closely with the Communist Party (CP), Curran became the NMU's first president in 1937. During World War II, however, the CP discredited itself completely through class collaboration and social-patriotic subordination of the workers' interests to the war effort, thus setting the stage for the anti-communist witch-hunt which followed. In an attempt to consolidate his own power Curran then cooperated with the FBI, Coast Guard and the police to purge the CP and militants from the union, upon whom actual physical attacks were mounted. A "red clause" inserted in the union's constitution now bars "Communists" from NMU membership.

It was at this time that Morrissey first came to office, as a loyal member of the Curran regime. Nonetheless, the CP is still continuing today the class collaboration and bureaucratic maneuverings which led to its purge from the labor movement, is now supporting Morrissey uncritically in his bid for the presidency.

In the current NMU election all candidates are required to sign an affidavit stating that they are not now and have not been members of the Communist Party. This use of political discrimination by the bureaucracy to eliminate challenge from opponents with a program of working-class struggle was strongly attacked by Herson, the candidate of the MSC:

> "I object to the use of this 'affidavit' form in that it is a tool to suppress political ideas and beliefs of union members. I, along with all others in the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus, defend the rights of all individuals, groups and organizations within the labor movement, including the Communist Party; specifically in this NMU election I defend the right of any Communist Party member who wishes to run as a candidate. Principles of workers democracy must be adhered to because only when all views in the labor movement are heard and counter-

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WV PHOTO

Militant-Solidarity Caucus demonstrates in 1971. "Fight runaway shipping with international seamen's unity," headlined the BEACON.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 19 27 April 1973

Fascist Menace or GOP Dirty Tricks?

Watergate Scandal Shocks Liberals

In recent weeks the capitalist "Establishment" has been professing dismay over the so-called Watergate scandal. Democrats in the Senate screwed up their courage to the point of stalling confirmation of Nixon's nominee for FBI director. Republican congressional leaders, with an eye to the sinking credibility of the Administration, began to abandon ship, calling for a full investigation of Watergate, presidential statements, etc. Meanwhile one of the conspirators agreed to talk, and implicated everyone from the FBI director, the former Attorney General and head of Nixon's reelection committee, the President's personal lawyer and the White House "chief of staff" on down.

Backed into a corner, Nixon suddenly "discovered" new (old) evidence and attempted to dissociate himself from his closest personal advisers, agreeing to cooperate with the Senate investigation after months of refusing to let Democrats question White House officials. According to the polls, most of the public didn't believe his professions of innocence. As we go to press, the role of "heavy" in this show appears to have been assigned to former Attorney General Mitchell.

Accompanying the main act there are several side shows, notably the ITT-Chile affair, the battle over the Nixon doctrine of executive privilege and similar affronts to liberal sensibilities. But the backdrop to the whole comic opera is a deteriorating economic situation, with a precarious balance of payments, skyrocketing inflation (food prices up at an annual rate of 30 percent in the first quarter), the expiration of major union contracts affecting more than five million workers and a recession predicted for late fall. The combination of major political scandals and an explosive economic situation spells difficult times ahead for the Nixon government.

Fascist Menace?

The liberal press responded with its predictable cry for a return to the innocence of years gone by. The *New York Times* (20 April) wrote:

> "Ten months after the case first broke, it is still astonishing that senior officials in the confidence of the President should have contemplated the systematic subversion of the American political order by espionage, sabotage, theft and surveillance. But it is even more astonishing—and more distressing—that once a small part of this dreadful story became public knowledge, the same highly placed persons began a systematic and well-financed campaign to obstruct justice and subvert the judicial order."

NY TIMES

Mr. "Law and Order," former Attorney General John Mitchell, accused of approving illegal espionage against Democratic headquarters at Watergate.

One would think from this earnest editorial that all that bourgeois politics usually amounts to is kissing babies.

A section of the left press responded in approximately the same language of liberal outrage. The Communist Party demanded "Impeach Nixon!" The 21 April *Daily World* declared:

> "The Watergate conspiracy is not limited to spying, sabotage and other CIA-type 'dirty tricks' against the Democratic candidates. It was a plot against the democratic process itself.
>
> "It was a fascistic-type of conspiracy, and had the character of a dress rehearsal for the taking over of power 'legally' but through a rigged election."

In a similar vein, the Workers League, with its usual hysterical style, proclaims that:

> "The Watergate conspiracy reveals the preparations now being made by the ruling class for dictatorship.... The Republican Party is ruthlessly preparing civil war [!] and is ruthlessly kicking the Democratic Party aside like a corpse that blocks its way.... The Watergate conspiracy is without parallel in the political history of the U.S.... It is clear that Watergate stands as a watershed in American bourgeois democracy. It marks the end of the two-party system as the ruling class, conscious of its weakness in the face of its most fundamental economic crisis, consolidates its forces in preparation for the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship [!]."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 6 November 1972

What the Watergate scandal and ITT-Chile affair actually show is quite different, namely that corruption, espionage and subversion continue unabated in the Nixon administration just as under any bourgeois government. What are the ITT CIA's half-hearted efforts to prevent the Allende election in Chile compared to the overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala (Eisenhower), Bay of Pigs invasion (Kennedy) or the Santo Domingo invasion (Johnson)? What is the Watergate affair compared to the Teapot Dome scandal in the 1920's? Simply more of the same. Watergate conspirators and ITT officials defended their actions by claiming that they are common practice in Washington politics. They are right! Only they were caught while most are not.

Bonapartist Appetites

There is no doubt about Nixon's appetites for a strong state, which could raise itself above the control of the various factions of the ruling class, achieving a *relative* independence in order to better control and if necessary smash the workers and socialist movements. If any proof were needed, it could be found in his proposal to reintroduce the death penalty, the bills to abolish strikes in the transportation industries, the proposed laws to prevent union memberships from voting on contracts, the expansion of the FBI, the attempts to muzzle the bourgeois press, the use of espionage against the Democrats and countless other examples.

But Nixon does not completely control the context in which he operates. Appetites are not enough. Thus on Watergate he has effectively been stymied by the liberal outcry and defections in his own ranks. His new doctrine of unlimited "executive privilege" to ignore Congress has apparently been temporarily shelved. Similarly, while his wage-control program may have been motivated by a desire to break the unions, the results have not gone beyond the limits of traditional bourgeois democracy.

Nixon's economic policies up through late 1971 were clearly oriented toward deflation through unemployment, a hard line on wage increases and similar policies aimed at disciplining the labor movement. But from

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Editorial Miscellany

Wounded Knee

Native Indians are one of the most oppressed groups in the United States. Suffering from astronomical rates of unemployment (65% at the Pine Ridge reservation), malnutrition, infant mortality, poor schools and every other imaginable social evil, the government-run reservations are virtual prisons for forced indigents, presided over by a corrupt, brutal and self-serving bureaucracy. Urban Indians, the majority, are forced into poverty-bred ghettos, restricted to the poorest-paying jobs and subject to infinite forms of discrimination along with other oppresed race-color and language groups such as blacks and Spanish-speaking minorities. *As much as any other exploited sector of the population, Indians have a vital interest in destroying capitalism and replacing it with the rule of the working class.*

To call instead for "self-determination for Native Americans" or to proclaim the independence of the "Oglala Sioux Nation" as have the leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM) during the occupation of Wounded Knee is a sick joke. Even if all the land stolen from the reservations since 1890 were returned, Indians would be unable to achieve a productive and prosperous life in these hell-holes. After three centuries of genocide and exploitation, the "Indian nations" have been destroyed. To call for a return to some idyllic past, symbolized by the appointment of an official medicine man at Wounded Knee, is not only utopian but reactionary.

Likewise, to call for investigations by Senators Kennedy and Fulbright of conditions on the reservations will have about as much positive result for their inhabitants as the "Right Honorable" Senators' investigations in Vietnam have had for Vietnamese refugees and political prisoners, namely none. These

SWP/YSA hails "great Sioux leader," Sitting Bull.

capitalist politicians have more powerful interests to serve.

Coming from AIM leaders, such proposals are a betrayal of the interests of the oppressed Indian population they wish to represent. Coming from ostensible Marxists such as the *Guardian* (which supports the call on Kennedy and Fulbright) and the Socialist Workers Party (which calls for self-determination for Indians and terms Sitting Bull a "great Sioux leader"), such nonsense is downright obscene.

The Spartacist League vehemently denounces the government repression of Indian protests at Wounded Knee, as well as the decades of governmental neglect and racial oppression institutionalized in the reservation system. But the only alternative to this degradation is the unity of all the oppressed behind the leadership of the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution.

French Pop Front

For several years following our expulsion from the 1966 conference of the International Committee, the Spartacist League was forced into a temporary national isolation, standing apparently alone against the relatively imposing IC and United Secretariat (U.Sec.). This isolation was a direct result of our insistence on the crucial role of programmatic clarification in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. Both the U.Sec. and IC were federated rotten blocs of disparate elements, we insisted, while noting that the Mandel-Frank-Hansen crew of the U.Sec. was united at least in its open revolt against Trotskyism.

Subsequent events have amply proved the truth of our assertions. Most obvious, of course, was the split of the IC in fall 1971. As sections of the United Secretariat continue to split between pro-Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and pro-European wings in country after country (Argentina, Australia, Peru, Canada, Spain so far), an open split of the U.Sec. as well becomes more and more likely.

We have noticed, in this respect, that in the hundreds, perhaps by now thousands, of lines devoted to the French elections in the various organs of the SWP, not once has Hansen put forward his own position. An unsuspecting reader of the *Militant* or *Intercontinental Press* would get the impression that the appearance of a new popular front in Europe's most politically volatile country was of vital interest to everyone except the SWP, which just observes.

In fact, Hansen no doubt is gearing up to do an "orthodoxy" job on his erstwhile friends of the Ligue Communiste. Both know perfectly well, of course, what the Trotskyist position on popular fronts is. But Frank, in his lust to snuggle up to the CP, simply shrugs this off as the petty concerns of the "Old Trots" who are unable to understand new realities. Hansen will presumably settle for some orthodox-sounding centrist position, like denouncing the popular front and then voting for it by voting for the CP or SP.

This will naturally give the impression that the reformist SWP is to the left of the centrist Ligue Communiste, thus providing Hansen a handy cover for a split, if this seems to be in the cards. But equally naturally, the SWP is certainly not interested in fighting popular frontism. After all, ever since 1965 it has done everything possible to entice eligible bourgeois politicians (the bigger the better) into its anti-war pop front. But it follows a pattern.

At the 1969 U.Sec. congress Hansen put on a similar show of Trotskyist orthodoxy, objecting to the Mandel-Frank-Maitan majority's guerillaist line. For all his pious words about building a working class party, Hansen's own real line was bigger and better student demonstrations! If facts had any relevance in this facetious shadowboxing, it would be notable that the SWP's main Latin American ally, the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST, Workers Socialist Party), calls for a "workers and peoples government," has an open maximum and minimum program, calls for the democratization of the armed forces under capitalism and similar anti-Marxist gems. Hansen's main difference with the European majority is that he wants to engineer some respectable social democratic parties into existence, while they still want to tail after the more radical guerillaist milieus.

Meanwhile, back at the ("Reorganized"?) "International Committee," interesting things seem to be happening. The 3 March *Workers Press* of Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League (SLL) printed an IC statement entitled "French Workers Must Reject Popular Front." It called for votes for the CP or SP but "on no account should workers vote for the bourgeois radicals." We have dealt elsewhere with the implications of this policy which is similar to that of the French OCI (see *WV* Nos. 17 and 18).

But when we read Wohlforth's *Bulletin*, it appears that the Workers League has a distinctly different line. The 12 March issue states: "The illusions of the workers can only be exposed by first electing the Left Union." There is no mention of the Radicals or a popular front. In fact, this is the same line as the Ligue Communiste in France. But with one difference: the LC ran its own candidates as a fig leaf to cover this betrayal of the most elementary principles of Trotskyism. The WL opposes this "ultra-left propaganda"—no fig leafs for Wohlforth!

We are at a loss as to how to interpret this. On the one hand, it could be an interesting split in the IC. But perhaps the distinction of denouncing the popular front and then voting for its major components (CP SP) was a little too subtle for Wohlforthian dialectical method and they simply missed their cue.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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U.S. Left Hails "Peace" Jailed Viet Cong Face Death

Last December the Spartacist League discussed the Vietnam "peace" proposals and warned: "...the Hanoi NLF cabal, in contrast even to the 1954 sellout, did not even insist on the release of political prisoners held in the South. These will be murdered when ARVN and U.S. prisoners have been released" (see *WV* No. 14, December 1972).

It appears that our dire prediction may be coming true at this very moment. According to the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of 27 March, a Swedish news agency has reported *thousands* of floating bodies off the South Vietnamese shoreline. The responsibility of all professed proletarian revolutionaries is now, even more than ever, to follow the lead of the Spartacist League in proclaiming "The Civil War Goes On—Down With the Robbers' Peace." But the U.S. left, continuing its prostration before the Hanoi Stalinists, continues to prate about "peace" and even to proclaim the terms of the Vietnam settlement as a pure and simple "victory" for North Vietnam and the NLF.

Even the bourgeois press has maintained more of a figleaf of concern for the political prisoners held in South Vietnam than have most of the opportunist U.S. "Marxists." Not quite drowned out by the welter of homecoming ceremonies for returning American war prisoners and the Pentagon-staged press conferences detailing atrocities supposedly visited on "our boys" by the Communist captors, a few "humanitarian" exposés of the Thieu régime's treatment of its political prisoners (whose number has been variously estimated as between 20,000 and 200,000) have found their way into some of the glossy news magazines.

Many of the prisoners held in South Vietnam are liberal politicians, student activists, members of the anti-government "Buddhist struggle movement" and the like, but a substantial proportion are supporters of the NLF or actual Vietcong cadres. As has been known generally in the U.S. since 1970, the Saigon government jams such political opponents into tiny cells—actually trenches with bars on top (the so-called "tiger cages")—and subjects them to the most barbaric torture: protracted daily beatings, forced ingestion of soapy water, electrical shock. Many have already died of malnutrition and torture, and there have been persistent rumors that Thieu has simply been waiting for public attention to shift to some other theater before undertaking the wholesale physical extermination of those now barely maintaining life in his jails.

The Stalinists of the DRV and NLF have largely sacrificed these political prisoners, although included in their number are certainly some thousands of their supporters; while the Paris accords provide for the release of *military* prisoners on both sides, the "civilian" prisoners (in a struggle which is a *civil* war!) were explicitly abandoned by the Hanoi leadership, which prefers to sacrifice thousands of its own supporters in the interest of consummating a relatively favorable deal with imperialism (a deal to which the U.S., as is certainly evident, has no intention of adhering).

Only the Spartacist League, in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, has consistently upheld a position of unconditional military support to the Indochinese revolution, demanding that working-class militants in the U.S. reject and struggle against the robbers' peace imposed upon North Vietnam by U.S. imperialism and acquiesced to by the NLF-DRV Stalinists. The bulk of the U.S. left has once again exposed its abandonment of elementary socialist principle. Despite their various protestations of support to the Vietnamese revolution, neither the SWP, nor the Workers League, nor the International Socialists saw fit to participate with the Spartacist League in a united front demonstration called in Boston to highlight revolutionary opposition to the robbers' peace and expose the Stalinist apologists who present a partial sellout as a great victory, demanding simply, "Enforce the Treaty."

In a disgusting display of American chauvinism—which views the Vietnam conflict as unimportant once the massive military commitment of "our boys" so deplored by the pro-imperialist liberal bourgeoisie is ended—most of the organized U.S. left has managed to overlook the torture and probable mass extermination of imprisoned Vietnamese Communists whose struggle they all, in the abstract, claim to support.

The demand for the immediate release of all political prisoners now held in Thieu's barbaric jails, along with the demands for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from S.E. Asia and for military victory for the NLF-DRF forces in revolutionary struggle which has been repeatedly undermined and betrayed by its Stalinist misleadership, is an elementary duty of all those who profess to stand for international class solidarity. ■

Workers League Withdraws Debate Challenge

In a startling reversal of its standing policy for the last seven years, the Workers League suddenly challenged the SL to a political debate earlier this month. In a back-page editorial of the 2 April *Bulletin* we read:

> "Spartacists are specialists in back alley politicking. Will Spartacist appear openly before the working class public in a freewheeling debate over basic strategy? We are waiting to hear. No reasonable proposal will be turned down."

Two weeks later the offer is brusquely withdrawn. "Spartacist Refuses Debate Challenge" announces the 16 April *Bulletin*. "In the interim," it seems, "Spartacist has stepped up its hysterical campaign at UCLA.... At the same time they write our Los Angeles branch to reject the proposal for a debate at UCLA....The negotiations are over. The matter is closed."

This is nothing but lies and slanders, the standard stock-in-trade of a group whose political banditry leads it to constantly change its positions, distort the policies of other groups and refuse to debate political opponents. Here are the real facts:

—*April 1966*. Immediately after being thrown out of the International Committee's London Conference, Spartacist proposed a joint meeting with the American Committee for the Fourth International (ACFI), WL's predecessor, to discuss the conference (letter from Jim Robertson to ACFI, 19 April 1966). Although ACFI and Spartacist had been conducting unity negotiations prior to the conference, Wohlforth turned down the challenge, replying "your organization has broken politically with the world Trotskyist movement." ACFI instead proposed a debate on the topic, which the SL accepted, setting the date for 21 May 1966 (letter from Jim Robertson to ACFI, 2 May 1966). ACFI wrote back, postponing the debate and then... silence for the next seven years.

—*July 1970*. We repeated the challenge in "The Wohlforth League: Counterfeit Trotskyism": "...In addition we hereby challenge Wohlforth as we have many times in the past to a public debate on the history of our two groups and their political differences" (*Spartacist*, July-August 1970). No reply.

—*February 1972*. On the occasion of our expulsion from a WL workshop at a Student Mobilization Committee conference (the Workers League having endorsed the participation of the bourgeois politician Senator Vance Hartke in the National Peace Action Coalition, as well as the SWP-led violence against PL and the SL at an NPAC conference only a few months previously), we issued a leaflet, "For Workers Democracy!", which said in part: "To the Workers League:... We hereby challenge you to a public debate on the key questions of class-collaboration and exclusionist violence in the workers movement. You need only name the time and place." No reply.

So, you can imagine our surprise to learn that *we* have been lurking in the back alleys all the time!

Spartacist League Agrees to Debate Workers League

The two letters sent by the SL to the Workers League over the debate proposal (see elsewhere on this page) expose Wohlforth's claim that we rejected the offer as the complete fabrication that it is. You say "appear openly before the working class public....No reasonable proposal will be turned down"? We proposed a time, date and place which clearly meet these standards. The WL response? "The negotiations are over. The matter is closed."

Moreover, a week previous to this peremptory announcement, the WL essentially repeated its traditional accusation that the SL is the "fingerman for the world capitalist class" (*Bulletin*, 2 December 1968), implying that we fingered two WLers to the police:

> "This demonstration was in essence an anti-communist demonstration which under conditions in Los Angeles to which the Spartacists are completely oblivious could have led to police provocation.
>
> "Any doubts of this were expelled that evening when the West Coast organizer of the Workers League and the Young Socialist editor were picked up in Watts."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 9 April

Similarly, Wohlforth has for years actively discouraged WLers from having any contact whatsoever with the SL, talking to our members, reading our press and certainly from debating. The "rat group" which is the Spartacist League, he claims, is nothing but the consummate expression of petty-bourgeois scum. Coincidentally, we must therefore be related to all other petty-bourgeois scum, and Robertson is the "granddaddy of them all."

Not only has the Workers League refused to talk to us, they also refuse to talk to anybody who talks to us! When the ex-Maoist Communist Working Collective of Los Angeles discovered that its political development was in the direction of Trotskyism and began investigating the allegedly Trotskyist groups, Wohlforth wrote them: "This organization [the SL] is completely hostile to the Fourth International and bears no relation whatsoever to Trotskyism....You cannot have joint discussions or joint actions with us while at the same time maintaining relations of any sort with Spartacist" (letter to Marvin Treiger, 29 April 1972). The CWC subsequently fused with the Spartacist League.

Last November Wohlforth told the Buffalo Marxist Collective, which had followed a similar development, that he was "speaking under protest" and that "after our discussion any further contact with the SL would mean a break in our relations." The BMC went on to fuse with the RCY.

Comrades, this is not the approach of revolutionary Marxists who seek to win the leadership of the class through political clarification and struggle for the working-class program. No, this is the approach of "Third Period" Stalinism, the implication of "social fascism." The corollary, for the WL as for the Stalinists, is that political differences must be "settled" not through debate but by physical violence against other tendencies in the workers movement.

Workers League Stagnates

While Wohlforth attacks the CWC, BMC and similar regroupments, saying "what all these various factions and individuals have in common with Spartacist is the desire to avoid the new requirements posed by the struggle of the working class," it is precisely the recent growth of the Spartacist League which reaffirms the correctness of the Leninist tactic of regroupment and forced Wohlforth to a temporary suspension of his traditional "no talk, no listen" policy.

The debate proposal was a response to the recent action of the SL Los Angeles local: After we were excluded from a "public" YS meeting called to "Stop the Budget Cuts" on 24 March, 60 of our supporters decided to picket the meeting. This so-called "anti-communist" demonstration included placards demanding "Free Discussion in the Workers Movement," and "Smash Anti-Communist Exclusionism." (The YS meeting itself drew far fewer people than the picket line outside.)

No longer able to hermetically seal off new recruits from the SL's Marxist criticism, Wohlforth evidently panicked and offered to debate. On reflection he no doubt realized that such a debate would expose the WL's fabled "method," which amounts to constantly shifting positions—including terming cops and prison guards part of the working class, calling for "critical support" to the Indian bourgeoisie in the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war, pressuring the union bureaucracy to create a reformist labor party and claiming that wage struggles are by themselves revolutionary.

Finding no convenient excuse for cancelling the debate, Wohlforth simply decreed that the SL had refused. The facts are irrelevant to the Workers League, but not to the working class.

△

Los Angeles, Ca.
5 April 1973

Labor Publications
P.O. Box 1717
Inglewood, Ca. 90308

To the Los Angeles branch
of the Workers League:

Dear Comrades:

We are extremely eager to have this debate that we have been seeking for so many years, and that you for so many years have prevented from occurring, even excluding us regularly from your public meetings to avoid the possibility of, in the course of the floor discussion, our confronting you politically. We cannot understand your insistence that it occur on a week night at UCLA—nor have you advanced any reason for it. Your proposal to debate us on a Tuesday or Wednesday night at the upper-middle class UCLA would make it impossible for many of our worker comrades to attend. They would not be able to get to UCLA on a week night in any appreciable numbers as many of them work long hours at grueling industrial jobs. The hardship your proposal would place on comrades working night shifts would be enormous.

You state in the *Bulletin* of April 2, 1973, "Will Spartacist appear openly before the working class public in a free-wheeling debate over basic strategy?...No reasonable proposal will be turned down." We propose that the debate be held on a Saturday night at a more central location. We will need two weeks notice to prepare adequate publicity. In particular we suggest Saturday, April 28, 1973. The Embassy Auditorium comes to mind as an appropriate site since both of our organizations regularly hold major public meetings there. In particular we have found that our forums attract a much larger and more general audience there, including the generally working class youth from Los Angeles City College and Trade Tech, while the forums we have held at UCLA have drawn a rather narrow section of the UCLA student body.

We eagerly await your reply. If your challenge to debate published in the *Bulletin* is issued in good faith, we believe that you must accept our offer.

Fraternally,

Tweet Carter
Political Chairman, Los Angeles
Spartacist League

△

New York
9 April 1973

Tim Wohlforth
National Secretary,
Workers League

We noticed with considerable interest the abrupt and complete change in your hitherto invariant policy of eight years standing toward the Spartacist League. We refer particularly to your back-page editorial in the 2 April *Bulletin*, "We Challenge Spartacist to a Debate." Considering that we have sought repetitively over the last eight years to secure an open political confrontation with your tendency, it doubtless comes as no surprise to you that we accept your public offer with alacrity, especially in view of your evolved and systematic practice of seeking to exclude Spartacist supporters from every one of your "public" conferences and meetings, even to the point of using physical means to seek to prevent us from showing our support to the Juan Farinas defense campaign. It is in the light of this consideration, together with your apparent awareness of our rapid growth in membership, in strength in the labor movement, and in the size and frequency of our public press, that we judge your comment, "Spartacist are [sic] specialists in back alley politicking." (How our situation compares with the mixture of hysteria and stagnation that comprises the existence over the past year of the WL, YS is doubtless best known to you.)

(1) Our Los Angeles organization has entered into negotiations with the Workers League LA organizer, seeking to arrange for a debate at the earliest opportunity consistent with adequate preparation and publicity. Your organizer has stalled the negotiations by insisting the debate take place on a Tuesday or Wednesday at UCLA (Is UCLA the best location for the issues to be thrashed out—as stated in your editorial: "openly before the working-class public"? Fairly upper-middle-class student "working-class public," don't you think?). We have proposed that the meeting take place on a Saturday night, preferably in a central Los Angeles location.

We hear that in the 9 April issue of the *Bulletin* you state that we want the debate Saturday night *at UCLA*! Not only is UCLA inappropriate in general, but for all we know it's not even open for meetings on Saturday nights, and this is but a transparent evasion on your part. However, if you really insist on the UCLA area, and if direct UCLA facilities are not available, there are presumably other locations in the Westwood area adjacent to the campus that might be available for Saturday evenings.

In order for us to fully mobilize our supporters we need a Saturday evening because many of our comrades are working in industrial jobs involving night shifts and/or heavy overtime. Therefore, we are compelled to insist strongly on a Saturday evening. Are you willing to admit that it is not in your interest for your spokesmen to present your views before those Spartacist supporters who are industrial workers? And in any case, you conclude your editorial by stating, "No reasonable proposal will be turned down."

(2) Why exclude "the working-class public" in the rest of the country from hearing a debate on "the issues which differentiate our organizations"? We propose two additional debates: one in the Midwest, in Detroit or Chicago, and one in New York City. We do not propose a debate in the South in either New Orleans or Atlanta because to our knowledge you have no supporters in the region.

We look forward to hearing from you shortly.

For Rebirth of the 4th International!

James Robertson
National Chairman, SL, U.S.

RCY FORUM

From Maoism to Trotskyism

Speaker: JOHN FISHER, formerly of Buffalo Marxist Collective

TUESDAY, MAY 8 at 8 p.m.

UCLA, Ackermon Union, Room 3564

For further information call (213) 467-6855.

LOS ANGELES

NCLC "Reconstructs" the NWRO

Of all the decomposition products of U.S. New Leftism, perhaps the most peculiar is the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Born out of the illusions and panacea-mongering of the distraught petty bourgeoisie that acted as culture-medium for the New Left, the NCLC has spent its 4-5 years of existence bouncing back and forth between the most ludicrous utopian posturing and the grossest social-democratic reformism. Its lurchings, however, have tended more and more toward an approximation in microcosm of old fashioned Popular Frontism, while its ideological eccentricities have begun to run totally out of control (see "Scientology for Social Democrats" on this page).

In its continuing consolidation around reformism, the NCLC has begun to run up against the hard fact that the Communist Party, as the U.S.'s largest and most experienced reformist organization, poses an insurmountable obstacle to the NCLC's get-rich-quick aspirations. Accordingly, during the past year the NCLC began increasingly to combine its usual delusions of grandeur with a heavy emphasis on the CP, featuring numerous articles in its press posing the CP and itself as the only really significant groups on the left. The gross disproportion between the small, unstable NCLC and the CP, with the latter's network of liberal fronts and fellow-travellers among the "progressive" union bureaucrats (as well as a continuing if inactive base among older workers and an expanding youth organization), has apparently begun to get through to the NCLC, unleashing an anti-CP frenzy.

NCLC "Transforms" NWRO

The latest NCLC reformist gimmick, the Committee to Reconstruct the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), is an effort to turn NWRO—a government-funded "counter-insurgency operation" *(New Solidarity*, 4-9 March)—into an organization of the working class! This is the kind of "creative Marxism" that is more commonly known as Bernsteinism: the idea that the bourgeois state can be transformed to serve the needs of the working class.

The old NWRO, a front group for the government's poverty program (as even the NCLC sometimes admits), collapsed recently when Nixon began to dismantle Johnson's "Great Society" program. Created not through a struggle of unemployed working people, but as an agency of the bourgeois state (and funded by the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare and the OEO), NWRO's ideology has always been pure liberalism, strongly flavored with anti-communism. In the past, NWRO has been at best a pressure group for higher welfare payments; in fact, it has stood for "redistribution of income" from employed workers to welfare recipients—a scheme deliberately designed to divide employed from unemployed workers.

Nixonism, with its continual appeals to anti-welfare sentiments, has use only for an NWRO of cockroach managers of small-time slave-labor schemes (like the WIN program, which forces welfare recipients to work at starvation wages for their welfare checks). Such is the role of what little is left of the old NWRO, which the CP and Progressive Labor have disgraced themselves by supporting.

According to the NCLC, the "campaign to rebuild NWRO could alone unite the employed and unemployed in common organization to fight Nixon's recycling offensive" *(New Solidarity*, 16-20 April). Since, the NCLC reasons, workers in the trade unions reflect the bourgeois consciousness of narrow sectional interests, these institutions will be unable to unite the class or defend its gains. Instead, NCLC poses uniting the class on the basis of total lumpenization.

The "reconstructed" NWRO represents merely a highly unstable bloc between the NCLC, seeking a more convincing-looking building block for its attempts to enlist the favors of dissident labor bureaucrats, and old NWRO organizers such as Jennette Washington, who are trying to hold some shell of an organization together while seeking new funding from the liberal bourgeoisie. Its program is only quantitatively different from the CP-backed NWRO which the NCLC labels as fascist.

Same Old "Anti-Poverty" Hustle

The Urban League and the National Council of Churches were specifically invited to the 31 March conference to found a National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization (NU-WRO), as well as all other "church and civic groups." At an early meeting, Washington outlined an organizational perspective of "*permanent* well-planned coalitions" with, among others, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NAACP *(New Solidarity*, 5-9 February).

The NCLC tailed Washington to the recent conference of the NYC New Democratic Coalition, the liberal version of Tammany Hall; there, the NCLC requested that these liberal capitalist politicians endorse the Committee to Reconstruct the NWRO. The New Democratic Coalition refused to listen to the NCLC proposal; however, it did take time out to listen politely to a request for funding from Jennette Washington, between the real business of the convention: the purchase and sale of delegates, nominees, "principles" and other negotiable commodities. It did this because, as *New Solidarity* delicately phrased it, "Jennette Washington is respected and well-known among liberal activists in New York." It forgot to add that this "respect" was gained by Washington's role in the attempt to break the 1968 NYC teachers' strike (a strike the NCLC claimed to support!).

As its contribution to the NU-WRO bloc, the NCLC was able to hook Louis Smith of the executive committee of the United National Caucus of UAW, who appeared personally to give his blessing to the conference; the head of the Colorado AFL-CIO (on the outs with Meany for endorsing McGovern) sent a letter of greetings.

The lowest-common-denominator reformist program of the NCLC served nicely to paper over differences. The "Bill of Rights of the Unemployed"—whose main provisions are tax reform, the "guaranteed annual income" (an old NWRO standby) and "turn the swords into plowshares" economic reconversion schemes—is decorated with such vital class issues as "an end to the ugly multiplication of toll-gates" and "dental service with a minimum of wasteful paperwork." An indication of how poorly slapped together this "program" was: it required an amendment from the floor to get the question of day-care centers (absolutely vital for welfare mothers who want to work) included at all.

Only bureaucratic high-handedness kept the whole thing from exploding in the NCLC's face. The workshops resembled Punch and Judy shows, invariably chaired by an NCLC member, with a "real" NWROer sitting beside him for back-up at nervous moments. In the New York and Midwest workshops, SL members were specifically prohibited from speaking after one representative had spoken.

When the Spartacist League pointed out that the NWRO "program" contained no demands to fight racial oppression, an NWRO speaker could only respond by calling the SLer a racist and ending, "You're trying to make us look like fools." When the SL denounced NU-WRO's attempts to ally with the liberal bourgeoisie, the response of NCLC candidate for NYC mayor, Tony Chaitkin, was that the Democratic Party was dying and bankrupt, and "We will chew it up and spit it out again."

Attempts by the IWW and Vanguard Newsletter to amend the program to give it a more "revolutionary" cover (among them, a VNL amendment to the NU-WRO constitution calling for exclusion of the bourgeoisie, and an IWW amendment demanding that no NU-WRO official accept government grants) were contemptuously turned down by this

Scientology for Social Democrats

In 1971 the Spartacist League derisively termed the Labor Committee of Lyn Marcus "crackpot social-democracy" (see *RCY Newsletter* No. 9, October-November 1971). If any of our readers thought at the time that the characterization might have partaken of some polemical exaggeration, the subsequent course of this organization should lay any such doubts to rest once and for all. As the social-democratic reformism of the Labor Committee continues to be incontestably confirmed by the latest of Marcus' grandiose reformist schemes—the most recent gimmick being the "Committee to Reconstruct the National Welfare Rights Organization"—the crackpotist side of the Labor Committee has suddenly reached truly bizarre proportions. Long marked by one of the most grotesque leader cults among the petty-bourgeois radical organizations, the Labor Committee has now run right off the rails as Marcus' self-inflating posturing reaches heights which can only be termed mystical, and perhaps downright clinical.

In a document entitled "Whoa, Boy" (Labor Committee internal bulletin, 20 March 1973) Marcus achieves the dubious distinction of being the first ostensible socialist in recent memory to rival L. Ron Hubbard, founder of "Scientology," a quasi-religious cult which professes to give its followers a mastery of the universe by teaching them a new double-talk jargon in exchange for a substantial fee. Marcus, at least, provides this service for free to members of the Labor Committee. We will let Marcus speak for himself:

> "You are a revolutionary cadre because you are 5-6% human and only 95% or so muck. We attracted working-class potential leaders... mainly because they are 4-5% human, as distinct from the 96% of them that is muck.... You are going to be shocked and dismayed as soon as you begin to really know most of the welfare organizers and other working-class cadre-types with whom we come to work [only a hysterical petty-bourgeois could demonstrate such contempt for the working masses!]....
>
> "If you must have adolescent sexual acrobatics, have them—but never call them love....do not use my words on the merits of unmediated relationships to make a mockery of life and Mind itself.... You see, this is not a personal affair but a profound political question.
>
> "I have repeatedly used a pedagogic device which appeals to me because it so precisely captures the poetry of capitalist life, the cruel commedia of capitalist culture.
>
> "Imagine yourself, I repeat myself yet again, returned once again to your old neighborhood....
>
> "They do not see you when you speak. They do not hear you. You even strike an old friend, he continues chatting to someone else. It occurs to you that you do not exist.... It is that terrible fear, that nightmare, which you have all experienced repeatedly in life. You think not? I tell you you live through that agony a thousand times each day. I have seen each of you in just that agony each time I have watched you—especially at internal meetings and public meetings.
>
> "Many times, I have talked with an individual member or group of members. Because I demand it, and because I am compassionate [and, we might add, modest too!]....There is no need to lambaste ourselves. Excepting those remarkable qualities which can be generally attained only under conditions of mass upsurge, our organization is already the relatively perfect model for any other organization in the world in its internal humanity.... I do not censure you, I love you...."

Another Labor Committee internal document, entitled "The Proto-Swamp: the Phenomenology of a Recurring Disease and its Cure" by one Steve Pepper, pays Marcus the homage which he has always felt was his due:

> "Only Lyn has achieved that relationship to creative mentation where death alone can destroy his capacity....I experienced Lyn's recent letter to the Germans like a powerful tonic from which I drew deeply, succoring myself from the confident flow of his creative energy."

Only space considerations compel us to curtail this exercise in comic relief from the serious work of building a proletarian vanguard party.

Yet even the incredible degeneration of this insignificant crackpot cult is not without its lessons for serious revolutionists.

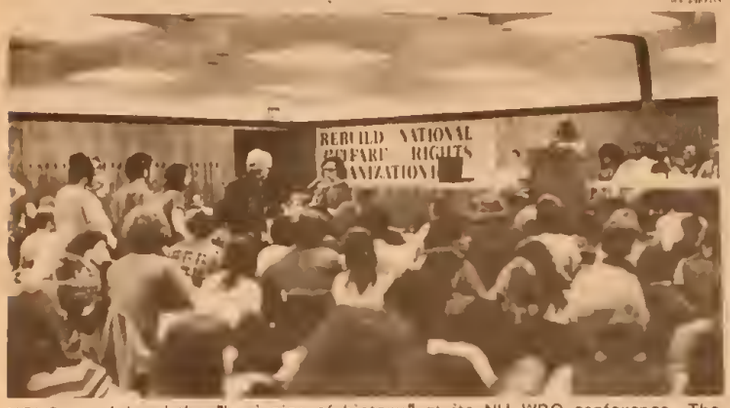
Marcus himself was, of course, always something of an eccentric, with a strong tendency toward petty-bourgeois personalism. His experience as an SWP oppositionist, existing for a time in a symbiotic relationship with Tim Wohlforth as the latter's accepted theorist on "Marxist" economics, led him to adopt the theory so characteristic of the Labor Committee (codified in Marcus' pamphlet "Centrism as a Social Phenomenon") that the true determining factors in the life of political organizations are not program, principles and the material conditions of the class struggle which they reflect, but rather organizational routinism, bureaucratism and ultimately the personal qualities of the leading cadre. Marcus dubs a dialectical materialist understanding of political life "Shachtmanism," but in fact Marcus' view was fundamental to the conceptions of the Mensheviks in the 1903 split and to the Burnham-Abern-Shachtman bloc against Marxism in the SWP in 1939-40. The elevation of bourgeois moralism and personalism above a class analysis was one of the reasons why Trotsky termed the Shachtmanites the "petty-bourgeois opposition" in the SWP.

It is, in fact, the fundamental philosophical tenet of the petty-bourgeoisie to examine social phenomena from the standpoint of the individual and not the class. This conception has always served as a convenient rationale for renegades from the class struggle. It was central for the Mensheviks as they took their first steps towards the ranks of the White Guards, for Burnham's flight from Marxism which led him onto the editorial board of William Buckley's semi-monarchist *National Review*, for Shachtman's uninterrupted evolution toward and into the rabidly pro-imperialist "Socialist" Party and for Marcus' path, apparently, into raving lunacy.

conglomeration of NCLC cynics and anti-communists.

New Leftism Run Amok

This latest scheme of the NCLC is part of an entire history of grandiose reformist projects, each posed as the one-and-only, quick-and-easy road to organizing the class to defeat the imminent threat of fascism. Welfare recipients are only the latest in a series of constituencies which, it was hoped, could be cajoled or duped into becoming the NCLC's conduit to the instantaneous conquest of the masses. (For example, one of the NCLC's short-lived schemes was a project to organize a foolproof city-wide rent strike in New York



NCLC proclaimed the "beginning of history" at its NU-WRO conference. The new welfare organization asks for money from bourgeois groups such as the New Democratic Coalition and has a reformist program of tax reforms and an end to "the ugly multiplication of toll booths."

through the novel idea of collecting pledges from tenants who would agree to strike when a million of them had been so organized.) Each of these campaigns, of course, is presented with great fanfare, only to be hastily dropped when it becomes apparent that it has succeeded only in making the NCLC a laughingstock.

The Labor Committee was founded at Columbia University, based on the illusion that the 1968 Columbia strike steering committee was a soviet. It devoted its efforts for the next year to the publication of *Solidarity* and leafleting in the NYC garment center, confidently insisting that this would touch off a "mass strike" despite the fact that the Labor Committee had no forces in the shops or in the labor movement in general.

When this first attempt to "lead" the class flopped, the other pillar of Marcusism appeared. Labor Committee leader Tony Papert had an article printed in *New America*, the CIA's contribution to American "socialism," denouncing the Labor Committee's opponents in SDS essentially as proto-fascists. At a time when the bourgeoisie was viciously persecuting SDS, with of course *New America* yapping at its heels, publishing such an article in such a place was objectively an act of solidarity with the bourgeoisie against the left. When sharply called to account by the Spartacist League for this red-baiting, the Labor Committee explicitly refused to disavow this action.

It was soon afterwards that the "coalition" strategy was devised. An April 1970 *New Solidarity* article transparently reveals the role of one of the earlier attempts, the Transit Crisis Coalition:

> "So successfully did we propagate our programmatic analysis of the situation that when the subway fare was raised ... we began to hear our program fed back to us, debated in various political clubs of the Democratic party, and mooted in the public press. Around what was essentially the Labor Committee's original program more than 50 groups have come together in the Transit Crisis Coalition!"

These 50 groups included "several Reform Democratic clubs."

The Labor Committee's vacillation between cynical reformism and bizarre schemes totally unconnected with the real world has continued ever since, generating a split in 1971. One side became the hysterical Socialist Labor Committee, which maintained that the 1971 strike wave represented a surge by the workers directly toward state power, which the Labor Committee coalitions could capture and lead simply by denouncing the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and counterposing themselves as the alternative. When Nixon imposed the wage freeze and halted the strike wave, the SLC naturally fell apart.

The other side was the more cynical NCLC with its "Strike Support Committee" strategy, the idea of which was that if a union bureaucrat could be suckered into forming such a coalition with the NCLC in the course of a strike, hegemony over the workers would naturally pass to the NCLC when the struggle was betrayed. The real effect, of course, was merely to offer the bureaucrats a cheap left cover against rising militancy in the ranks (and an alternative to fighting for the kind of support that counts—sympathy strikes by other unions). This strategy "succeeded" brilliantly in the Newark Teachers' Union strike, where the Labor Committee managed to tail Orrie Chambers and the NTU leadership right into the arms of ultra-rightist Anthony Imperiale.

NCLC Finds a New Panacea

Finally, a supporter of the Baltimore Strike Support Coalition issued a leaflet mildly criticizing the union president, who had briefly supported the coalition, and nearly got himself red baited right out of the plant. This disaster necessitated a change in strategy. An NCLC internal bulletin ("How Mass Work Works," 16 May 1972) asked:

> "How often does our Strike Support work come on like a carnival barker, 'Can't win without outside support—Get your outside support here.' ... Today, the only way we can actually realize any sort of substantial victory is if we are able to bring massive forces to bear on a particular strike situation ... a visible show of force."

So the Labor Committee set off hunting for something new and found NWRO. Having allied itself with what it thinks is a real mass organization, it has gone off into paroxysms of hysteria which make the old SLC look downright rational by comparison. The 4-9 March *New Solidarity* editorial solemnly advises its readers that:

> "History has placed on the shoulders of a few hundred welfare organizers the burden and honor of setting up the first line of humanity's defense against Phase Three. ... there is a class struggle waging in the land, there is history being made by the tempered proletarian leaders emerging from the welfare ranks."

Forced to concede that the NU-WRO is currently in no position to organize anything (until it has "encompassed more strata of the class"), the NCLC terms the NU-WRO a new IWW, which will in the best SLC fashion counterpose itself to the AFL-CIO. The results, however, promise to be more comical than the tragic dual-unionist mistakes of the IWW syndicalists.

Catastrophism vs. Marxism

The "theoretical" justification for the NCLC's turn to welfare recipients

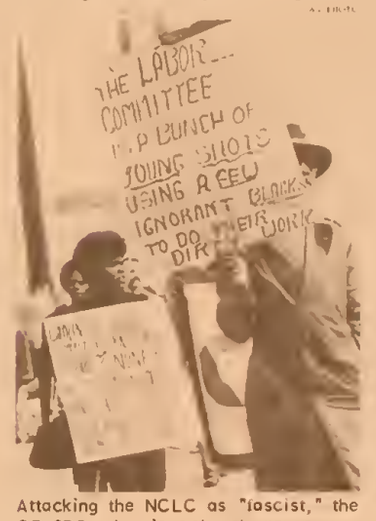
continued on page 10

Petty-Bourgeois Frenzy: NCLC at the End of the Road

From its inception, the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has flitted from one get-rich-quick scheme to another, always promising to conquer the world in the next few years. First it was the student-tenant "soviets," then the "class-wide" (meaning everyone except workers in the unions) strike-support committees, and now the "reorganized" welfare rights movement. Predictably the net result of all these gimmicks is failure.

The resulting frustration had to lead somewhere. Combined with the delusions of grandeur and systematization of insanity apparent from recent NCLC internal documents, it has resulted in the current kamikaze "Operation Mop-Up," aimed at physically destroying the Communist Party inside a month. Given the relative size and stability of the two groups, the CP is in no danger of imminent destruction; the Labor Committee is.

One must remember what the Communist Party is politically. An agent of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement, the CP does everything to tie the working class to the bourgeois state, from wartime no-strike pledges to campaigning for "lesser evil" capitalist politicians. The CP has no qualms about calling on the bourgeois cops and courts against other tendencies in the workers movement, and has already begun to do so against the NCLC. Playing at destroying the CP "physically" will certainly involve arrests, indictments and in general taking on the capitalist



Attacking the NCLC as "fascist," the CP, SDS and various church groups participated in a race-baiting picket defending the "old" NWRO, a government-funded counterinsurgency operation.

state directly, which the NCLC is hardly capable of doing on its own.

In addition to the fact that the NCLC is not in a position to physically wipe out the CP, this is in any case not the way to eliminate the Stalinists' reformist influence. Marcus occasionally puts on self-styled "Trotskyist" airs, but the NCLC is now explicitly rejecting the entire Trotskyist tradition of *workers democracy*. Only the Stalinists, who themselves murdered Trotsky's supporters and own family, ever claimed that Trotsky resorted to or sought terrorist means against the Stalinists. Today, if the Labor Committee sometimes invokes Trotsky's name, it defiles everything he fought and died for. The only way to wipe out the agents of the bosses in the workers movement is to defeat them *politically*, by demonstrating decisively to the masses that such policies can only mean a continuation of capitalist exploitation.

The NCLC prates about the CP as a "fascist" organization, insists that we are already in a cataclysmic depression and categorically proclaims that the Democratic Party (like the CP) is dead. Labor Committee members, however, should reread Trotsky's writings on Germany which they claim to support. It was Thaelmann and Stalin, not Trotsky, who characterized the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and saw the depression as an automatically revolutionary period. But the parallel is not exact, for the NCLC is not a mass organization with sizeable influence in the working class, as was the German CP, but a relatively small sect oriented to petty-bourgeois and lumpen elements. If history repeats itself, first as tragedy and later as farce, then "Operation Mop-Up" is "Third Period" Stalinism—as farce.

As Trotskyists, we categorically oppose the use of violence within the workers movement. We would defend meetings called by the CP, physically if necessary, against attacks by disruptive elements. We would do this not out of any illusions about these reformists, the assassins of Trotsky, but because any manifestation of gangsterism in the workers movement inevitably hinders the struggle to win the masses to the revolutionary program. However, the CP's reliance on the cops for defense makes our physical support moot. We defended the Weathermen against bourgeois state repression, despite their misguided adventurism, because their terrorism was directed primarily at the bourgeoisie. The NCLC's attacks on another working-class tendency, however, are indefensible.

We note that the record of other supposedly socialist organizations on the issue of workers democracy is far from consistent. Typically their positions depend on whose ox is being gored. The Communist Party had a willful policy of physically attacking Trotskyists during the 1930's, and in 1941 actually supported the anti-communist Smith Act, under which the Socialist Workers Party was being prosecuted. (When the government used the same act against the CP in the late 1940's, of course, the CP called for the defense of *its* own democratic rights.)

Among supposedly Trotskyist organizations the record is only slightly cleaner. When the MPI (predecessor of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party) beat up a Workers League member, the WL wrote a perfectly principled call for proletarian democracy. But this did not prevent the WL from siding with the SWP in July 1971 when the latter group beat up and expelled PL and SL supporters from an NPAC meeting, or from forcibly excluding other tendencies from its "public" meetings. The Spartacist League, in contrast, has been absolutely consistent on this point. As an example, we defended the SWP when Progressive Labor members attacked SWP supporters in Boston in 1970; at the July 1971 NPAC conference we defended PL against attack by the SWP's Fred Halstead and his goons.

To the members of the NCLC: We warn you that there are elements in the politics of the Labor Committee which can take the NCLC, or a section of it, straight out of the workers movement altogether: the anti-communism involved in physical attacks on other left tendencies; the technocratic "socialism" characteristic of Labor Committee economic programs; consistent hostility to the trade unions; and pseudo-humanistic superman theories leading to the conception of Marcus as the Nietzschean ultimate. Now the assault campaign directed at the CP is crystallizing these elements into a consistent pattern.

The Labor Committee's cynical contempt for workers democracy is symptomatic: "If other socialist organizations cross the line and actively join the CP's alliance with Nixon and the fascists in the name of 'workers democracy' they will be treated similarly," threatens a *New Solidarity* supplement (16 April). The SL will not be intimidated by this bombast. The only result of the NCLC's incredible new policy will be its own self-destruction—physically and politically. ■

Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam

John Sharpe

Part I

[Editors' Note: This article is little more than a sketch of the history of Vietnamese Trotskyism. Only a brief account of the movement and sporadic issues of its newspapers are available to us at this time. Nevertheless, the facts that are known serve to underline doubly the historic importance of the struggle for the Marxist program of permanent revolution, the struggle to resolve what Leon Trotsky referred to as the "crisis of revolutionary leadership." The price of Stalinist betrayals is measured not only by their deliberate murder of hundreds of Trotskyist militants in the aftermath of the September 1945 insurrection (which the latter helped lead and the former helped defeat), but also by the subsequent deaths of more than two million Vietnamese workers and peasants in their heroic battle against French and U.S. imperialism. Most of these could have been avoided if the Stalinists, and in the first instance Ho Chi Minh, had not been able to sell out the struggle at crucial periods with their policies of appeasement of the bourgeoisie.]

As was the case throughout the world, the Trotskyist movement in Vietnam was forged in the struggle against the errors and betrayals of the Stalinists. However, unlike most other areas, the Vietnamese supporters of the Fourth International succeeded in achieving a mass base during the late 1930's. In fact, both of the competing groups claiming to be Trotskyist were publishing daily newspapers before or just after World War II.

Nevertheless, both groups, the centrist La Lutte group led by Ta Thu Thau, and the more leftist International Communist League (the October group) led by Ho Huu Tuong, were paralyzed by French repression and ultimately decapitated by the Stalinists. These defeats were *in part* the result of certain erroneous policies, notably a tendency toward perpetual united fronts with the Stalinists and a failure to draw a sharp line against popular fronts. We honor the memory of these martyrs and their determined battle against French colonialism and against reformism in the workers movement, but we must also learn from their mistakes.

Formation of the Indochinese Communist Party

The history of the Vietnamese Stalinist movement is inseparably bound up with the life of Nguyen Ai Quoc (later known as Ho Chi Minh), its founder and principal leader.

He emerged as one of the leaders of the Communist International in the Far East after his journey to Moscow in 1923 as the delegate of the French CP to the "Peasant International" and his participation in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, where he delivered a report on the colonial question. An important factor in his development was the fact that he became involved in the Comintern only after it had already begun to degenerate seriously under the Stalin-Zinoviev leadership. The "Peasant International," for example, was one of Zinoviev's more dubious maneuvers, designed to seduce populist peasant leaders such as the Croatian Radič into support for Russia. Not only was it a phantom organization from the beginning, but it was necessarily based on Stalin's policies of the "democratic dictatorship of the peasantry and proletariat." For Marxists, who seek to organize the *workers'* international, there could be no question of building a *peasants'* international, that is, of organizing another class.

Nguyen Ai Quoc also participated in the "Intercolonial Union," which included several left bourgeois nationalists from the Middle East, hardly a model of communist organization. Thus it is not surprising that when he reached Canton in 1925 as an associate of Borodin (chief Comintern representative in China at the time) he set up not a communist party, but instead a socialist-oriented nationalist grouping, the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth Association (Viet Nam Cach Menh Thanh Nien Hoi, or Thanh Nien for short).

This was the kind of "Marxism" which Nguyen Ai Quoc learned from Stalin, who at the time was instructing the Chinese Communist Party to liquidate itself into Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, turning over membership lists and even arms to these "anti-imperialists." Shortly after Stalin made him an honorary member of the Communist International, Chiang turned on his Communist allies and butchered thousands of militant workers in Shanghai in April 1927.

Despite this graphic object lesson in the consequences of opportunist policies (as a result of which he had to leave first Canton and then later Hankow also), Nguyen Ai Quoc refused to learn. Thus for the first several years the Thanh Nien concentrated on consummating a fusion (which never came off) with the strictly bourgeois Revolutionary Party of New Vietnam (the Tan Viet). At the first congress of the Thanh Nien in May 1929, his supporters on the presiding committee obstinately opposed the formation of an explicitly communist party. A minority, small (3 out of 17 delegates) but influential (it was the entire delegation from the interior), walked out of the congress and set up the Indochinese Communist Party (Don Duong Cong San Dang), sharply condemning the Thanh Nien leadership as petty-bourgeois nationalists.[1]

The new party experienced immediate success, appearing to the masses as the more revolutionary of the two, so in August the Thanh Nien switched gears and set up the Vietnamese Communist Party (Annam Cong

QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE

In a report to the French Colonial Council in October 1937, the Governor of Cochin China wrote: "The political character of these strikes is even more apparent than with those at the beginning of the year. Long and careful preparation, breaking out suddenly, tendentious articles in the newspapers LA LUTTE and LE MILITANT, creation of strike funds, support coming from workers of other companies with the purpose of demanstrating working class solidarity...."

—from "Action Program," LA LUTTE, No. 213, 14 April 1939

1. Fight against war preparations, break the blockade which is strangling the Chinese revolution and favoring Japanese imperialism through mass action, through boycotting Japanese merchandise.
2. For direct action to force promulgation of social legislation in Indochina: a 40-hour law, collective bargaining, control over hiring and firing, sliding scale of wages.
3. Against the fascists, form action committees in factories, the civil service and the army to throw out fascist personnel and have them fired.
4. Against the Stalinists who preach "voluntary" submission! Popularize the slogan: "Unconditional National Independence."
5. Build real alliances of workers, peasants and the middle classes in action committees, in factories, in neighborhoods, among peasants and soldiers to prepare for the workers and peasants government, to expropriate the capitalists and feudalists and to assure the well-being, peace and freedom for all workers—in factories, offices, fields, commerce and the army.

Down with the Fascists, Capitalists and Feudalists!
Down with the Stalinist Leaders, Lackeys of Imperialism!
Long Live a May 1st Dedicated to Class Struggle!
Long Live the Fourth International!

San Dang). This was in part the result of Stalin's "left turn" internationally (the so-called "Third Period"), as the Comintern had refused membership to the Thanh Nien, called for the formation of a unified CP and criticized the program of the Nguyen Ai Quoc faction. The unified party, also called the Indochinese Communist Party, was formed in October 1930 and affiliated to the Third International the following April.

The first Communist efforts were directed at spearheading a desperate peasants' revolt centering on central Vietnam during 1930-31. In the Annamese provinces of Ha Tinh and Nghe-An the ICP broke up the large estates and set up peasant "soviets" on the order of the border-region soviets set up by Mao in southeastern China during the period 1927-29. Like the latter, however, they were brutally liquidated by the government forces.

In contrast to its adventuristic policies in the countryside, the CP tactics in the cities were restricted to "democratic" demands and "peaceful" demonstrations, thus leaving the masses unprepared for the bloody repression by the French colonial regime. Mercenary soldiers machine-gunned the defenseless masses, as the Foreign Legion terrorized the Annam peasant districts which had risen in revolt. The repression cost the lives of some 10,000 workers and peasants, with another 50,000 deported to the prisons at Poulo Condor. In June 1931 the Central Committee of the ICP was arrested in Saigon.

Formation of the Trotskyist Groups

It was in these circumstances that the two principal groups claiming to support Trotskyism were formed, the Nhom Thang Muoi (October) group and the La Lutte (Struggle) group. The International Communist League, usually called the October group after the name of its newspaper, *Thang Muoi*, was led by Ho Huu Tuong and founded in 1931. Due to the fact that it was illegal to publish left newspapers in Vietnamese, this group led a clandestine existence from 1931 to 1936 when the popular front led to a slight liberalization. It went over to a weekly legal French paper, *Le Militant*, in 1937, which, however, was prosecuted and then banned. They reverted to a semi-legal paper before beginning publication of what was probably the first daily Trotskyist paper in the world (Gerry Healy, please note), the *Tia Sang* (Spark), in 1939. Due to its clandestine existence, its more leftist positions and the fact that its material was published mainly in Vietnamese, little is known about Ho Huu Tuong's group. What is known is that it opposed the united front between the Stalinists and the Thau group which lasted from 1933 to 1937.

The other group was centered around the person of Ta Thu Thau, a student returned from Paris who had been active in the Left Opposition in France. Its leadership had been arrested in August 1932 during the White Terror and tried in May 1933. However, some of the comrades were liberated in early 1933 and formed a united front with the Stalinists in Saigon led by Tran Van Giau in order to present working-class candidates in the May 1933 elections to the Saigon city council. Their official joint newspaper was called *La Lutte* (Struggle).

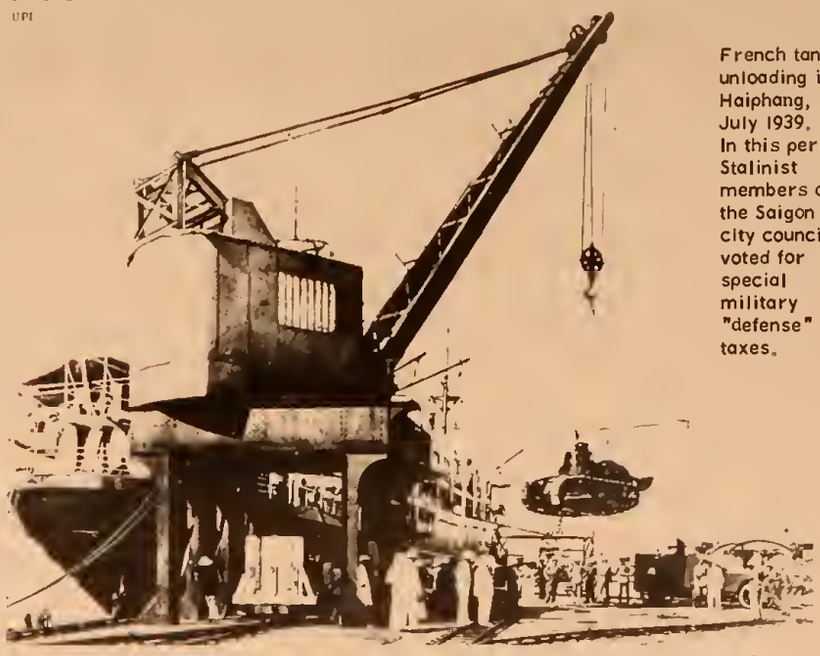
The coalition had an enormous electoral success. On the first ballot (of two rounds, as in France), the candidate of La Lutte with the least votes still received more votes than the leading bourgeois candidate. On the second ballot, two working-class candidates were elected, the Stalinist Nguyen Van Tao and the Trotskyist Tran Van Trach. The coalition continued its existence and joint newspaper until 1937. The united front was limited to the legal activities, while the illegal organizations of both groups operated separately.

It is unclear whether this united front was simply a no-contest pact, or involved joint propaganda around a lowest common denominator program. If it were the latter, this would certainly represent an opportunist retreat from one of the basic principles of Leninism, the need for the independent organization of the vanguard. A common program obliterates the line between Bolshevism and centrism. In any case, by its very nature, a joint newspaper and an *ongoing* united front could only lead to political confusion in the minds of the masses and the cadre themselves. Why was there a division between Trotskyists and Stalinists if the two could work together for years, the workers would ask? Moreover, for a period at the beginning of the French popular front, the Stalinists monopolized the newspaper and thereby effectively suppressed the objections to this class-collaboration by the Ta Thu Thau group.

The Thang Muoi group of Ho Huu Tho, however, was opposed to *any* collaboration with the Stalinists and restricted itself to underground work in this period. To oppose limited joint actions directed against the bourgeoisie and the colonial regime, for instance common demonstrations or in certain circumstances a no-contest agreement in elections, is to attempt to raise a Chinese wall between the revolutionaries and the workers in reformist or centrist organizations and to weaken the proletariat in its battle against the common class enemy. The united front tactic is a permissible "compromise" where it is possible to draw a class line. But things were quite different during the popular front.

The Popular Front

With the formation of the Radical-Socialist-Communist popular front in 1935, the Stalinists made a sharp turn to the right, forming their own Indochinese popular front. They allied themselves not only with the Vietnamese section of the SFIO (Socialists), but with bourgeois nationalists such as Nguyen Pham Long and Bui Quang Chien, whom the joint Stalinist-Trotskyist *La Lutte* had bitterly denounced a few years earlier. Not content to form an alliance with the "progressive" comprador bourgeoisie, the ICP went even further and, according to the Stalinist historian Le Thanh Khoi, "broadened" the popular front to include monarchist parties.[2]



UPI

French tanks unloading in Haiphang, July 1939. In this period, Stalinist members of the Saigon city council voted for special military "defense" taxes.

Under Stalinist editorship, *La Lutte* greeted the appointment of the socialist Maurius Moutet as Colonial Minister of the popular front Blum government. A few short weeks after this welcome, Moutet telegraphed officials in Saigon (September 1936): "You will maintain public order by all legitimate and legal means, even by the prosecution of those who attempt to make trouble if this should prove necessary.... French order must reign in Indochina as elsewhere."[3] The Stalinist members of the Saigon city council went so far as to actually vote for military special taxes for "French national defense".[4] Clearly, such taxes could only be used directly against the Vietnamese peasants and workers, as indeed they were soon afterwards.

As the French historian Devillers put it, "in these conditions the break with the Trotskyists became inevitable." By allowing Tran Van Giau and the Stalinists control of the paper, the Ta Thu Thau group was able to continue the united front through the April 1937 elections, in which one Trotskyist (Thau) and two Stalinists (Nguyen Van Tao and Duong Bach Mai) were elected to Saigon city council on the joint ticket.

But in June 1937, the Trotskyists around Thau took editorial control of *La Lutte*, which assumed a distinctly different posture, fomenting strikes and mass protests, along with *Le Militant*, the legal paper of the Ho Huu Thuong group.

Thau launched the new line with an editorial entitled "The Popular Front of Treason," which got him two years in jail as a reward from the authorities.

During this time the Stalinists were concentrating their efforts on building an alliance with bourgeois constitutionalists, the "Indochinese Congress." Breaking out of the limited electoral campaigns (the eligible voters included only about 40,000 or roughly 1% of the adult population), the Trotskyists, in contrast, utilized the limited freedoms introduced by the Blum government to push mass agitation in strike movements, campaigns against the repression and in favor of the right to unionization, the *bête noir* of the colonialists. The Trotskyists also set up "action committees" of labor and peasant organizations, as did the Stalinists. Due to their success, especially in the Saigon area, these committees were rapidly banned and brutally repressed by the French governor. In the rural areas, La Lutte initiated agitation around the demand of "Land

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—from Ho Chi Minh, "The Party's Line in the Period of the Democratic Front," July 1939

1. For the time being, the Party cannot put forth too high a demand (national independence, parliament, etc.). To do so is to enter the Japanese fascists' scheme. It should only claim for democratic rights....
2. To reach this goal, the Party must strive to organize a broad Democratic National Front. This Front does not embrace only Indochinese people but also progressive French residing in Indochina, not only toiling people but also the national bourgeoisie.
3. The Party must assume a wise, flexible attitude with the bourgeoisie, strive to draw it into the Front, win over the elements that can be won over and neutralize those which can be neutralized. We must by all means avoid leaving them outside the Front, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy of the revolution and increase the strength of the reactionaries.
4. There cannot be any alliance with or any concession to the Trotskyite group. We must do everything possible to lay bare their faces as henchmen of the fascists and annihilate them politically....

Which Program for Auto Workers?

Business Unionism vs. Class Struggle

Faced with a deteriorating competitive position internationally, the auto companies have been attempting to boost their profit margins through productivity drives combining fantastic speedup, long overtime hours and increased layoffs, further aided by the capitalist government's wage-freezing policies. Recent statements by various UAW officers, pledging "reasonable" bargaining and urging voluntary wage-price restraints for the upcoming contract, have the clear purpose of shackling auto workers to the companies' steamroller profit drive.

Woodcock's Bargaining Program: Don't Tie Me Down

The Collective Bargaining Program, passed with only scattered opposition at the 22-23 March Detroit Bargaining Convention, pleads with management to agree with a "harmony clause" which defines the supposed identity of interests shared by the companies and the union. Despite its 43-page length, the program fails to include *any* hard bargaining proposals, leaving Woodcock and friends plenty of room to maneuver and sell out, as the bargaining proceeds.

On speedup, the program vaguely pledges to seek "further protection" in line with the UAW's "historic opposition to any attempt to speedup." This "historic opposition" is a complete fabrication since the UAW bureaucracy has consistently over the years allowed the companies total control over line speed, layoffs and working conditions, in exchange for a few cents an hour wage increase.

On overtime, the bureaucrats make a concession to the ranks by declaring that "what workers really want is that overtime be voluntary and not compulsory"– but then leave the backdoor open by emphasizing increased overtime rates, thus suggesting a settlement in which overtime would just cost the companies a bit more.

On wages, the program does not reject the UAW's traditional acceptance of company policies of tying wages to productivity increases plus cost of living raises, and simply suggests that current arithmetic in determining these factors may need "adjustment." Nowhere in this program does the Woodcock regime oppose the government's wage freeze (still in effect, even though price controls have been abolished), much less call for a struggle to break the controls. How could they, with Woodcock himself on the advisory board (and now the parallel board on National Industrial Peace, a polite phrase for strikebreaking and union busting)?

On working conditions, which are so rapidly deteriorating, the program contains not *one* single demand, but instead vaguely calls for "management and the union to embark on a joint, cooperative endeavor in which they seek out and mutually implement the ways and means to achieve this next step in the democratization of the workplace—creating job satisfaction for the individual worker, to enhance the quality of work life and give it deeper meaning and significance"!

The whole program of the bureaucrats is summed up neatly in their own words that "we will not go to the bargaining table in 1973 looking for a fight." This sweet talk for the companies means a sure sellout for auto workers.

Class Struggle vs. Sellout

While UAW leaders prepare their cozy deals with the companies, autoworkers must face the rapidly deteriorating working conditions in the plants, the murderous speedup and compulsory overtime, the galloping inflation and the threat of unemployment in the recession already being predicted for the coming fall. No cozy deals for the ranks! For the mass of the working class the *only* alternative to the sellout policies of the labor bureaucracy is a program of revolutionary struggle.

The conditions in the auto shops spontaneously throw up a number of demands as an instinctive reaction of self-defense. These include, for instance, strikes against the wage freeze, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, voluntary overtime, rapid settlement of grievances, lowering the line speed and including it in the contract and international strike action by autoworkers. In different combinations, such demands constitute the program of practically every opposition group in the UAW.

It is the duty of every class-conscious militant to resolutely lead the fight against the capitalists in strikes called on the basis of even such limited class demands. But as communists we must also explain that these demands are by themselves insufficient. Even with speeded-up grievance procedures, for instance, the ultimate power still remains with the company, which means constant harrassment by foremen, attempts to increase the speed of production, arbitrary firings, etc. The situation urgently calls for raising the demand of *workers control of production* and the formation of *factory committees* to fight for this demand. Even "30 for 40" is only a concrete application of the demand for *no layoffs*, a *sliding scale of wages and hours* to provide work for all. Since the capitalists will naturally claim bankruptcy when faced with such demands, it is necessary to call for *opening the books* and for *expropriation of the auto companies without compensation*. Clearly such far-reaching demands cannot be won simply by militant plant struggles, and thus it is imperative to take the fight to the political level, by calling for a *workers party* based on the trade unions and for a *workers government* to implement such a program. All of these *transitional* demands start from the immediate conditions facing the workers in the shops, but point to the inescapable conclusion that to change the present dehumanizing conditions it is necessary to change the whole system under which we live. While supporting struggles around even the most minimal class demands, it is the duty of communists to widen the struggle, to raise transitional demands which lead to the achievement of the *real* answer to workers exploitation—socialist revolution. A trade-union program limited to simple trade-union demands, in contrast, is necessarily a reformist program, a program which in this epoch can only lead to *defeat* for the class.

The response of the American left to the crushing defeat planned for auto workers by the Big 3 and the UAW tops is virtually uniform. From the Stalinist CP, to the Maoists, to the social-democratic International Socialists, to the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League there exists a remarkable consensus: Now is "not the time" for resolutely advancing a program of revolutionary transitional demands designed to break the auto ranks from their treacherous misleaders and prepare them for battle against both their employers and the capitalist state; rather, it is time to string together a hodge-podge of reformist demands restricted firmly *within* the framework of capitalism. This logic prepares virtually every left organization for capitulation to one or another wing of the trade-union bureaucracy or its would-be, look-alike replacements.

The trade-union work of any working-class tendency is a revealing index of its real character: Not only is it here that self-avowed revolutionary organizations present their face directly to the organized working class, but also it is here that the day-to-day pressures toward accommodation and reformism are greatest. Particularly at contract time, pressures mount enormously "to fight for something we can win *now*." Most of the American left has predictably caved in to these pressures in the current UAW-Big 3 bargaining maneuvers.

United National Caucus

The only visible national grouping inside the UAW aspiring to "dissident" status, the United National Caucus (UNC), proved itself to be completely impotent in the face of Woodcock's laundry list of ambiguous proposals. UNC co-chairman Pete Kelly spoke from the convention floor noting the "many good things in the bargaining resolution" but expressing skepticism that they would be won. He proceeded to key in on the blatantly class-collaborationist "harmony clause." In effect, Kelly attempted to shame the leaders and delegates into opposing this clause, hinting how difficult it would be to defend it before the ranks, while ignoring the fact that it precisely defined the existing relationship between bureaucracy and company.

Edith Fox was the only other prominent UNC member to speak on the floor. She gave the typical "trade-union militant" speech, predicting a sellout in the bargaining process and calling for "workers control" over conditions. But an examination of what the UNC means by "workers control" is just one illustration of how radical phraseology receives reformist content in the mouths of opportunists.

Writing in 1931, Trotsky explained the revolutionary content of this demand:

> "Workers control through factory councils is conceivable only on the basis of sharp class struggle, not collaboration. But this really means dual power in the enterprises, in the trusts, in all branches of industry, in the whole economy."
>
> —*The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*

The UNC transforms "workers control" from a demand linked inextricably to the call for expropriation of industry and the construction of a workers government into a formal contractual reform, to be negotiated and enforced as if it were a pension proposal!

Thus both Kelly and Fox continued the UNC's apolitical brand of "militant trade unionism." Even the call for a congress of labor to build a labor party (albeit a proposal with no programmatic content aside from the UNC's reformist pablum), passed at the UNC's February Production Workers' Conference, was not mentioned at the UAW Bargaining Convention. Just as at the 1972 UAW Convention, when the UNC submerged its "politics" (the call for a labor party and nominal opposition to the Vietnam war) in favor of a bloc with other caucuses to push for referendum election of International officers, the UNC again demonstrated its gross opportunism.

International Socialists Support Aspiring Bureaucrats

The left social-democratic International Socialists (IS) is the most important "left" cover for the UNC. Having accomplished a turn from New Left middle-class radicalism, the IS is now the foremost bearer of "radical workerism," a more proletarian-tinted version of its previous opportunist politics. Based on the belief that repeated struggle around shop-floor issues will lead the working class to socialist consciousness while simultaneously assuring its organization a "working-class character," the IS's theories comprise a contemporary re-creation of the revisionist theories of spontaneity, economism and trade-union reformism that the Marxist movement has continually been forced to struggle against.

Indeed, to discuss the UNC's reformist program is to describe the IS's, for the IS raises no independent positions and limits its public differences with the UNC to tactful advice and polite criticism. Thus, *Workers' Power* No. 75 (30 March-12 April), reporting on the UAW Bargaining Convention, noted the UNC's "excellent alternative program of contract demands" but sighed that the UNC leadership was "unprepared" and without a "clear strategy for a fight against Woodcock."

Communist Party and Progressive Labor

The Communist Party's approach to the UAW is characterized by a cringing cowardliness even surpassing the UNC and IS. Concerned lest it appear a counterposed leadership, the CP's reportage of events in the UAW varies from slight criticism of Woodcock to glowing reports of his latest proposals to this or that Congressional Committee, masterfully transforming "objective reporting" into tacit approval.

The CP's specific program for the upcoming contract was outlined in the 13 February *Daily World*. The only real points of note were the call for a permanent production workers council and the call for an end to overtime with 30 hours work for 40 hours pay.

The proposal for a permanent production workers council (also supported by the UNC and IS) is clearly meaningless without a struggle for an alternative UAW leadership based on a revolutionary program. The discovery of the "30 for 40" demand is relatively new for the CP. But with the incredible speedup and overtime in the auto plants, and with rising unemployment, the CP was forced to include this demand in its grab-bag, but only at the expense of robbing it of its essential revolutionary thrust, and turning it into a presumably "winnable" reform

This course is perfectly in line with the CP's "anti monopoly coalition" strategy: a strategy based on pressuring the liberal wing of the ruling class for a more peaceful, "kind," domesticated imperialism. The CP's recent "left turn" away from overt support to the Democratic Party is only a tactical ploy designed to increase its *own* role in managing a more "liberal" capitalist order. Its work in the trade unions continues to serve its real appetites: blocs with liberal bureaucrats and capitalists for the preservation of "peacefully coexisting" international capitalism.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL), caught in a period of organizational disintegration and rapid rightward retreat, has also latched onto "30 for 40" as a cure-all for the working class. The 22 March *Challenge* lists a multitude of issues confronting the auto workers on the eve of the Detroit Bargaining Convention (layoffs, speedup, inflation, working conditions, etc.) and proudly proclaims: "the answer to ALL these problems? UAW members in Workers Action Movement had one—Thirty Hours Work for Forty Hours Pay."

Like the CP, PL for years opposed the call for "30 for 40" as "Trotskyite" and "utopian." But seeking a single-issue gimmick to arouse its demoralized and confused members, who have been leaving PL in droves, it has now decided that this demand is really only a reform demand—the best reform demand. PL continually stresses that "30 for 40" is "possible" under capitalism, that some unions already have a shorter work week and that the capitalists could still make plenty of profits. Consequently, PL's supporters in the unions say they are for "32 for 40" or "36 for

40" as well; there is no real difference to them.

Workers League Defends Simple Trade Unionism

In contrast to the previously mentioned groups, the Workers League sports a facade of Trotskyism but only as a cover for its consistently opportunist appetites. Thus the WL calls for a labor party, but proposes that it be built by the present trade-union bureaucracy! Likewise it calls for a Marxist opposition in the unions, while at the same time proclaiming that the key issue is a 20% wage increase.

Earlier this year the WL set up the "Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party" as a vehicle to coordinate its relatively sparse trade-union work. By its name the TUALP brings to mind the ill-fated "Trade Unionists for a Labor Party," set up by the WL in 1967. At that time, these "Trotskyists" vigorously opposed adopting motions (offered by the Spartacist League) which would give a revolutionary programmatic content to the call for a labor party. (The WL explicitly refused to include in the program any mention of opposition to racial oppression or the imperialist Vietnam war.)

True to form, at the February TUALP conference a program was adopted for a "National Auto Caucus" which contains *not one single demand going beyond simple trade unionism.* Some "Marxist opposition" this, which finds it impossible to mention international working-class solidarity, opposition to racial and sexual discrimination, workers control of production, expropriation of the auto industry without compensation—omitting even the call for a labor party and a workers government! Instead they concentrate on issues such as "30 and out," increased vacations and a 20 percent wage increase *(Bulletin*, 26 March 1973).

In the same issue, the *Bulletin* publishes an "Open Letter to the United National Caucus" by Rudy Sulenta, a supporter of TUALP. Introducing the letter, it writes that "A very important step was taken to build a national caucus in the UAW with a campaign for a 20 percent increase in pay." Sulenta makes it even more explicit, declaring that "contrary to what Woodcock says, the central issue in the upcoming contract is the fight over wage increases....It is the fight for a 20 percent wage increase...that the political fight is raised." Sulenta rightly accuses the UNC leadership of reducing the struggle to simple trade union policies and ignoring its own demand for a labor party. But then that is precisely what the TUALP auto caucus program does as well!

In short the WL has capitulated to the pressures for a "here and now" program of contract demands, separated from any kind of revolutionary perspective. Moreover, it plays directly into the bureaucracy's hands by proclaiming the wage struggle the "central issue" of the 1973 contract. For years the UAW tops have sold out on working conditions and local grievances in exchange for some limited wage gains.

Well aware of the opportunist implications of the TUALP auto caucus program, and feeling rather unprotected on its left flank, the *Bulletin* took the unusual step of actually replying to an article in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* on the auto negotiations. According to the WL's front page editorial: "Spartacist says essentially the following about the struggle in auto. Wages, line speed, job security, grievances and the right to strike are all trade union demands. But Marxists, at least according to Spartacist, are for revolution as opposed to winning these 'reformist' demands. Spartacist therefore concludes that the basic demand that must be made is: 'Communism'." Wohlforth is a past master at polemic by non-quotation, a method which permits him the liberty of freely distorting his opponents' arguments out of all recognition. Let us see what the *WV* article actually said:

> "One is struck by an amazing similarity between these programs [of the CP, IS and WL], which share a number of elements: higher wages, shorter hours, the right to strike, a range of minor reforms and the complete absence of anything that would qualitatively distinguish them from old-fashioned, 'pure-and-simple' reformist trade unionism.
>
> "Nowhere do any of these groups pose the necessity for a struggle for *power*. ...Instead, the long-range goal is always separated from, and subordinate to, the immediate economic demands of the next set of contract negotiations. ...Certainly it is essential for revolutionists to participate in the everyday struggles of the workers over wages, hours and working conditions in order to ensure the closest contact between the class and the party.... This does not mean, however, that we attempt to win leadership as simple trade unionists....We aspire to lead the class as *communists*, which will often necessarily entail counterposing the historic world-wide interests of the proletariat to its immediate consciousness."

Where in this do you read the Spartacist League opposes winning reform demands, Brother Wohlforth? You can indeed read that we oppose merely raising contract reform demands in separation from the overall revolutionary program. You can read in our press that the SL, together with Trotsky, believes that the transitional program is the program for struggle in the unions, not bits and pieces of the program, or simple trade union reform demands. And it is this which grates on the WL, for it is precisely trade-union reformism which is the methodology of the TUALP auto caucus program and this *Bulletin* editorial.

Wohlforth Repudiates Transitional Program

The *Bulletin* article goes on to dot the "i's" and cross the "t's" of its opportunism, declaring that "the point is that trade union questions are becoming revolutionary issues....But the fact is that the fundamental contradiction within capitalism, suppressed for an entire historical period through wild inflation [!], is radically transforming the relations between classes....That is why simple trade union demands are so profoundly revolutionary today."

This nonsense clearly reveals the objectivism which lies at the heart of Wohlforth's "dialectics." In this anti-Marxist view, the objective factors completely dominate social struggles and the struggle for the revolutionary program is therefore irrelevant. Earlier, the transitional program was, for Wohlforth, inapplicable because the fundamental contradiction of capitalism was "suppressed for an entire historical period" (shades of Mandel's "neo-capitalism"?). And today it has become superfluous; now even simple trade union demands are revolutionary. Thus the WL now formalizes its repudiation of the transitional program.

The WL's logic is that the final "crisis" of capitalism (whose imminent arrival the WL has been heralding since 1962 or so) is now so grave that consistent reformist struggle—e.g., for wage increases—becomes inherently revolutionary. This exactly parallels the petty-bourgeois line of the SWP that "consistent nationalism" (or "consistent feminism," for that matter) is socialism. The purpose of the WL's endless crisis-mongering is to justify an openly reformist program. The WL reasons that trade-union bureaucrats can be forced into building a labor party and aspiring bureaucrats can be supported because they will inevitably be forced to fight for the interests of the working class. This was precisely the logic of Pabloism, the post-war revisionism which shattered the Fourth International: that Stalinists and social-democrats could be forced to lead the proletarian revolution under the pressure of the "objective situation."

Certainly it is true that reform struggles have revolutionary implications. The link is this: In the epoch of declining capitalism (imperialism) it is not possible to win systematic reforms which qualitatively improve the conditions of the working class without destroying the capitalist system itself. Therefore, in fighting for reform demands it is absolutely essential that revolutionaries concretely link these struggles to the fight for socialism. To fight simply for trade-union demands, as the WL does, leaves the class unprepared for the battle necessary to win them, and implies a utopia in which auto workers will have "30 for 40," $650/month pensions after 30 years, 20 percent wage increases and the like—without smashing capitalism. Transitional demands begin with the concrete needs of the class (for instance, a struggle against the killing overtime, unemployment, inflation and dangerous working conditions), and formulate an alternative which *directly* leads to an attack on the system itself (sliding scale of wages and hours, workers control of production), linking this explicitly to the struggle for power (workers party and workers government). But to the "Marxists" of the Workers League, the struggle for this program is "abstract propaganda" as opposed to their own, very concrete agitation—for a few more crumbs.

Wohlforth's "theories" were answered some 70 years ago by Lenin in *What Is to Be Done?:*

> "The economic struggle merely 'impels' the workers to realize the government's attitude towards the working class. Consequently, however much we may try to 'lend the economic struggle itself a political character,' we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the level of social-democratic political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow."

It is not enough to simply have the largest list of demands at contract time, nor to ask for the "most" in the collective bargaining relationship. It is necessary to transcend the strictly economic relation of capitalist to worker to lead to the understanding of the nature of the capitalist order as a whole, and the need for the independent mobilization of the working class to destroy it. This is the approach of the Spartacist League, the Marxist approach, to work in the trade unions. ●

Spartacist Local Directory

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON..... (617) 661-8284
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO..... (716) 881-3064
Box 412, Station C
Buffalo, NY 14209

CHICAGO..... (312) 548-2934
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND..... (216) 696-4943
Cleveland *WV* Committee
Box 2492
Cleveland, OH 44112

DETROIT..... (313) 862-4920
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

LOS ANGELES..... (213) 467-6855
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90038

MILWAUKEE
Box 5144, Harbor Sta.
Milwaukee, WI 53204

NEW ORLEANS..... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

SAN DIEGO..... (714) 272-2286
Box 22052, Univ. City Sta.
San Diego, CA 92122

SAN FRANCISCO..... (415) 863-1459
Box 40574
San Francisco, CA 94140

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...Vietnam

to the Poor Peasants," a clear class program as opposed to the "broad national union" being pushed by the Stalinists.

In the 1939 elections to the Colonial Council of Cochin China, the La Lutte group capitalized on this agitational work and managed to win a resounding victory, with more than 80% of the votes going to their candidates. The masses, faced with the choice between support for French colonialism by the Stalinists and a credible Trotskyist opposition fighting on a working-class program, overwhelmingly chose the latter. In consequence, shortly thereafter, the Indochinese Communist Party in Cochin China (southern Vietnam) split, the official party being headed by Duong Bach Mai and the dissidents regrouping around Nguyen Van Tao.

The polemics between the two competing groups supporting the Fourth International became increasingly sharp during this period. The Ta Thu Thau group, the official section of the FI, accused the Ho Huu Thuong group of "inventing" its opposition to the united front with the Stalinists years after it was first formed, which is almost certainly not true. However, Thau also condemned them for advocating a joint La Lutte and Stalinist ticket in the 1939 elections. At a time when the ICP was openly backing French imperialism and participating in a popular front (the Indochinese Congress), support for their ticket, however critical, was certainly a serious error. These were the same "communists" who were voting for "defense taxes" in the Saigon municipal council while the government was using the money to ship in tanks for use against Vietnamese workers and peasants.

On the other hand, while the Thang Muoi group did not score the electoral successes of La Lutte, it did manage to bring out its newspaper for some years in Vietnamese before the latter attempted this step and managed to put out a daily newspaper *(Tia Sang*, or Spark) during 1939.

While both groups made important errors during this period, and La Lutte appears to have had an overall moderate approach of a centrist character, both vigorously opposed French colonialism and stood sharply contrasted to the Stalinists during the crucial period. Their attraction of a mass base is a tribute to the Trotskyist politics of permanent revolution, even in a muted form.

However, the bourgeoisie regained the upper hand and from October 1939 to January 1940 managed to wipe out the entire legal organizations of both the Communist Party and the Trotskyists. The ICP survived this repression better than did the Trotskyist groups, partly because the latter were more of an immediate threat to the French in the south, partly because the CP cadre were able to retreat to China where (after a period in Kuomintang jails) they eventually received Chinese and U.S. aid and partly because the Stalinists had begun retreating to clandestinity as early as 1938.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

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[1] Ahn-Van and Jaqueline Roussel, *Mouvements nationaux et lutte de classes au Vietnam*, Paris, 1947, pp. 47-51. Except where otherwise indicated, most of the factual information is taken from this book.

[2] Le Thanh Khoi, *Le Viet-Nam*, Paris, 1955, p. 448.

[3] Ellen Hammer, *The Struggle for Indochina 1940-1955*, Stanford, 1954, p. 92.

[4] Philippe Devillers, *Histoire du Viet-Nam de 1940 à 1952*, Paris, 1952, p. 69.

[5] *La Lutte*, No. 205, 14 August 1938.

Van Arsdale Forces Pay Cut on N.Y. Cabbies

The semi-annual New York City Taxi Drivers Union (Local 3036) meeting held on 11 April was the death rattle of a union reduced to utter impotency by a narrow, reactionary leadership. At the meeting, the Van Arsdale bureaucracy was finally able to force through a contract which took a year of fake militancy and a resort to binding arbitration in order to shove it down taxi drivers' throats. At the April 1972 meeting where the contract was first presented, the ranks drove Van Arsdale out of the hall. Meanwhile, however, it was implemented by the companies, with the union leadership's permission. This would be bad enough in any union. What is unique about Local 3036 is that the new contract includes a substantial *pay cut* from the previous one, although the cost of living has risen by 30 percent in the interim!

In exchange for a 46 percent fare increase granted by the city two years ago (which substantially cut into tips and fares for most drivers), Van Arsdale agreed to divide the union into "new" and "old" drivers, the former having their percentage of the fare cut from 49 percent to 42 percent, while the latter simply stayed at the old rate. In addition, a dime was taken off every fare ostensibly to cover health and other benefits previously paid for by the companies.

This incredible contract (to call it a "sellout" would be a compliment) also calls for *three* separate union-management committees directed against the drivers. The "Labor-Management Taxicab Joint Board" will "seek mutual improvement of labor relations between parties and to undertake such activities as is mutually agreed will aid the Employer in its relations with its employees and others." The "Joint Union-Management Committee" will see to it that the union cooperates fully with management "to raise the productivity of the employees." "The Union recognizes that only through the successful operation of the Employer is it possible for the success of the parties hereto to be achieved."

The third committee will supervise the transfer of the companies' "Motor Corps," more commonly known as the "rat corps," to the union's management. This Motor Corps consists of company goons who drive around at night to spy on drivers to see if they are taking passengers with the meter off (almost a necessity in an industry where the pay scale is beneath subsistence). In other words, *the union will now play company stoolie, spying on its own members.*

As if class-collaborationist committees and union-sponsored Pinkertons were not enough, the contract contains a section on "industrial peace" which would be the envy of a fascist regime. Not only are strikes illegal under the contract, but union members cannot "instigate, cause, aid, encourage, support, condone or participate in any strike, slowdown, work stoppage, boycott or picketing or patrolling directed against (the Employer)..."

Rank and File Coalition

The main organized opposition to the Van Arsdale leadership is the Rank and File Coalition, a bloc between supporters of the Attica Brigade, Progressive Labor Party, International Socialists and other militants. The program of the coalition is a six-point list of bread-and-butter demands whose most radical point is 60 percent of the metered fare for the drivers. The main recent activity of the RFC has been taking the union to court to get the contract thrown out as "unconstitutional". But the courts, like government "mediators," cops, taxi commissions—or prisons—are not "impartial." They are all coercive arms of the capitalist state. Bringing the courts into union affairs tends to integrate the union into the capitalist state apparatus, and can only make more difficult the struggle to transform the unions into organs of class struggle.

Workers League and MDDC

The other opposition group in Local 3036 is the "Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract" (MDDC), which is supported by the Workers League. For the MDDC the questions of gypsy cabs, union-management collaboration, taking the union to court, police supervision of the industry, even the political independence of the working class and the need for a labor party—all these are irrelevant. For the MDDC the "main issue facing taxi drivers today *is wages.*" In the past the Workers League's and MDDC's answer to every problem was to call on Van Arsdale to form a labor party. Now, however, giving vent to their opportunist appetites, they rip off their phony labor party mask and reveal beneath it good old American business unionism, i.e., "all the workers are interested in is more money."

A Class Struggle Program

The Spartacist League, in a leaflet issued in April 1972, has called for the adoption of a program which would "Fight the Van Arsdale Sellout with a Class Struggle Program." Instead of a commission system, which puts taxi drivers into competition against each other, the SL calls for an hourly wage. To fight unemployment and the long hours typical of the industry, the program demands a shorter work week with no loss in pay. Instead of making the customers pay for increased company profits, roll back the fare. Eliminate the fratricidal competition between the medallioned and "car service" taxis, organize the gypsy cabs and abolish the medallion system and the Taxi Commission. For a union hiring hall. Expropriate the fleets.

But the economic struggle is only a part of the overall class struggle, and a real fight against the bosses must be a political fight as well. Thus the SL leaflet calls "For a general strike against the wage freeze. Break with the parties of big business, for a labor party based on the unions; towards a workers government." Likewise, it calls for "immediate unconditional withdrawal of U.S. from Southeast Asia—Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution."■

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NCLC "Reconstructs" the NWRO

as the latest vanguard is found in a curious speech by Marcus ("Nixon's Plan to Recycle Human Beings," *The Organizer*, Vol. 1, No. 1). It seems that the economic depression which we are, of course, already in will compel Nixon to lower the wages of the working class by an average of 40% in the next two years. This will be accomplished by increasing speedup to the point that workers will voluntarily quit their jobs by the thousands to go on welfare, to be replaced by thousands of welfare recipients organized by the old NWRO at lower wages, and they by the old employees at yet lower wages, etc. This absurd fantasy forgets that workers are not distraught petty-bourgeois or lumpen elements and neither can nor will quit their jobs at a moment's notice and without a struggle.

What is also overlooked in the NCLC's master plan is that no such scheme could possibly be implemented without the complete destruction of the union movement as a precondition. Fascism requires a political counter-revolution and the destruction of the organized working class and cannot be implemented merely because the government decides that it might be convenient. The spring 1970 Teamster wildcat shows what the destruction of the unions would require. Governor Rhodes of Ohio, supported by the national leadership of the Teamsters, mobilized 4,000 National Guardsmen to ride shotgun in the convoys of scab trucks, with armored cars and military helicopters supporting. The Teamsters countered with flying picket squads and faced the Guards down, who didn't dare shoot (until they got to the Kent State students a few days later). The alternative was an open confrontation with the entire labor movement in which a full-scale general strike would have been almost inevitable.

To the NCLC, fascism is a moral-religious concept. The fact that a successful fascist takeover requires that the ruling class organize a mass movement capable of smashing the mass organizations of the proletariat (obviously possible only when the class is divided and the non-proletarian sectors of "the masses" are alienated from it) is an understanding foreign to the NCLC. Trotsky referred to the millions-strong fascist movement in Germany as "a mass of human dust" which the superbly organized German working class could easily have defeated were it not for its treacherous social-democratic and Stalinist leadership. How much more is this true of the NCLC's candidates for fascist menaces: Zero Population Growth, LeRoi Jones and the pro-government wing of the welfare movement. (At other times, the NCLC has trembled in fear before Bob Dylan and Ti-Grace Atkinson!)

To the anti-Marxist ravings of the NCLC, the Spartacist League counterposes a perspective of the implantation of communist cadre in the union movement and the formation of caucuses based on the transitional program of class struggle. The strategy of revolutionists must be to develop the roots and authority of the vanguard party among the workers and to oust the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy in favor of a new leadership committed to uniting the class, including the unemployed, around a resolute policy of international class solidarity and the fight for a workers government.■

Defend Venceremos

The capitalist state attack against the Venceremos group continues in California. The witchhunt sparked by the 6 October 1972 escape of Ronald Beatty, ex-member of Venceremos turned police informer, from Chino prison has resulted in the arrest of at least 14 people thus far and the interrogation and harrassment of at least as many others. At the present time Venceremos member Andrea Holman and ex-member Douglas Burt sit in a San Bernadino jail awaiting trial on charges of murder.

This wave of police repression can be resisted only through united working-class defense. Struggling consistently for the Trotskyist principle of unconditional defense of the left against bourgeois repression, despite serious political criticisms of those under attack, the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth are actively involved in the Chino Defense Committee in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area, a committee established to support the defense of Venceremos. *Workers Vanguard* calls on its readers to support the defense of Venceremos by sending contributions to: Chino Defense Committee, 747 Dolores St., Stanford, Calif. 94305.

RCY FORUM

Myths of Maoist China

Speaker:

JOSEPH SEYMOUR
SL Central Committee Member

THURSDAY MAY 3 at 7:30 p.m.

University of Illinois
Room to be Announced

CHICAGO

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Watergate...

Harding and Hoover to Nixon, deflationary policies have always been the basic line of the conservative bourgeoisie. And when faced with the perspective of a major recession, Nixon successfully switched over to a deliberately inflationary policy, with some of the biggest budget deficits ever.

As for the wage controls, it is necessary to keep in mind that wage-price controls have traditionally been the policies of the *liberal* bourgeois politicians, *and of the labor bureaucrats.* For the latter, "equitable" wage controls tied to productivity are a means of insulating themselves from pressures from the rank and file. Rather than seeking to crush the labor bureaucrats, as a true bonapartist would do, Nixon has tried to maneuver (somewhat successfully) to split the right wing of the union bureaucracy away from the Democrats (e.g., his courting of Meany, the appointment of Brennan as Secretary of Labor).

Bonaparte or Metternich?

In more general terms, Nixon does not have a strategic radical program for capitalism, but instead has essentially been reacting to immediate pressures and seeking above all to maneuver. Rather than the historical parallel with Napoleon Bonaparte, who established a personal dictatorship through control of the army and above the warring factions of the French Revolution, the comparison should be instead with Metternich, the idol of Nixon's adviser Kissinger, who attempted to maneuver all the reactionary interests into a Holy Alliance against bourgeois revolution, but without provoking radical changes in the established order.

Depression/Fascism-Mangering and the Left

The predictions of impending bonapartist dictatorship, fascism or a similar cataclysmic shift in the political situation are usually accompanied by predictions of impending depression. Thus the WL's *Bulletin* (2 April) writes: "As American capitalism, the center of the world crisis, enters *its deepest crisis* the corruption of the system must begin to pour out" [our italics]. Wohlforth, of course, has been predicting the imminent arrival of this "deepest" crisis since the early 1960's, so it is about time he declared we are actually entering it.

The National Caucus of Labor Committees likewise sees us as already entering a depression, which thereby produces a revolutionary situation in their view. Thus, "the world monetary system is dead" (*New Solidarity*, 12-16 March); "The Nixon administration is helpless in the face of impending depression" (*New Solidarity*, 26-30 March); "This is the first battle that leads to workers' government by 1978 or 1979" (*New Solidarity*, 19-23 March).

Of course, the Workers League and NCLC are relatively small organizations without real influence in the working class, so the practical effects of this fascism/depression syndrome are relatively unimportant. Nevertheless, we must warn that the tendency toward trying to prove one's revolutionary credentials by shouting "depression" the loudest can be extremely disorienting if acted upon. As Marxists we analyze economic and political developments with the purpose of scientifically determining our own course of action. A faulty economic and political evaluation of the current period will usually lead to mistaken tactical steps which are harmful to the development of the vanguard party.

During the 1950's both the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party were confused by the phenomenon of McCarthyism, believing it to be a form of native fascism, on the order of Father Coughlin in the 1930's or Gerald L. K. Smith in the 1940's. In 1954, the SWP wrote:

> "As a product of the witch-hunt, McCarthyism continues to set the pace for the hysteria, but it is more than a witch-hunting excrescence of the capitalist state apparatus. It is a native American fascist movement in the early stage of formation."
>
> —"Draft Resolution on the Political Situation in America" September, 1954.

While the SWP did not act on this pessimistic evaluation (if McCarthyism was fascism, then considering its popularity and the disarray demoralization in the workers movement, revolutionaries were in a pretty bad way), the Communist Party did. It sent many of its members into an underground existence that lasted for years and liquidated a good part of its trade union work.

Today the Workers League believes that the depression/fascism threat will force the trade-union leaders to take up the fight for a working-class policy, whether they like it or not. This is why the WL is constantly calling on Van Arsdale, Abel or Meany to form a labor party. Similarly, the depth of the economic crisis makes wage demands revolutionary in the WL's view. Thus the WL founds a "Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party" whose program consists of nothing but a collection of contract demands for one industry after another!

In a similar vein, the NCLC believes that the new depression will enable it to set up a workers government in five years and thus it must finish off the Communist Party in a few weeks. After that the NCLC will take up the Democrats directly!

Deepening Capitalist Crises

The U.S. capitalist class is, in fact, faced with a deteriorating economic position—a declining rate of profit domestically and a loss of economic hegemony internationally. Its ability to maintain a certain level of domestic prosperity and avoid serious depression is undermined by the adverse balance of payments and the highly unstable world monetary system. In such a situation we can expect to face increasingly sharp recessions which will have a radicalizing influence on the working class internationally and will thus open opportunities for rapid growth of socialist organizations.

In this situation the main danger is not capitalist reactionaries on the order of Nixon-Agnew, but the trade-union leadership and aspiring reform bureaucrats who will be in a key position to sidetrack the coming struggles, unless they are defeated politically by an alternative, revolutionary leadership.

But in any case there is no final crisis of capitalism from which the capitalists cannot recover if the workers do not themselves directly challenge the exploiters for state power. Even though corrupt and bankrupt, the capitalist system will not fall of its own weight. What is required to bring down the bourgeoisie is the intervention of the conscious vanguard struggling for the class independence of the proletariat. With their predictions of imminent depression/fascism the various fake left groups (CP, NCLC, WL) are looking only for a cover which will excuse their capitulations before the bourgeoisie, the labor bureaucracy and the existing backward consciousness of the workers. Superradicalism in words, opportunism in deeds. ■

Continued from page 12

PSP Conference

Socialist Workers Party sat at the presiding table, as well as representatives of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (Young Lords), the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), El Comité, the Black Workers Congress, the *Guardian*, the Revolutionary Union and Workers World Party.

The PSP reaffirmed its traditional position of calling for a "patriotic front" of all Puerto Rican independence forces, including in this the bourgeois PIP. A resolution called for concrete united actions around such issues as political prisoners and stated that "the independence of Puerto Rico as a preliminary step to the construction of socialism must be the object of all the solidarity and support which the Puerto Rican anti-imperialist organizations can muster. . . ."

The resolution on the U.S. left defined the main problem as "sectarianism" and lack of unity:

> "The proliferation of sects and mini-groups, which spend so much of their time and energy attacking other groups shows the incapacity of a single organization or party to hold hegemony over the U.S. left. Another cause of sectarianism is the practice of many organizations to take positions on international questions instead of organizing concretely among the masses."

The resolution calls for eliminating sectarianism by fomenting a genuine ideological debate, unity on specific actions on the basis of non-exclusion of organizations agreeing with the objectives of the specific actions, bases for unity of the left forces, including the establishment of "the right of cultural expression of the third world forces in the U.S., as long as this is progressive, i.e., that it does not contradict the development of the class consciousness of those sectors."

Juan Mari Bras, PSP secretary-general, addresses congress.

Defeat Nationalism and Reformism!

The Spartacist League intervened at the conference to pose the Leninist alternative to nationalism and reformist class-collaboration. A leaflet distributed by the SL called "For an Independent and Socialist Puerto Rico Through Proletarian Revolution." Rejecting the bourgeois nationalism underlying the idea of a Puerto Rican nation inside the U.S. and the PSP's alliance with the bourgeois nationalist PIP, the SL concluded that Puerto Rican workers in the U.S. "can make their greatest contribution to world socialist revolution by building a single, unified vanguard party in this country, which would represent the class interests of all U.S. workers, whether white, black or Spanish-speaking. To organize Puerto Rican workers in the U.S. into a separate party can only divide the class. . . ."

The leaflet also polemicized against the reformist theory of two-stage revolution (independence first, socialism later), counterposing the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution:

> "The struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico can be carried through to success only under the leadership of the working class struggling in its own class interests, that is, for socialism."

In contrast to the principled intervention of the SL, the various fake-left groups which graced the presiding platform during the congress all support the completely anti-Leninist policy of multi-vanguardism, which rejects the Leninist strategy of a proletarian party struggling to unite all the exploited and oppressed. These opportunist tendencies reinforce the divisions among the class by posing separate "revolutionary" parties for the blacks, for the Puerto Ricans, for the women, etc. Likewise, they support the demand for "cultural autonomy" and the idea that nationalism and socialism are compatible.

Lenin, polemicizing against the Jewish Workers' Bund, said about such theories:

> "The slogan of national culture is a bourgeois. . .fraud. Our slogan is: the international culture of democracy and of the world working-class movement . . . . The place of those who advocate the slogan of national culture is among the nationalist petty bourgeois, not among the Marxists.
>
> "Take a concrete example. Can a Great-Russian Marxist accept the slogan of national, Great-Russian culture? No, he cannot. Anyone who does that should stand in the ranks of the nationalists, not of the Marxists. . . .
>
> "The same applies to the most oppressed and persecuted nation—the Jews. Jewish national culture is the slogan of the rabbis and the bourgeoisie, the slogan of our enemies. . . .
>
> "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world. . . . In advocating the slogan of national culture and building up on it an entire plan and practical programme of what they call 'cultural-national autonomy,' the Bundists are *in effect* instruments of bourgeois nationalism among the workers."
>
> —*Critical Remarks on the National Question*, 1913

The "Marxism-Leninism" of the PSP and its opportunist friends bears no resemblance to authentic Marxism-Leninism. The only political tendency which continues the revolutionary heritage of the Bolsheviks is Trotskyism. The PSP stands, not for Leninism, but for nationalism. The slogan of the "democratic revolution of national independence" leads straight to a new oppression of the Puerto Rican workers by their "own" bourgeoisie. Comrades, this was the slogan of the Social Democrats Scheidemann and Noske in 1919 as they called on the bourgeois police to gun down the revolutionary Berlin workers! This was the slogan with which Stalin delivered the Chinese Communists into the embrace of the "anti-imperialist" Chiang Kai-shek, who turned around and murdered thousands of militant workers in the Shanghai Massacre of 1927!

Only a resolute struggle for the Marxist program of proletarian internationalism and permanent revolution can defeat the forces of bourgeois reaction. The defeat of the reformist agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement and of their policies of cultural autonomy, multi-vanguardism and two-stage revolution, is a vital task for all who would hope to deliver the exploited masses from capitalist oppression. ■

SL FORUM

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

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HELENE BROSIUS
SL Central Committee Member
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Boston University

Speaker:
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Social Democrats Raise Heads in NMU Elections

At the half-way point of the two-month NMU election, seamen are being treated to a sight not seen for many years, the Curran machine actually concerned about getting votes. While the bureaucracy has always herded the ranks into the voting booths in order to present a facade of "overwhelming support" for the dictator, this time they are doing more than handing out cards and plastic wallets. They are actually issuing campaign leaflets, many of them mentioning oppositionists by name.

Part of the concern of the "Curran-Wall Team" is the play given by the bourgeois press to the liberal oppositionist Morrissey, but their main worry is the widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks which could lead to a heavy vote for oppositionists. Many officials actually stand a chance of losing office. In a demagogic effort to counter the pervasive dissatisfaction with an ossified, self-serving bureaucracy, the NMU leaders are now even appealing to seamen's class instincts: recalling the union's militant history, attacking Morrissey for using anti-labor laws and the courts against the union. The hypocrisy is obvious, as Curran has opposed any show of militancy for years, uses cops and goons on oppositionists, etc. But then, as the saying goes, hypocrisy is the tribute which vice pays to virtue, and under pressure these corrupt agents of the bosses are forced to "discover" traditions of labor militancy in order to avoid complete repudiation.

James Morrissey, the opportunist "reform" candidate, has continued to build his campaign on grandstanding for the bourgeois press. Almost all of his leaflets are simple reprints of glowing editorials or interviews from one or another capitalist paper. His major coup has been winning the endorsement of Arnold Miller, the recently elected head of the United Mine Workers. The tie to Miller was achieved through Joseph Rauh, the liberal lawyer and chief organizer/fund raiser for Miller's "Miners for Democracy" campaign, now attempting to do the same with Morrissey.

Morrissey in the past has made a name for himself primarily by taking the NMU to court and promoting government control of the union, just as did Miller and his caucus in the UMW. In a press conference on 29 March, Morrissey went to some length reassuring the press that he "doesn't want to change the world, just the NMU." Asked what he would do about the dwindling number of seamen's jobs, he replied that he would do "whatever was necessary to get results [i.e., asking the government to tax run-away fleets], limited to peaceful means, of course.... I'd even jump up and down on the White House lawn!" One can bet that that is just about the most militant thing he *would* do.

At the same conference, Miller, expressing the same reformist politics as Morrissey, stated that "labor should not tolerate wage controls unless they are equitable," meaning, of course, that labor *should* tolerate control of wages by the bosses' government provided they go through the motions of a bogus price control. Asked about a labor party, Miller replied that "labor has to support the best candidate available," meaning rewarding labor's "friends" among the capitalist politicians.

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus, an oppositionist group in the NMU based on a class struggle program, issued a leaflet exposing the Miller-Morrissey link-up:

> "All Morrissey wants is to reform Curran's operation, *but not change it*. What Miller did in the Miners Union is a good example: As soon as he got into office he tried to kill rank-and-file militancy and wildcat strikes, telling the miners that they must live up to Boyle's rotten, sellout contract that was shoved down their throat[s] *(United Mine Workers Journal*, February 15, 1973, No. 3, pp. 9 and 24).... Arnold Miller's support to Morrissey comes as no surprise since their tactics are identical: reliance on the big business controlled press, appeals to the Labor Department and the federal courts, and financial support from sources outside the labor movement. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus demands that internal union affairs be settled by the union membership, not by government agents in the labor movement." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Beacon* supplement, 2 April 1973

The involvement of Miller and Rauh in the Morrissey campaign is part of a more widespread involvement of the social democracy in the labor movement of late. Rauh, former chairman of the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, is also linked to James Wechsler, who has been virtually a publicity agent for Morrissey on the *New York Post*. Morrissey has also received extensive coverage and support from Herman Benson, editor of the SP's unofficial labor bulletin, *Union Democracy in Action*. Benson is a former Shachtmanite who later entered the Socialist Party.

Up to now the social democrats have relied primarily on their members and supporters who are leading bureaucrats in several unions. But as the encrusted old bureaucracies assembled by Patofsky (ACWU), Dubinsky (ILGWU), Reuther (UAW), etc., are becoming totally isolated from and unable to control the ranks of labor as the capitalist economic crisis deepens, these "socialist" guardians of the bourgeois order will increasingly find it necessary to more actively woo the restive ranks, including even building "rank-and-file" movements which are, of course, tied in advance to the liberal establishment. What this would mean for the unions can be inferred from the Socialist Party's long-time connection with the CIA, a by-product of the rabid anti-communism which led the SP to support U.S. aggression in Vietnam!

The NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus, running Gene Herson for president, has continued its campaign maintaining a firm, principled working-class orientation. In a special interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Herson said that the Caucus has been conducting campaign tours to every major port in the U.S., as well as to Panama and Puerto Rico, and has been received with great interest.

A summary of the Caucus program calls for "two crews alternating on each ship and a 4-watch system to make more jobs and cost of living base pay and pensions. Meeting the seamen's needs will require reorganizing the industry by nationalizing shipping, without compensation, under seamen's control; maintaining full trade union rights. Fight runaway shipping by organizing foreign seamen into an international maritime union. NMU seamen must link up with the rest of labor for a workers party and a workers government" (press release, 2 March 1973).

The Caucus also raises the demand for nationalization of the Panama Canal without compensation, under workers control, but warning Panamanian workers that anti-imperialism must be combined with international working-class solidarity, or else it could be coopted by local capitalists. The Caucus call for organizing internationally in particular includes Panamanian seamen and canal workers. For all non-maritime shoreside workers the Caucus proposes complete autonomy, deciding themselves on affiliation to other unions if they wish; pay and benefits equal with U.S. seamen, especially in Puerto Rico and Panama (where wage scales are lower); and emphasizing the right to strike, since many shoreside workers are employed on government or military installations.

In contrast to the lavish coverage for the fake "reform" candidate Morrissey, the bourgeois press, not surprisingly, has virtually boycotted the Herson candidacy. But the same is true of various supposedly socialist papers, such as the Workers League's *Bulletin*, the International Socialists' *Workers' Power* and the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant*. All support Morrissey and his brand of labor reformism. The fact that they do not even mention Herson and the Militant-Solidarity Caucus is no accident. To do so would expose their socialist pretensions for what they are, a cover for craven capitulation before aspiring bureaucrats, claiming as an excuse that Morrissey and his Labor Department-bourgeois press-social democratic operation is the only alternative. They aren't. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus, with its class struggle program, gives seamen the first chance in decades to vote against the bosses and their agents in the unions, for a leadership that fights for the independence of the workers from the capitalist class and their state. ■

Militant-Solidarity Caucus distributing campaign literature outside NMU hall.

PSP Nationalists Hold U.S. Conference

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) held the first congress of its "U.S. zone" in New York City early last month. The closing session was attended by approximately 1,500 people, in spite of inclement weather, indicating the rapid growth of the PSP in the last year. The congress approved the Political Declaration of the U.S. zone and a number of resolutions, notably on unity of Puerto Rican independence forces and relations with the U.S. left.

The congress also marked the consolidation of the PSP as the major leftist force in the Puerto Rican communities of the U.S. and a step on the road to becoming a mass reformist social democratic party.

A Nation Within a Nation?

In the public sessions PSP spokesmen concentrated on elaborating their view that Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are not a national minority but an integral part of the Puerto Rican nation itself. As a consequence they should be organized not as members of a single vanguard party in the U.S., but rather as part of the PSP.

The Political Declaration approved at the congress was based on the conception that Puerto Ricans everywhere are part of a single nation:

> "The General Declaration of our party begins with the affirmation that 'Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation with four and one-half million citizens, 2,700,000 of whom live on the island and the rest (more than a third) are concentrated in New York and other places in the U.S.'
>
> "Thus we begin with a basic conclusion: We Puerto Ricans, whether living here or there, constitute a single nation."

In his speech at the closing session on 8 April, Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the PSP, maintained that the "single Puerto Rican nation" is marked by "a cohesive identification of our national being" defined in part by linguistic and cultural characteristics. The tremendous immigration to the U.S. was part of a plan of "national genocide" characteristic of the 75 years of Yankee colonialism. As a consequence, "The conquest of independence for the fatherland has priority, in order to safeguard the nation."

Mari Bras argued that achievement of Puerto Rican independence would be a blow to U.S. imperialism, which has made the island into a major military outpost in the Caribbean, a "super coaling station" for U.S. efforts to suppress the struggles of Latin American peoples for national liberation. In his presentation of the Political Declaration, Ramón Arbona, first secretary of the U.S. zone, declared that there will be no revolution in the U.S. without previous independence in the colony.

Asking militants to read, discuss and dispute the program of the PSP, Arbona declared that:

> "...all Puerto Ricans suffering from imperialism are part of the nation.... We are not a national minority with ties to the nation, but part of the nation itself.... To talk about Puerto Ricans in the U.S. as a national minority in the U.S. forgets that in that sense Puerto Rico itself would simply be a national minority."

He called for "unleashing the national liberation struggle in the U.S. cities."

Arbona did, however, add that "we must participate in the revolutionary process in the U.S.":

> "We cannot have real independence in Puerto Rico until after eliminating the social oppression and exploitation of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. But this is not possible without socialism in the U.S."

The U.S. must be restructured to safeguard the rights of national minorities, he continued. The Puerto Ricans must link up with other sectors of the population who are equally oppressed.

In his speech at the opening of the congress on 30 March, Mari Bras linked this view of a "single Puerto Rican nation" to the PSP's "original contribution to Marxist-Leninist science," namely, the creation of a semi-autonomous section of their party in the U.S.

The PSP and the U.S. Left

One of the important decisions of the congress was an attempt to formalize the PSP's relations with the U.S. left. In the past the PSP has had loose links with the International Socialists and the National Caucus of Labor Committees. At this congress, a representative of the Political Committee of the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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MARXIST WORKING-CLASS BI-WEEKLY OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

Number 20
11 May 1973

NO-STRIKE PACT IN STEEL

For Trade Union Independence and Workers' Internationalism!

Under pressure from the most serious inflation since the Korean War and a consistently precarious balance of payments position—the giant U.S. corporations are enlisting their allies in the labor movement—the trade-union bureaucracy—in the effort to completely subordinate the most basic interests of the workers and *the trade-union organizations themselves*, to the hapless task of saving American capitalism. Predictably, the trade-union "leaders" are performing like willing servants.

This is the meaning of the recent no-strike pact between the United Steelworkers (USWA) and major steel companies. Defended explicitly in terms of better enabling the companies to meet foreign competition and avoid the "disruption" of work stoppages, the special four-year deal bans a strike over the Steelworkers' next national contract and sets a precedent which is being eagerly pushed by all the big monopolies and their government. "This is the beginning of a new era in labor-management relations in the United States," crowed USWA president I.W. Abel after signing the deal.

Abel Gives Up Right to Strike for $150

Under the terms of this agreement, steelworkers will get a minimum of 3 percent yearly wage increases, plus extension of a grossly inadequate cost-of-living allowance, in exchange for agreeing in advance not to strike for anything more! In this context, Abel's promise to "fight" against any ceiling on the cost-of-living allowance is simply a joke. Issues not agreed on in the bargaining will be submitted to an arbitration board controlled by supposedly neutral "public" members. (In fact, such "independents" almost invariably side with management, accepting the bosses' line that "high wages" cause inflation and strikes are "harmful to the public interest." Whether they are appointed by the capitalist government or are "respected individuals," arbitration boards represent the "national interest" of the tiny minority of the owners against the interests of the vast majority of the public, who are workers.) Likewise, while wage increases could go above this minimum, they will without a doubt be kept below the government's 5.5 percent wage control "guideline." To sweeten this foul-tasting deal steelworkers are to receive a one-time candy bonus—of a miserable $150! Combined with the 3 percent minimum wage increase, this works out to a pitiful 15 cent/hour raise, in exchange for labor's right to strike!

Local steel unions will have the right to strike over local issues, but both union leaders and management point out openly that such strikes will of course be isolated and have "minimal effect" on the industry! This means that such crucial issues as speedup, layoffs and working conditions will simply be left as prerogatives of management, which is exactly where the companies want them.

The USWA bureaucracy has a sorry history of leading the trade-union aristocracy as a whole in subordinating the interests of the rank and file to capitalism. Steelworkers have never had the right to ratify contracts negotiated for them by their "leaders." (Approval of the present pact was made by the 600 officials of the Basic Steel Industry Conference.) This conformed to founding president Philip Murray's attitude toward union democracy, as expounded at the first USWA convention: "I do not want this convention to waste a single solitary moment of its time discussing, by resolution or otherwise, internal differences of any description." True to his heritage, Abel helped push along the employers' "productivity" drive in 1971 with a special joint union-management committee to "promote orderly and peaceful relations with employees and achieve uninterrupted [!] operations in the plant," i.e., using union officials to keep the workers in line. In accord with the bourgeoisie's current offensive of jingoistic national chauvinism, Abel produced jointly with the steel companies a film, "Where's Joe?" which justifies layoffs as the result of loss of business to foreign competition because of the threat and fear of strikes.

Precedent for Labor Peace

While the USWA bureaucracy has been selling out the membership for decades, the no-strike pact represents a new step toward full subordination of the unions to the state in the interests of imperialism. "We hope what Steel has done will encourage others," said David Cole, chairman of Nixon's National Commission for Industrial Peace (NCIP), which is pushing similar arbitration schemes in trucking, maritime, construction, food retailing, auto and "defense." The *New York Times* (22 April 1973) proclaimed, "Growth of Arbitration Appears to Point to Era of Labor Peace" and pointed to similar developments toward "cooperation" and away from "the adversary relationship" with capitalists on the part of other union officials, ranging from reactionaries such as Gleason of the ILA to noted liberals like Wurf of AFSCME. Both union bureaucrats and capitalists see the extension of so-called "voluntary" arbitration agreements as an advantage over direct government intervention, compulsory arbitration laws, etc., since the "voluntary" cover preserves the image of bourgeois democracy and "neutrality" of the state. Instead of the direct use of capitalist power, the unions themselves extend their role of disciplining the labor force in the interest of safeguarding profits and the stability of the capitalist order. This has been the preferred method of the bulk of the capitalists since the rise of the CIO in the thirties accomplished the organization of industrial workers without providing a political alternative to capitalism.

Steelworkers' Abel and U.S. Steel's Larry announce no-strike pact.

Yet while the bosses would prefer "voluntary" arbitration schemes and deals with the trade-union officialdom, they will also resort to brute force if the bureaucrats prove unable to hold down the ranks. Thus in 1971 Nixon tried to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry and broke the postal strike with the use of the National Guard. Either way, the course leads inexorably to increasing government control over the unions, until the unions have lost any semblance of independence whatsoever.

Foreign Competition

The excuse for surrendering labor's hard-won right to strike is the increasing threat posed to U.S. capitalism by its increasingly powerful economic rivals in Europe and Japan. The labor bureaucracy's policy has always been one of partnership in U.S. imperialism, but in the past this has been based on the expansion and dominance of American power in the world economy. As U.S. hegemony disappears and its competitive position is weakened, the

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Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam **Part II**

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NEW AUGUST BLOC— VNL/CSL Form Anti-Spartacist League

Pursuing its characteristic policy of unprincipled combinationism, based primarily on hatred of the Spartacist League, Harry Turner's Vanguard Newsletter grouplet has just pompously announced a "fusion" between itself and the Class Struggle League (formerly the Leninist Faction of the SWP).

But as if bent on demonstrating anew the political axiom that the strength of a rotten bloc is inversely proportional to the political distance between its components, the process of "fusion" has merely exposed some of the inherent instabilities of the component groups.

As far as Vanguard Newsletter is concerned, Turner's headlong rush to stave off disaster by an unprincipled merger with the CSL resulted in the loss of two members of VNL's "Editorial Board." The three VNLers who split denounced "the accommodation of the majority of VNL, as led by Turner and Platsky, to the petty-bourgeois radicals of the CSL." But what was really involved here was merely the coming unstuck of a previous and equally unprincipled bloc between Turner and David Fender, along with two of Fender's associates in the former "Communist Tendency" of the SWP. This bloc had apparently been superseded by an alliance between Turner and Henry Platsky, the latter, along with two supporters, having found a home in VNL after leaving the Marcyite Workers World grouping and then the "New York Revolutionary Committee."

The CSL, which "fused" with VNL at a conference in late April, represents most of the leadership and perhaps half of the supporters of the former Leninist Faction of the SWP. In order to achieve this merger with VNL, the CSL underwent no less than three splits—the "Revolutionary Socialist Faction" which spun off in the direction of pure anti-Leninist syndicalism; the "Revolutionary Workers Faction" which bases itself on the 1921 Workers Opposition; and one additional comrade who became the tenth member of the former LF to join the Spartacist League.

VNL Revolving Door

For Turner, this is only the latest in a series of unstable combinations which have been his trademark since his departure from the Spartacist League in 1969. Drawn through cranky impatience into the Ellens faction in the SL, Turner served as an "orthodox" cover for this syndicalist, state-capitalist, pro-black nationalist grouping until the Ellens group precipitously split from the SL, contemptuously neglecting even to inform Turner in advance. For Turner—who had pretensions to being the head of this semi-undergroundist, workerist tendency—this was his first experience of a full-blown rotten bloc. He has continued to recapitulate the same pattern ever since, with similar disastrous consequences.

Humiliated by the split of "his" faction, Turner resigned from the SL, pulling along behind him his one supporter (long-time personal friend Hugh Fredericks). After a brief period of chasing the Labor Committee of L. Marcus and then shamelessly grovelling after G. Healy of the British SLL (see *WV* No. 11, September 1972), Turner and VNL settled down to pursuing his one real aim: vengeance against the Spartacist League.

The years that followed saw the loss of Fredericks and the temporary collection of a few burnt-out collaborators like state-capitalist Bob Davis and Harold Robins. In exchange for belatedly and cynically endorsing the Workers League's disgraceful slander that "the SL is the fingerman for the world capitalists" and implicitly repudiating the Leninist attitude toward work in the armed forces over the case of one Robert Sherwood, Turner briefly picked up the "Labor Action Committee" of Canada which Sherwood founded.

This proud acquisition was speedily dissipated when Turner, Sherwood and the Communist Tendency of the SWP were drawn into a fusion scheme which involved orienting to the French OCI. The fragile bloc promptly blew apart in a frenzy of hilarious organizational bickering, from which emerged again the three components, somewhat reshuffled: Robins aligned himself with the CT, which promptly liquidated into the IS; Fender came over to VNL; while Sherwood's group oriented to the OCI.

Fender and his West Coast supporter, Ed DiTullio, promptly became members of VNL's "Editorial Board." But they stood politically no closer to Turner than had any of VNL's previous collaborators. In addition to supporting the SWP's 1940 "Proletarian Military Policy," Fender had stood for critical support to the Liu wing of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy in the "Cultural Revolution" purge; Turner, however, had critically supported the Maoist wing. This diametrical counterposition was, of course, of no interest to these centrists, who simply avoided any further references to the issue in the pages of *VNL*!

In cementing his bloc with Fender, Turner even went so far as to publicly accuse the SL of slander for exposing Fender's bringing the cops into an argument with the Workers League in St. Louis (see *WV* No. 13, November 1972). Turner first challenged the SL to public ventilation of the issue, then sent up a smokescreen of pettifogging correspondence and finally unilaterally declared the matter closed. This incident may have contributed to the collapse of another Turnerite venture, the "Committee for Rank and File Caucuses" (a lowest-common-denominator pretense of union work), as CRFC "Secretary" Malcolm Kaufman of the "Socialist Forum" group became drawn in as Fender's de facto attorney.

Following the acquisition of Fender, Turner pulled off another "coup"—this time the recruitment of Henry Platsky, along with two supporters, originally from the Stalinist Workers World group of Sam Marcy. Platsky, who became a member of Turner's ubiquitous "Editorial Board" and has even served as VNL's international representative, still proclaims the Marcyite line of support for the Russian troops' crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution!

Turner's last conciliationist gyration before he managed to rope in the CSL was the heedless pursuit of several former members of the SL who became involved in a series of counterposed secret cliquist machinations before resigning in several little clots. Recognizing these elements as true kindred spirits, Turner in the December 1972 issue of *VNL* published a letter by ex-SL CC member David Cunningham, along with a brief VNL introduction which charged that "these and others were driven out of the SL before they could even form a faction..." (whatever that means, since not one single violation of minority rights was ever even alleged). Since that time Turner has repeatly denounced the SL for failing to publish anything in *WV* about these defectors. In fact, the onus is on Turner himself; VNL lent its meager weight to Cunningham's letter—including the statement that "we [ex-SLers] have since this summer produced several hundred pages of material"—while we have received from these individuals exactly nothing of these "hundreds of pages." We may be permitted a bit of skepticism since Cunningham, before being "forced out" of the SL, never produced a single oppositional document, not even a resignation statement! But if such material exists, it is certainly Turner's responsibility to enlighten the working class as to the views of these people, with whom he so eagerly associated himself.

Turner had clearly hoped to draw Cunningham et al. into the "fusion" but none of these people was in evidence at the conference. He did manage, however, to attract a couple of observers, including one former Workers Leaguer who has been prominently involved in circulating a pamphlet of the British anarchist Solidarity group which is devoted to the position that the suppression of the Kronstadt uprising proved that the Bolsheviks were totalitarian butchers.

Enter the LF

Meanwhile a broad, programmatically amorphous opposition had developed within the SWP, the "Proletarian Orientation" tendency. As the result of a limited struggle against the SWP leadership over the single but vital issue of an orientation toward colonization into the working class, the PO began to experience internal differentiation between an essentially SWP-loyalist wing (some of which looked toward the SWP's European allies, the United Secretariat) and more leftist elements. Components of the old PO centered in Boston and Washington, D.C. began to investigate the degeneration of the SWP and to seek the roots of this degeneration in Pabloism itself.

These elements determined on the formation of a hard faction inside the SWP, the Leninist Faction, which traced a continuity to the 1961-63 fight of the SWP Revolutionary Tendency, which later became the Spartacist League.

The LF grouping in D.C. constantly declared openly within the LF its programmatic agreement with the SL and its intention to struggle to win the LF as a whole to a perspective of principled fusion with the SL.

However, the leap from the SWP to authentic Trotskyism proved to be too much for the core of the LF leadership, scarred by its experiences with the politically rotten and organizationally bureaucratic SWP. The LF leadership had previously declared that upon leaving the SWP, the group should either be organizationally independent or fuse with the SL. The Boston and D.C. groupings had collaborated on the drafting of a Declaration of Leninist Faction implicitly politically compatible with a perspective of SL fusion (see *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972). But by the time of the LF convention held at Ashtabula, Ohio in August, the LF leadership had solidarized hard around a workerist impulse, a position of "freedom of criticism, unity in action" and a call for a "Fifth International" (see *WV* No. 14, December 1972). Each of these represented an impressionistic overreaction against the SWP.

The SWP's arrogant refusal to undertake work in the working class led the LF leadership to see proletarian implantation in moralistic terms, physical contact with the class becoming a talisman safeguarding against a petty-bourgeois line like that of the SWP. This same impulse, combined no doubt with a revulsion against the SWP's bureaucratism, led the LF leadership to reject the evolved Leninist practice of democratic centralism and to embrace Lenin's 1906 formulation, in deliberate repudiation of Lenin's later evolution and the organizational practice of the Fourth International under Trotsky. To deliberately embrace the inadequacies of Lenin's early positions—transcended in struggle through decisive historical experience such as the October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International—is to opt for a program alien to Leninism, just as do the Stalinists and social-democrats who point to Lenin's writings prior to the April Theses to justify a Menshevik policy.

The call for the "Fifth International" is based on an acceptance of the SWP-U.Sec.'s fradulent claim that they do indeed represent the continuity of the Fourth. The thrust of this position became manifest when a grouping inside the CSL demanded that the group draw the logical conclusion and go back "From Trotskyism to Marxism."

Menshevist Backsliding Codified: VNL

Unwilling to openly repudiate a perspective of fusing with the SL, the LF leadership discovered a sudden attraction for VNL and sprung on its followers a proposal to investigate fusion with VNL as well. After some four and a half months of discussion on future perspectives in which the possibility of fusion with VNL had never been raised, Phil Stein presented a motion involving such a fusion at the LF Convention at Ashtabula. After two rounds of discussion in which he was attacked for refusing to defend VNL against numerous criticisms raised, Stein insisted that be simply "was not familiar with VNL's policies." A motion also made at Ashtabula concerning a three-way VNL-CSL-SL fusion was voted down by the membership. Not to be put off, however, the CSL leadership finally announced the upcoming fusion with VNL in a public leaflet—according to the "Revolutionary Workers Faction" even before it had been announced to the CSL membership or even to the CSL National Committee (*Workers Truth*, March 1973)!

Correctly recognizing the maneuver toward VNL as a desperate expedient designed to block fusion with the SL, five LF comrades resigned from the LF at Ashtabula to fuse with the SL. As a reward for having stated openly their perspective of SL fusion and having struggled consistently to win the LF as a whole to such a fusion, these comrades were (and continue to be) denounced by the LF leadership as "SL agents." They were in fact SWP members whose political evolution led them by a series of leaps from the SWP to the PO to the formation of the LF to

WORKERS VANGUARD

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the Spartacist League.

After leaving the SWP, the remaining LF supporters founded the CSL. But their troubles were only beginning. The CSL's Minneapolis grouping of trade union economists had predictably gravitated toward VNL and the CRFC strategy (a strategy so nakedly opportunist that the LF/CSL leadership, even as it moved toward merger with VNL, was forced to repeatedly disavow it). When formal discussions between the CSL and the SL were broken off—at the initiative of the SL, as it had become obvious that the CSL leadership was absolutely opposed to a perspective of SL fusion—four additional comrades broke away to join the SL. Most of the CSL's remaining Midwestern supporters were consolidating around a state-capitalist analysis of the deformed workers states and a syndicalist orientation and were moving rapidly toward split.

The shattering of the original Leninist Faction was a significant defeat for the SL, which had hoped that a real and principled fusion with the main core of the LF would illuminate the SL as the only viable alternative to SWP reformism and U.Sec. centrism. The resignation of Comrade Enrique Ayala from the CSL brings to ten the LF comrades who have found their way to authentic Trotskyism, but the SWP-U.Sec. leadership has been aided in its ability to ignore the SL and paint the world outside Pabloist revisionism as merely a plethora of centrist sects. While the LF leadership finds VNL a convenient centrist way-station, it has already spun off most of its original followers and has dissipated the political capital won in the LF's struggle inside the SWP.

Thus the "fusion" so proudly proclaimed in VNL has already precipitated the split of two groupings from the CSL (exclusive of the three splits which have regrouped as SL supporters) and the departure of Fender and his personal associates from VNL. Yet even after this paring down, and despite abject conciliationism displayed on all sides by those who remain, the components continue to have their disagreements.

The main continuing bone of contention continues to be the question of trade-union work—which both components piously insist is the central question facing revolutionaries! Although always exhibiting an unresolved contradiction between impulses toward workerism on the one hand and toward a communist approach to work among the proletariat on the other, the LF in its trade-union document had stated categorically:

> "We do not have a 'trade union program.' We have a program—the Transitional Program. This is the program we want the trade unions to adopt. This is the program the advanced sections of the trade unions must adopt if there is to be a socialist revolution."
>
> —"The Transitional Program, the Party and the Trade Unions"

This position has now been simply abandoned. The mammoth "Tasks and Perspectives" document drafted by CSL leaders Barbara Vukovich and Phil Stein along with VNL's Henry Platsky states:

> "Unlike the SL, we know that what is involved here is a *process*. While we would prefer a situation where we could build mass caucuses on the full transitional program, such is not the situation we find today....
>
> "We must not fall into the trap of 'single-issue focus' as practiced by the SWP...nor must we fall into the 'total program' trap of the SL, which insists that nobody but purists can belong to the caucus they build, and which will not build or participate in caucuses that have less than the full transitional program."

A response to this caricature of the SL position will have to await a future issue of *WV*. Here, we will restrict ourselves to noting that a concrete demonstration of the gulf separating the SL and CSL positions is the CSL's support for Arnold Miller's Labor Department-backed "Miners for Democracy" campaign in the UMW (see *WV* No. 17, March 1973).

"Freedom of Criticism"

Concerning the various other differences in the new conglomeration, we find the same method of eclecticism and papering over. Thus the question of which International to build (the VNL calling for the Fourth, the CSL conjuring up a Fifth) has been neatly buried in a call for an unspecified "Trotskyist International." Regarding "democratic centralism," Turner has simply embraced the CSL's formulation of "freedom of criticism, unity in action," which in any case accords very well with VNL's years-long practice as a conglomeration of motley elements unwilling to struggle internally over their differences while preserving a common front externally.

Based on the syndicalist prescription that "the disputes of the party are the disputes of the class," the LF leadership adopted the position that public discussion of minority viewpoints, rather than the maintenance of discipline externally combined with full freedom of internal criticism, should be the norm in a revolutionary organization. When it was pointed out that a serious organization cannot permit its own members to propagate conflicting policies on the crucial issues facing the class, the reply was that discussion would be regulated by the Central Committee. Since the organization presumably does not distinguish between the right to raise criticism internally and externally, there is no guarantee of the rights of minorities internally except the presumed good will of the leadership.

The draft constitution of the "fused" organization carries this perversion of "democratic centralism" to its logical conclusion. In the context of fulsome protestations about how democratic the organization will be, appears the following ominous juxtaposition:

> "While the Central Committee must print and circulate to the membership any contribution submitted by any League member, the CC has the right to recommend the expulsion of any member or tendency whose stated views contradict the requirements for membership as contained in Article III."

In other words, submit oppositional documents at your own risk!

Thus, instead of recognizing the practice of expelling members for their views rather than only for specific violations of discipline as a dangerous precedent which may be justified in certain unusual cases (in our eight years of organizational existence, the SL has never had such a case), these super-democratic centrists put it forward as a virtual norm. And predictably, following the resignation of the "Revolutionary Socialist Faction" from the CSL, a document signed by the CSL Central Committee demanded the expulsion of the RSF and wrote as a justification: "It is clear that the RSF constitutes a thorough-going opponent tendency to the CSL, can only hinder the functioning of the CSL as a Leninist organization, and does not belong in the CSL." Moreover, the constitution rejects the standard Leninist practice of guaranteeing minorities proportional representation on all leading bodies, instead exhorting the membership to try and be as inclusive as possible in elections.

As an interesting highlight on what passed for "democracy" and "full free discussion" among the Turnerites, in May 1972 a letter from DiTulilo to Turner tentatively mentioned some disagreements with VNL's press, then hastened to add:

> "If you think it worthwhile for me to go into any of this more carefully, a word from you locating my attention will be sufficient—the same way you corrected me on the question of the Bolivian revolution, simply by saying you rejected my arguments, which was sufficient to get me on the correct line, in time."

United only by its rejection of Leninist principle and its hatred of the SL, the new "fused" organization faces a dim future. It denounces the SL as "student-oriented" and "filled with "members... who have no desire to enter the working class." Yet despite its workerist pretensions, it is forced to admit that the SL is its "competitor for cadres in this immediate period"!

These centrists may rest assured that the SL has no fear of such "competition." As we launch our bi-weekly newspaper and continue to deepen our implantation in industry, we have every confidence that the working class (yes, and some radical students too!) will be able to distinguish between a serious revolutionary organization like the SL and a conglomeration of burnt-out centrists. We will politically combat the pernicious opportunism of Turner-Platsky-Vukovich-Stein wherever it surfaces, be it exclusively around the edges of other radical organizations (as has been the case with VNL) or be it in the union movement. Either way, the SL will continue to go forward toward the building of the U.S. vanguard party, section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

Labor Committee Takes Anti-Communist Campaign to the Working Class

In the past several weeks, the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has been proceeding apace with its bombastic campaign to destroy the Communist Party "in six to eight weeks." In a number of hooligan attacks the NCLC managed to send a number of CP supporters to the hospital and get some of its own members knocked around as well. The CP, as was to be expected, called the cops on the Labor Committee, so the latter will now be faced with a series of court cases as a price for its stupid and disgusting thuggery.

In an editorial statement in *WV* No. 19 we stated our opposition to the use of violence in the workers movement and denounced these attacks as contrary to the Trotskyist tradition of workers democracy, wholly indefensible and anti-communist. Such methods simply play into the hands of the Stalinist CP, which has constantly used red-baiting, hooliganism and even assassination against revolutionary Marxists. The murder of Leon Trotsky is a prime example. But such agents of the bosses cannot be defeated by using their own methods, by going to the courts or using gangsterism. They must be defeated *politically*.

The anti-communist aspect of the Labor Committee campaign has become even more sharply focussed as they take their literature to the factories. The 26 April *Daily World* reports a red-baiting leaflet distributed at the Tarrytown, N.Y., GM plant, supposedly by a "UAW Committee to Stop Communism," and entitled "Stop the Pinkos." The leaflet is directed against Bill Scott, a leader of the Rank and File Committee of UAW Local 664, and contains stool-pigeon testimony from the House Internal Security Committee (HISC). It also contains a reprint of an article from the NCLC's *New Solidarity* which refers to Scott as a "CP hack."

Similarly, while passing out free copies of their newspaper at the Mahwah, N.J., Ford plant recently, NCLCers asked auto workers to "help us smash the Communist Party." This is in the context of a scurrilous anti-communist smear leaflet, quite similar to the one reported in Tarrytown, entitled "Know Your Enemies," and supposedly put out by the "Mahwah Branch of the Anti-Communist Coalition." The leaflet listed names of four Mahwah workers who were cited by the witch-hunting HISC, all of them members of the Rank and File Committee of UAW Local 906. According to a RFC leaflet, "Stop Ford Repression," shortly after the red-baiting leaflet was passed out, three of the four workers mentioned in it (plus two others) were fired on the flimsiest trumped-up charges.

Everything about these leaflets, their use of HISC data, their coordinated timing and the firings, point to a concerted attempt by the union bureaucracy to get rid of rank-and-file militants. The NCLC position in this situation is quite clear—by their despicable anti-communist campaign they aid the bureaucrats in smashing oppositionists in the union. The position of the Spartacist League is also clear: Defend the workers fired at Mahwah (Eisenberg, Haddock, Mullen and Rentas), and build a class-struggle opposition in the unions that stands solidly on the principles of workers democracy and class independence. A revolutionary struggle for class solidarity, not petty gangsterism and anti-communism, is the means to fight the CP's reformist influence. ■

Forum

Communist Approach to Trade Unions

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
SL Central Committee

Friday, MAY 25 at 7:30 p.m.

CLEVELAND

Cleveland State University
Main Classroom - Room 101

Correction

In *Workers Vanguard* No. 17, March 1973 in an article "Capital's Labor Trustee—Australian Labor Party Elected" there appears a faulty formulation on the nature of the Labor Party. After a characterisation of the Labor Party's programme as that of "responsible reorganizers of the Capitalist system," there appears the statement that the "tactic of critical support for a mass social-democratic or stalinist party is designed to exploit the contradiction between its formal program and the aspirations of its working class base on the one hand with its betrayals in practice and its traitorous, bourgeoisified leadership on the other."

The phrase "formal program" was inserted in order to denote the fact of the Labor Party's pretense of furthering the interests of the working class. As in fact it suggests that the Labor Party puts forward policies which further the interests of the working class, it was an error to use it. The contradiction embodied in the Labor Party is between its occasional pretense to stand for the working class together with revolutionary aspirations and needs of its working class base on the one hand with its betrayals in practice and bourgeoisified leadership on the other. In no sense should it be suggested that the Labor Party programme has anything in common with the interests of the working class, socialism or revolution. However, the Labor Party cannot be defeated without destroying it in the eyes of its working class base. To do this it is necessary to intersect the Labor Party, to set the base against the top with the tactic of critical support: criticism, trenchant and unrelenting, for the traitorous programme and leadership; full support for its working class base.

Spartacist League of Australia
and New Zealand
22 April, 1973

Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam

John Sharpe

Saigon Insurrection 1945

Part II

Immediately following World War II, the Stalinist and Trotskyist groups in Vietnam faced the crucial test of a revolutionary situation. The working masses rose up against the occupying imperialist powers (France, Japan and Britain), and at the same time against the landlords and the native bourgeoisie. While the Stalinists, led by Ho Chi Minh, succeeded in betraying and crushing the revolutionary upsurge, they were not able to prevent the Trotskyists of the International Communist League (ICL) from playing a heroic role during the few short weeks between their liberation from French prisons and the brutal repression of the Saigon insurrection of September 1945.

Against these Bolshevik-Leninists Ho Chi Minh resorted to the ultimate tactic of Stalinists everywhere: assassination. From Leon Trotsky, to the entire remaining Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917, to the thousands of Russian Left Oppositionists in the Siberian labor camps, to the heroic Spanish, French, German and Czech Trotskyists, to the Vietnamese supporters of the Fourth International (the ICL and the Struggle group), Stalinism carried out its murderous work. The Stalinist parasites came close to destroying the living continuity of the Marxist movement internationally, but they could not tarnish the revolutionary program of the Fourth International.

The Viet Minh in World War II

The dismissal of the French popular front government in 1938 rapidly led to the banning of the CP in France. As a consequence, beginning in September 1939 the French colonial government outlawed all socialist groups in Vietnam, throwing hundreds of supporters of the Fourth International into prison. Both the Struggle (La Lutte) group and the International Communist League were broken up by the ferocious repression.

While many members of the Stalinist Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) were also imprisoned, Ho Chi Minh and his central committee were able to obtain refuge in Kuomintang China. This was no accident, as the Stalinists supported the Allies in World War II (as did Chiang Kai-shek) and were willing to make an alliance with the Kuomintang against the Japanese. The Trotskyists, in contrast, took the Bolshevik position of revolutionary defeatism during the war, refusing to support any of the rival imperialist camps and their puppets.

Beginning in September 1940, Japanese troops occupied Indochina, while the pro-Petain colonial government remained in place. The occupation was met in the south by a large-scale peasant uprising in the Mytho region, an uprising led by Stalinist and Trotskyist forces, in November 1940. This and other abortive revolts were brutally put down by the French Foreign Legion, with more than a thousand arrests. (The Indochinese CP subsequently condemned the uprising as premature and in typical Stalinist fashion executed two of the leaders and expelled others.)[6]

In May 1941, the ICP called a congress in southern China to found the Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh (League for the Independence of Vietnam, or Viet Minh for short). The program of the Viet Minh was that of a typical popular front, saying nothing of socialism, limiting itself to "democratic" demands, such as national independence and allying itself with the Allies against Japan and the pro-Petain French colonial government. Its main demands for the exploited peasants, for instance, were reduction of rents and prohibition of forced labor and usury, with no more than a vague mention of agrarian reform.[7]

Disintegration of the Franco-Japanese Regime

On 9 March 1945 the Japanese, under tremendous military pressure in the Pacific, moved to tighten their control over Vietnam by ousting the fictitious French colonial government and disarming and interning the French troops. As a consequence of this move, however, bourgeois order began to deteriorate, allowing left wing groups to expand their activities clandestinely. The Viet Minh, which under Ho's instructions had avoided military operations up to now, established a guerilla base along the Chinese border in the north.

Meanwhile, the Trotskyists had begun to regroup. The International Communist League was reconstituted in Saigon in August 1944 with only several dozen members. However, among these were five founders of the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement, each having at least 12 years' experience of revolutionary struggle, and several experienced cadre formerly from the Hanoi section. After the March 1945 Japanese takeover, the ICL issued a manifesto calling for preparation for the imminent revolution:

> "The capitalists and feudalists who today serve the Japanese general staff will also serve the Allied imperialist states. The petty bourgeois nationalists with their adventurist policies will also be unable to lead the people to a revolutionary victory. Only the working class fighting independently under the banner of the Fourth International, can accomplish the tasks of the vanguard of the revolution.
>
> "The Stalinists of the Third International have already abandoned the working class in order to capitulate miserably before the 'democratic' imperialists. They have betrayed the peasants by no longer talking about the agrarian question. If they are marching today with the foreign capitalists, they will also aid the domestic exploiting classes to crush the revolutionary people in the coming hours.
>
> "Workers and peasants! Assemble under the banner of the party of the Fourth International!"
>
> —Manifesto of the ICL, 24 March 1945

In the meantime, the petty-bourgeois independence parties and the quasi-political religious sects were floundering without direction. The Cao Dai sect (a peasant grouping with a mystical Christian-Buddhist-Confucian ideology) had supported the French during the 1930's and then the Japanese during the war. Now, however, the leadership continued to support Japan while the ranks were openly revolting. The Hoa Hao, whose poor peasant and proletarian members were aroused by the prospect of independence, were forced to oppose the French. The Vietnamese Kuomintang, the VNQDD, while barely existing as an organized movement, had retained some support among the petty bourgeoisie because of its unsuccessful uprising in 1930 and also opposed the reestablishment of French rule.

While such bourgeois nationalist groups may oppose one or another foreign imperialist, they are not opposed to imperialism as a system, and therefore they *must* oppose the struggle of the working masses for their liberation from capitalist exploitation. It will sometimes be necessary for workers' organizations to enter into limited, essentially technical or military agreements with a section of the bourgeoisie for joint action in a particular struggle, but it is a betrayal of Marxism to form a strategic alliance or long-term bloc with *any* bourgeois formation.

However, in spite of their claim to support the program of the Fourth International, the centrist Struggle (La Lutte) group formed just such a bloc, founding the "National United Front" together with the VNQDD, the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao! This "Trotskyist"-bourgeois-feudal popular front effectively erased the class line separating exploiter and exploited. With its "democratic" program limited to national independence it was impossible to distinguish from the Viet Minh!

The August Days

On 16 August 1945 the news of the defeat of Japan reached Indochina. The following day the Japanese general staff declared the countries of Indochina (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) independent. The rapidity of the surrender surprised everyone. The Viet Minh, however, had already convened a congress which the same day formed a People's National Liberation Committee as a provisional government. Everywhere they moved rapidly to fill the governmental void, simply taking over the apparatus of the former Franco-Japanese colonial regime. Viet Minh troops rapidly occupied Hanoi without opposition from the Japanese. Seeking to avoid any appearance of revolution, the Viet Minh asked for and received the abdication of Bao Dai, the traditional emperor, who was henceforth "Supreme Political Advisor" of the new government.

In a significant gesture, Ho drafted (together with U.S. advisors) a Declaration of Independence, which begins by quoting the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, two of the key documents of the *bourgeois* revolution. According to the Stalinist theory of revolution in stages, to call for socialism at this point would have been "premature," as the defeat of the feudalists and imperialists was the immediate task. The reality of this "theory" was revealed by Ho's appeal to the French a month earlier for independence within the French Union in "not less than 5 and not more than 10 years," and by the agreement signed in Hanoi in early 1946 which permitted the reintroduction of French troops!

In the South, events moved at a somewhat different pace due to the relative weakness of the Stalinists. On 19 August the workers of the Ban Co district of Saigon formed the first People's Committee of the South. The following day a similar committee in the Phu Nhuan district, the largest workers' district of Saigon, took over governmental power. In the countryside the peasants rose up at the same time, burning villas of the large landowners, as well as several rice mills, in Sadec province on 19 August. In the province of Long Xuyen alone more than 200 government officials and police were killed by peasants in the first days after the Japanese surrender.

On 21 August the National United Front called an independence demonstration which attracted more than 300,000 participants. The Hoa Hao and Cao Dai marched behind the monarchist flag with a delegation of 100,000. The Trotskyists of the International Communist

League represented the other main pole of attraction in the march. Behind a huge banner of the Fourth International came a series of placards and banners with the ICL's main slogans: "Down with Imperialism! Long Live World Revolution! Long Live the Workers and Peasants Front! People's Committees Everywhere! Toward the Popular Assembly! Long Live the Arming of the People! Land to the Peasants! Nationalization of the Factories under Workers Control! Toward the Workers and Peasants Government!" As the banner of the Fourth International appeared, hundreds and thousands of workers who had never forgotten the revolutionary movement of the 1930's flocked behind it, embracing old friends, fighting over who would have the honor of carrying this or that placard, saluting each other with clenched fists. In a matter of a few hours the contingent of the ICL grew to 30,000. The Cao Dai and Hoa Hao peasants, against the discipline of their leaders, applauded the banner of the Fourth International each time it passed and listened attentively to the Trotskyist orators' agitational speeches on the national and peasant questions.[8]

The Viet Minh Coup d'Etat

Faced with the growing mass upsurge, the Stalinist leadership of the Viet Minh began to move quickly to take power. Their primary tactic was to present themselves as the legitimate representatives of the victorious allies. Thus, in a Viet Minh proclamation on 23 August, Tran Van Giau, the top southern Stalinist, proclaimed: "We have fought for five years alongside the democratic allies...." The previous evening, Giau had issued an ultimatum to a meeting of the National United Front calling on is to dissolve itself and turn over its administrative posts to the Viet Minh. The next day the NUF disbanded and joined the Viet Minh. (As a crowning touch to the betrayals of the Struggle group, which had set up the NUF as a "Trotskyist" popular front, they were accorded a seat on the "Southern Committee" of the Viet Minh on 10 September 1945!)[9]

The ICL was hardly inactive during this period, setting up a printing shop, issuing bulletins to the population every three hours and forming military units as a step toward arming the workers.

But the Stalinists moved faster. At 5 a.m. on 25 August the Viet Minh carried out a bloodless coup, occupying the city hall and police stations. Behind the backs of the masses, and with the participation of the bourgeois nationalists (Hoa Hao, Cao Dai, VNQDD), the Stalinists simply took over the existing state machinery and installed a new bonapartist bourgeois regime.

Later that day the Viet Minh called a mammoth demonstration, with more than one million participants. More than 30 political associations were present, but the outstanding forces were grouped behind the Stalinists and the ICL. With the break-up of the Japanese administration, the police itself divided into two sections, the majority supporting the Viet Minh, but a minority marching behind the banner of the Fourth International! The ICL delegation was noticeably smaller (only 2,000 marchers) than in the previous demonstration but this time many ICL supporters were marching with their trade union contingents.

By this time the difference between the Trotskyists and Stalinists was posed with razor sharpness. Two days after the coup, Nguyen Van Tao, now Minister for the Interior of the Viet Minh regime, issued a menacing challenge to the ICL: "Whoever encourages the peasants to take over the landed properties will be severely and pitilessly punished....We have not yet carried out a communist revolution, which would bring a solution to the agrarian problem. This government is only a democratic [!] government, and therefore it cannot undertake this task, I repeat, our government is a democratic and bourgeois government, even though the Communists are in power."[10] One could hardly ask for more clarity!

Military Support to the Viet Minh

Faced with this bonapartist bourgeois government, the Trotskyists of the International Communist League correctly adopted the position of an anti-imperialist united front. While Stalinists and ex-Trotskyist revisionists (such as the Bolivian POR) have used this slogan as an excuse for forming a political bloc with bourgeois nationalists, the ICL had the Leninist policy of *political independence* of the workers movement from the bourgeois regime, but *military support against the imperialist* (British-Japanese-French) *forces*. While the Stalinists called for "All Power to the Viet Minh," the Trotskyists called for "All Power to the People's Committees."

Following Tao's press conference, the Viet Minh cranked up an incessant anti-Trotskyist campaign in its press, accusing the supporters of the Fourth International of sowing disorder. On 1 September Tran Van Giau declared: "Those who incite the people to arm themselves will be considered saboteurs and provocateurs, enemies of national independence. Our democratic liberties will be granted and guaranteed by the democratic allies."

While Ho Chi Minh was reading the Declaration of Independence in Hanoi, the southern Viet Minh organized a demonstration on 2 September to greet the British troops which were to arrive imminently. Late in the afternoon more than 400,000 persons joined in a peaceful demonstration proceeding to the Cathedral. As a priest known as sympathetic to the Vietnamese was speaking from the steps of the Cathedral, shots rang out and he was killed. The crowd ran for cover, but more than 150 were wounded in the shooting which followed. The situation developed into a generalized riot, with attacks on French colons suspected of responsibility for the criminal attacks on the demonstration. A number of French were arrested, but then immediately released the next day by the Stalinist police chief Duong Bach Mai, who issued a statement "deploring" the "excesses."

In response to the events of 2 September the Stalinists and Trotskyists issued two clearly counterposed appeals. As the British troops under General Gracey were expected to arrive any day, the Viet Minh proclaimed:

> "In the interests of our country, we call on everyone to have confidence in us and not let themselves be led astray by people who betray our country. It is only in this spirit that we can facilitate our relations with the Allied representatives."
>
> —leaflet of 7 September 1945

Ho Chi Minh toasting March 1946 accords introducing French troops to North Vietnam, with General Leclerc (left) and High Commissioner Sainteny, who soon after expelled the Viet Minh government.

In contrast the ICL declared:

> "We, internationalist communists, have no illusions that the Viet Minh government will be capable, with its class collaborationist policies, of fighting successfully against the imperialist invasions in the coming hours. However, if it declares itself ready to defend national independence and to safeguard the people's liberties, we will not hesitate to aid it and to support it with all technical means in the revolutionary struggles. But in return we must repeat that we will strictly observe the absolute independence of our party with respect to the government and all the political parties, because the very existence of a party calling itself Bolshevik-Leninist depends entirely on this political independence."
>
> —communiqué of 4 September 1945

The People's Committees

Under the influence of the ICL, during the three weeks after 16 August more than 150 "People's Committees" (To Chuc Uy Banh Hanh Dong) were set up in the Nam Bo (southern Vietnam), approximately 100 of them in the Saigon-Cholon region. A Provisional Central Committee composed of 9 members (later expanded to 15) was constituted after the 21 August demonstration.

The question of the historical role of these "people's committees" is of paramount importance to revolutionary Trotskyists. In the *Quatrième Internationale* article cited earlier, "Lucien" (a Vietnamese leader of the ICL) writes: "The ICL led the revolutionary masses through the intermediary of the People's Committees.... Despite its numerical weakness, the ICL achieved, for the first time in the history of the Indochinese revolution the grandiose historic task of creating the People's Committee or Soviet."[11]

The ICL and the People's Committees did consistently call for political opposition to the bourgeoisie. Thus the People's Committees gave no political support to the bourgeois Viet Minh government, while calling for a military bloc against the invading Allies (which the Viet Minh naturally rejected, since its policy was to *greet* the Allies). The ICL called for the arming of the working masses and took practical steps to carry this out. The ICL slogans called not for a "democratic" revolution limited to national independence, but also for expropriation of industry under workers control.

Nevertheless, the very term "People's" Committee obscures the need for the independent mobilization of the proletariat as a separate class. While an alliance with the peasantry and sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie against imperialism and semi-feudal landowners is a burning necessity, this alliance must be based first of all on the independent organization of the working class. In predominantly peasant countries, indiscriminate mobilization of the "people" guarantees the domination of the unstable petty bourgeoisie over the working class. The necessary alliance of workers and peasants soviets must destroy the bourgeois state and replace it with a *workers* state.

These general considerations had an immediate practical consequence. While the People's Committees refused the ultimatums of the Viet Minh to subordinate themselves to the bonapartist regime, the *class* difference between the two powers was not always clear to the masses. The People's Committees, especially in Saigon, were essentially organs of workers power, while the Southern Committee government of the Viet Minh was a popular front regime based on the existing bourgeois state. But to the masses this appeared simply as the difference between two "people's governments," one dominated by the Stalinists, the other by Trotskyists. Between these two state powers a violent clash was inevitable but by calling for People's Committees the Trotskyists of the ICL failed to adequately prepare the masses politically for the impending battle.

Massacre of the Trotskyists

The inevitable clash soon took form. On 7 September Giau issued a decree ordering the disarming of all non-governmental organizations. All weapons were to be turned over to the Viet Minh's "Republican Guard." This affected the religious sects but also the "vanguard youth organizations" and factory-based self-defense groups led by the Trotskyists. The most important such group was the workers militia jointly organized by the workers of the Go Vap streetcar depot and the ICL. The militia issued an appeal to the workers of Saigon-Cholon to arm themselves for the struggle against the inevitable British-French invasion.

The British and Indian troops under General Gracey arrived in Saigon on 10 September. Along the road from the airport the Viet Minh had put up banners and slogans welcoming the

continued on page 6

Allies; at city hall Allied flags were flying on both sides of the Viet Minh flag. The Viet Minh "Southern Committee" sat inside doing its paper work, while the British proceeded to eliminate its power in the city. Gracey, who only a few weeks earlier had declared, "The question of the government of Indochina is exclusively French," banned the Vietnamese press, proclaimed martial law and imposed a strict curfew. All demonstrations were forbidden as was the carrying of any arms, including bamboo sticks.

On 12 September the People's Committees and the ICL issued a joint manifesto denouncing the policy of treason of the Viet Minh government. Popular discontent was seething in the workers' districts. Faced with the likelihood of insurrection, the Viet Minh moved to behead it. At 4 p.m. on 14 September Duong Bach Mai, Stalinist head of the police, sent a detachment of Republican Guards to surround the local of the People's Council which was in session at the time. Incredibly, the Trotskyists simply gave up to these butchers! In the words of the ICL account:

> "We conducted ourselves as true revolutionary militants. We let ourselves be arrested without using violence against the police, even though we were more numerous and all well armed. They took our machine guns and automatic pistols. They sacked our office, breaking furniture, ripping our flags, stealing the typewriters and burning all our papers."[12]

By this single act of cowardice, the ICL leadership sealed its own doom and that of the first Vietnamese revolution. Behind such a capitulation must have lain a serious misunderstanding of the true nature of Stalinism. It is true that during the 1930's the southern leaders of the ICP were in a long-term bloc with the Struggle group, and showed themselves to be somewhat more "leftist" than Ho. But this was only a tactical adaptation to the presence of significant Trotskyist forces. In a similar fashion the Bolivian CP agreed to form the Popular Assembly in 1971 along with the "Trotskyist" POR, but only in order to better betray it. A proof that this was only a temporary aberration is given by the Stalinists' own criticism of the southern party for its "leftist deviations... its underestimation of the Trotskyist danger and its unprincipled cooperation with the Trotskyists"[13] in the popular front period.

(Among the ICL leaders who were shot as a result of the Stalinist coup were Lo Ngoc, member of the central committee of the ICL; Nguyen Van Ky, ICL labor leader; and Nguyen Huong, young leader of the workers militia, killed by the Stalinist police in July 1946.)

By 22 September the British had sufficiently fortified their position to try an open test of strength. The British took over the Saigon jail, while the French troops of the 11th Colonial Infantry were armed. The French colons went wild later that day, arresting, beating and killing innumerable Vietnamese. During the following night French troops reoccupied several police stations, the post office, central bank and town hall, all without armed resistance.

As the news reached the working-class districts a spontaneous movement of resistance broke out. The Viet Minh opposed "violence," instead trying to obtain "negotiations" with General Gracey. In the outlying suburbs trees were felled, cars and trucks overturned and furniture piled up in the street creating crude barricades. During this time the workers' suburbs (Khanh Hoi, Cau Kho, Ban Co, Phu Nhuan, Tan Dinh and Thi Nghe) were firmly in the insurgents' hands. In some areas French were shot indiscriminately in an outburst of racial hatred, the result of 80 years of brutal colonial domination. In the center several important factories and warehouses were burned down, and the port was under continuous attack. Water and electricity were cut off completely and supplies were precarious. The following day the Vietnamese insurgents openly paraded in the main streets of the city center.

The most significant organized contingent in the insurrection was the workers militia of the Go Vap streetcar depot, a force of 60. The 400 workers of the company were well known for their labor militancy. While affiliated to the Stalinist-dominated labor federation, they refused to use the label of Cong Nhan Cuu Quoc ("Workers Saviors of the Fatherland"), and refused to carry the Viet Minh flag (yellow star on a red background), saying they would fight instead under the red flag of the workers. The force was organized into shock groups of 11 members under elected leaders, with the overall command headed by Tranh Dinh Minh, a young ICL leader and novelist formerly from Hanoi.

(Faced with the joint opposition of the Allies and the Viet Minh police, the Go Vap workers militia tried to open a line of retreat to regroup in the Plaine des Joncs area. After several battles with the French and Indian troops they reached the regroupment area, where they established contact with the poor peasants. Already having lost 20 men, and on 13 January 1946 its leader Minh, in battle against the imperialist forces, the militia was eventually overwhelmed, several of its members stabbed to death by Viet Minh bands.)

In this revolutionary atmosphere the Viet Minh Committee of the South issued its appeal: "There is only one answer—a food blockade." Futilely hoping to starve out the French (while British ships controlled the port!), Giau concentrated on negotiations with the British. A truce was announced on 1 October, but by 5 October General Leclerc and the French expeditionary force arrived and rapidly moved to "restore order" and "build a strong Indochina within the French Union."[14] The truce was the best present the beleaguered French and British troops could have received, an obscene betrayal of the insurgent masses.

While the Viet Minh continued its policy of appeasing the Allies, agreeing to allow free passage to British and Japanese troops through rebel areas, the French and Indian troops launched a general attack to the northeast, thus breaking the blockade of the city. Instead of fighting back, the Stalinists concentrated their efforts on eliminating the Trotskyists. Having eliminated the ICL and the People's Committee leadership on 14 September, they now moved on the Struggle (La Lutte) group and, surrounding its headquarters in the Thu Duc area, they arrested the entire group and interned them at Ben Suc. There they were all shot as French troops approached. Among those thus murdered were Tran Van Thach (elected a Saigon municipal councillor in the 1933 elections), Phan Van Hum, Nguyen Van So and tens of other revolutionary militants. Shortly after this the Viet Minh were forced out of Saigon.

Ho Sells Out to the French

In the North, Ho was following a similar policy of capitulating to the Allies, in this case the Chinese and French. However, the process took considerably longer than in the South, as the first Chinese troops did not arrive until late September, giving the Viet Minh time to consolidate its rule. Also, the Viet Minh had its own makeshift guerilla army in the North, and the Chinese were not actively opposed to an independent Vietnam. In line with his policy of "broadening" the coalition to include bourgeois nationalists and Catholic leaders, Ho in November ordered the complete liquidation of the Indochinese Communist Party. The Central Committee statement said that "in order to complete the Party's task... a national union conceived *without distinction of class and parties* is an indispensable factor" and that this step was being taken to show that Communists "are always disposed *to put the interests of the country above that of classes, and to give up the interests of the Party to serve those of the Vietnamese people*" [our emphasis]![15]

At this same time, however, opposition was still strong in the North. The Struggle group at this time was publishing a daily newspaper in Hanoi, *Tranh Dau* (Struggle), which had a circulation of 30,000 in late 1945.[16] A letter to the International Secretariat of the Fourth International in this period spoke of a well-organized but persecuted organization of the Struggle group in the North. Led by "Th...," former leader of the Tonkin printers during 1937-38, it held large meetings and published several books in addition to its daily newspaper. One region where the line of the Struggle group had particular success was Bach Mai. As a result of a large meeting there, Ho Chi Minh gave the order to arrest Th... and other supporters of the Fourth International. (Th... was able to escape from his Viet Minh captors and was fighting in the guerilla operations in the countryside at the time.) Already a large number of Trotskyists had perished in the resistance.[17] Eventually this group, too, was wiped out entirely by the Stalinist repression.

At this time, Ta Thu Thau, the leader of the Struggle group was in Hanoi, working on coordinating flood relief and "conferring" with Ho Chi Minh. On his way south he was arrested on the orders of the Viet Minh. Tried three times by local People's Committees, he was acquitted each time—a tribute to the Trotskyists' reputation in Vietnam at that time. Finally, he was simply shot in Quang Ngai in February 1946, on orders from the southern Stalinist leader Tran Van Giau. Gullible souls have questioned whether the wise Uncle Ho could ever have carried out such a vicious act. Such doubts are an expression of political lightmindedness, as there is no known account of Thau's murder that even suggests that he was not killed by Viet Minh forces, acting on orders. As for Ho, his only known statement on the subject was made in a conversation with the French socialist Daniel Guerin:

> "'He [Thau] was a great patriot and we mourn him,' Ho Chi Minh told me with unfeigned emotion. But a moment later he added in a steady voice, 'All those who do not follow the line which I have laid down will be broken.'"[18]

Having physically liquidated the entire leadership of the Trotskyist movement in Vietnam, Ho was now ready to conclude a "deal" with the French government (which included the Communist Francois Billoux as minister of defense!). The preliminary convention between France and the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam," signed in Hanoi on 6 March, provided among other things that "the Government of Vietnam declares itself prepared to receive the French army amicably," and for the stationing of 15,000 French troops north of the 16th parallel. The overall content of the accords was for a limited independence, within the French Union. Defending this despicable betrayal against revolutionary Trotskyist criticism, which lived on in spite of the physical extermination of the Trotskyist cadres, Ho was forced to call a mass rally in Hanoi the following day, during which he declared: "The people who are not satisfied only understand total independence as a slogan, a demand on a piece of paper or in the mouth. They do not see independence of the country results from objective conditions.... "[19] Primary among these objective conditions, of course, was the fact that the French Communist Party and Stalin were opposed to Vietnamese independence!

It was with the arrival of Allied troops that the defeat of the first Vietnamese revolution was sealed. The primary responsibility for this defeat lies clearly with Ho Chi Minh and the Stalinists who consistently sabotaged the popular uprising and murdered its leaders. Only by realizing the magnitude of this betrayal can one gauge the significance of the capitulation of the Struggle group in joining the Viet Minh, a move which led to its physical annihilation and to the generation-long war against French and U.S. imperialism. While the International Communist League demonstrated a similar underestimation of the lengths to which the Stalinists would go to eliminate revolutionary opposition, its overall policies in this period presented a clear Trotskyist opposition to the class collaboration of the Viet Minh.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

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[6] Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[7] Jean Chesneaux, *Contribution à l'histoire de la nation vietnamienne*, Paris, 1955, p. 230.

[8] Lucien [Ho Huu Thuong?], "Quelques étapes de la révolution au Nam-Bo du Viet-Nam," *Quatrième Internationale*, September-October 1947, p. 43. Much of the factual information in this section is taken from this article.

[9] Devillers, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[10] Lucien, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Pierre Rousset, *Le parti communiste vietnamien*, Paris, 1973, p. 26.

[14] "1945: The Saigon Insurrection," *Spartacist West* No. 17, 22 August 1969. Most of the details on the September insurrection come from this article.

[15] Alan W. Cameron, ed., *Viet-Nam Crisis, A Documentary History*, Vol. I, pp. 66-67.

[16] I. Milton Sacks, *Nationalism and Communism in Vietnam*, unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1960, p. 224.

[17] "Les Trotskystes au Tonkin (Lettre de Hong Kong)," *Quatrième Internationale*, January-February 1948, pp. 71-72.

[18] Quoted by Jean Lacouture, *Ho Chi Minh*, New York, p. 148.

[19] Chesneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

Continued from page 1

STEEL...

corporations are seeking to convince public opinion that, as NCIP chairman Cole put it, "now workers and management both must make sure there is a pie to divide."

However, in spite of foreign competition, increased steel productivity gained through recent modernization, coupled with the temporary advantage gained by the recent currency realignments (which have increased the price of Japanese steel), has led steel executives to predict dramatic increases in sales and profits. In fact, U.S. Steel's profits are booming already, up by 157.9 percent in the first quarter according to the company's own figures (*New York Times*, 25 April 1973).

Reformists Stress Wages

As the key bargaining year of 1973 progresses, in which contracts for over four million workers terminate, the need for a program expressing the interests of the working class on the full range of domestic and international political questions is becoming increasingly clear. No mere bread-and-butter program, no matter how militant, can answer such questions as currently face steel workers, and no "leader" whose vision is restricted to the perspective of one trade union can go beyond the "answers" of Abel.

Yet reformist trade unionists, such as the oppositional groupings in the USWA supported by the Communist Party—the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steel Workers, the Rank and File Team (RAFT) and the Lorain Save Our Union Committee—are all now working toward the local June elections on campaign platforms that do not even include rejection of the no-strike pact! The aim of all four groups is to "get progressive trade unionists elected to local leadership" (*Daily World*, 28 April 1973). Such trade-union reformists may oppose, at first, such openly pernicious deals as Abel's no-strike pledge, but their method is the same as his and their betrayals will, if anything, ultimately be more serious, since they threaten to fool more of the angry young workers whom the likes of Abel are unable to string along. Their mentors in the Communist Party wholeheartedly supported the trade-union bureaucrats' World War II no-strike pledge when the bosses and the Kremlin cracked the whip. These "progressive trade unionists" will hardly do better.

At the same time that the NSRFC talks *in general* against "cooperation" and compulsory arbitration, it invites the government into the unions as an arbiter of the labor movement's *internal* affairs: Both William Litch of RAFT and Tony Cascone of NSRFC are appealing to the Labor Department to reverse the disqualification of opposition candidates for top union offices on the "grounds" that they lacked endorsement from a sufficient number of locals. While oppositionists occasionally obtain favorable rulings from the bourgeois courts, in particularly blatant cases, this very "success" goes against the most fundamental interest of the class, its independence from the bourgeoisie and its government. To really defeat the bureaucrats and their class-collaborationist policies there is only one method—to mobilize the ranks around a program of class struggle.

Another ostensibly revolutionary grouping, the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League, has occasionally made noises about building a national opposition in the Steelworkers union. Like the CP its main emphasis is on "more." Recently it has reached the absurd heights of declaring wages to be a revolutionary issue in itself. The reformism implied by such statements has characterized the WL's relatively meager trade-union work for years. Thus its ill-starred "instant caucus" which appeared (and disappeared) in the course of the 1971 steel negotiations also stressed wages as the key, specifically its demand for a $2/hour wage increase. However, it had a few moments of embarrassment as the arch-reformist CP was pushing the same "key demand" and it was hard to distinguish the groups. But the WL's *Bulletin* could explain it all. You see:

> "Talking about $2 an hour is one thing, winning it and winning it in the first year of the contract means a perspective of war with the bureaucracy.... This means a sharp clash with the bureaucracy *and* their Stalinist allies, as the only way to build a real rank and file movement in basic steel."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 28 June 1971

A year later the "anti-bureaucracy" WL was looking to Abel for the building of a labor party in the U.S.! While the WL's 1971 program did contain a few other, subordinate, demands, its 1973 program does not even pretend to adhere to the Trotskyist transitional program. Even the demand of international working-class solidarity—especially critical in a union which tries to put over its sellouts by claiming the necessity of enhancing the position of American business vis-à-vis foreign competition—is completely ignored.

Abel's no-strike agreement, and other "voluntary" arbitration plans are mere scraps of paper which will not be able to suppress the class struggle. On the one hand stand the naked power and authority of the capitalist state before which Meany, Abel et al. cringe. On the other hand lie the power of the organized working class and the spreading rank-and-file revolt, which can overthrow both the pact and the cowardly bureaucracy which produced it. But "rank-and-file revolt" is not enough. Abel himself, and many of the local presidents who voted for his rotten deal, are themselves the product of rank-and-file revolts which, however, failed to go beyond the bounds of narrow trade unionism.

A real victory for steel workers, and all workers, requires a program which joins the individual trade unions in struggle with the international proletariat, a program which expresses, within each union, the interests of all the workers against the capitalists. A revolutionary opposition must fight consistently for trade-union independence from the state and genuine workers democracy; for nationalization of basic industry without compensation

under workers control of production; for factory committees to take working conditions, hiring, firing and layoffs out of the hands of management; for international class solidarity across all borders and against all forms of racial and sexual discrimination; for a sliding scale of wages and hours to provide work for the unemployed at no loss in pay to any worker; and for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. Only such a program, raised in steel and other unions by organized caucuses of class-conscious militants, can be a part of, and complement, the struggle of a proletarian vanguard party for the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by socialism. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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PL Night Riders...

which could unify everyone, would solve all problems *and* could be won under capitalism! Want to fight against racial discrimination, speedup, inflation, unemployment? Then fight for "30 for 40," says PL, because it solves everything.

The most notable clash between the reality of the class struggle and this reformist utopia is the question of racism. While PL makes a big issue of its "fight against racist ideology" in SDS, in the working class where it really counts it pushes the WAM program which has nothing to say about racism! While it is fine for WAM to pass abstract resolutions against racism, PL refuses to include concrete programmatic demands to fight it. The reason is quite simple: PL wishes to build the *broadest possible* movement around a single issue, just like the ex-Trotskyist SWP in the anti-war movement, and consciously wishes to avoid confronting head-on the widespread racism in the working class and the trade-union bureaucrats and would-be bureaucrats who might support "30 for 40" as an isolated demand, but never the broad program of class struggle of which it must be part. Just get people in motion—whatever brand of reformism you desire, "30 for 40" is the answer: this is PL's program for the working class.

SDS Conference: Stick to Textbooks

In contrast to the WAM conference, PL initially intended to make a show of democracy and allow other tendencies into the Students for a Democratic Society meeting, probably figuring it had little to lose in an organization which has long since given up any pretensions to revolutionary politics. However, just to make sure, they devoted approximately seven out of eleven conference hours at SDS to workshops. This tactic, justified as a way to "really involve" people, in fact was intended to keep real political struggle off the main floor.

In the workshops, the depths of PL's current single-issue sub-reformism were clearly revealed. At the workshop on "Racism and Imperialism," SL/RCY supporters charged that the SDS anti-racist textbook campaign resembled the SWP's NPAC, which seeks to unite those of all classes opposed to the war. In reply, PL leader David Levy said that there were many criticisms one could make of the SWP, but one of these was not that they built a mass movement around one demand. (Strange that PL used to say that the SWP's single-issue approach was inadequate to fight imperialism!) When an SDSer, stung by the SL criticism, argued that SDS was not and should not be organized solely around the textbooks campaign, Levy again disagreed, saying that in any situation one struggle must be primary, and in the present period that meant smashing racist ideology (for the students, of course).

While there were periodic threats of exclusion of the SL at the Saturday sessions, on Sunday morning the SL was met at the door by 30 to 40 goons armed with clubs and steel pipes and was prevented from entering. In justification of this anti-communist exclusionism, a PL speaker in the plenary said that the SL had "disrupted" two workshops with its criticism and was seeking to crush SDS. Since those two workshops had not rubber stamped PL's reformist resolutions, it was also "arranged" informally to have another session of the workshops, without the presence of revolutionary criticism, to take care of business! Thus in the end, the reformists can only resort to the cowardly Stalinist techniques of exclusionism, manipulation and open gangsterism against the communists. ■

PL Night Riders Attack Boston SL

Progressive Labor in Reformist Frenzy

SDS, WAM Exclude Communists

With *Challenge* sales drastically down, recruitment stagnating and internal demoralization, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) turned to outright gangsterism in an attempt to seal off the weekend pep rallies of its trade-union and student front groups from revolutionary criticism. In a desperate effort to keep the Spartacist League out of the conferences of both Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Workers Action Movement (WAM), held in New York on 28-29 April, the Boston PL branch went on a rampage of hooliganism in the week prior to the events, entering the homes of SL comrades, slashing tires of their cars and throwing rocks and bottles of acid through their windows.

On the night of 23 April a carload of PL members and supporters went out night-riding: At about 1 am they entered the house of one SL member on the pretext of delivering a telegram, then quickly retreated, shouting threats to physically wipe out every member of the Spartacist League. Earlier that night they had visited the home of other SLers, presumably with similar intentions of intimidation, but left as someone came to the door. The car they used was identified as the same brown stationwagon used as the SDS sound-car in Boston the following day.

The next day at Boston University, PL members Eddy Egelman and Ira Helfand and long-time supporter John Liffman attacked a Spartacist League supporter, who had earlier been a member of SDS for three years. The comrade was stopped, pushed around and a copy of *Workers Vanguard* ripped from his hand. He was warned that if the SL showed up in New York City during the conference weekend, "you'll be sorry you came." Later that day Egelman and Helfand approached another comrade, who was selling *WV* in the Boston University cafeteria, telling him that if Spartacists came to New York, SDS and WAM members would physically take them apart so that the SL press would have to come out in technicolor to reflect the blood.

On 25 April, the SL issued a leaflet exposing these gangster tactics and distributed it at an SDS forum at Boston University. That night, one of the SLers who had received a threatening visit from PL two days earlier, returned home to find a carload of PLers waiting for him. Later that night all of the tires on his car were slashed. A few minutes after that "visit," several rocks, one of them wrapped with the Spartacist League's leaflet, were thrown through the window of another comrade's bedroom, accompanied by a bottle of butyric acid. Only because no one was at that moment sleeping in the room was serious injury avoided. Some time that same night other comrades living in another part of the Boston area, had the tires on their car slashed also.

Finally, on 26 April, Egelman blocked the car of an SL/RCY supporter with his own and, bragging about the previous night's rampage, yelled, "you haven't seen anything yet."

WV PHOTO

Rocks thrown by PL thugs into Boston SLers' home along with buteric acid.

Since that time, PL has taken up a disgusting two-faced policy of self-righteously denying the events to the public, while sneakily admitting and "justifying" this hooliganism to their friends. At the SDS convention the SL allegations of gangsterism were denounced as "lies and slander." In Boston, several PL members who were approached appeared to be genuinely unaware of these events! But meanwhile, PLer Ira Helfand brazenly acknowledged the midnight rides to a mutual contact, saying they were necessary to intimidate the SL from attending the SDS/WAM conference.

This slinking deceitfulness and blatant disregard for workers democracy is absolutely impermissible in the socialist movement! We have made serious charges of gangsterism against well-known PL members and the organization itself. These allegations are backed up by written affidavits from SL members and unaffiliated individuals who witnessed the events in question. We believe that every serious working-class tendency opposed to gangsterism in the workers movement and to calling the cops against other socialist groups will agree that a workers commission of inquiry must be formed to ruthlessly pursue the truth in this matter, in order to put an end to this despicable thuggery within the left.

WAM Conference: "30 for 40" Solves Everything

Outside the hall at the Workers Action Movement conference, SL/RCY supporters distributed a leaflet entitled "WAM: Militant Reformism," which said in part:

> "The three-point WAM program (30 for 40; support other workers' struggles; for democratic unions) makes no mention of the need to struggle against racial and sexual oppression and imperialism, the demand to expropriate basic industry (without compensation) under workers control and to build a workers party to fight for a workers government. Because these key demands that link the struggle against unemployment to the need to end capitalism are absent from WAM's program, it can easily be misled by the labor bureaucrats and even the capitalist politicians themselves, such as liberal Democrats."

The conference turned out to be little more than a pep rally to pick up sagging morale. The conference site itself was kept a secret, and any known or suspected members of other tendencies were excluded, including some who had pre-registered. When the issue of the exclusion of other left tendencies was raised inside the conference, a PLer justified this anti-democratic procedure by saying they had business to do, instead of "listening to the Trots."

The atmosphere in the conference was wholly in keeping with the reformism of the WAM program. Hardly anyone ever mentioned taboo subjects like revolution or socialism, although PLers occasionally made sly hints at "taking care of the bosses once and for all," which is presumably their current codeword for the unmentionable. (And this coming from a group which once insisted that the key to fighting revisionism was for everyone to be "open communists" in the unions; now they can't even be open communists in their own front group!)

In a significant confirmation of our predictions that slick bureaucrats could move to coopt WAM because of its low-level reformist program, the keynote speech stated that it is possible that "30 for 40" will be taken over by the bureaucrats, in which case WAM would have to fight even harder. In contrast to this apolitical "we fight harder" approach, the SL calls for the formation of caucuses based on the Transitional Program, including demands which start from the present conditions and immediate needs of the working class today and point directly to the need for the independent political mobilization of the proletariat for socialist revolution, such as workers party and workers government.

While a number of independents brought up different reforms they wished to fight for, PL simply counterposed "30 for 40" as the super-reform,

continued on *page 7*

Maritime Bureaucrats Scab on Shell Strike

NMU Insurgents Fight for Labor Solidarity

The American labor movement is infamous for its lack of elementary trade-union solidarity. Unions regularly scab on each other in "jurisdictional" disputes and sell out each other's strikes in the interest of short-term, bureaucratic advantage. Sometimes this reaches the level of a full-scale assault to destroy another union, as the Teamsters are now engaged in against the United Farmworkers in California.

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union is fighting to replace this policy with one of labor solidarity based on class-struggle policies. The caucus is exposing and attempting to reverse the Curran/Wall NMU bureaucracy's policy of ignoring the oil workers' strike against Shell Oil. The bureaucrats have been forcing seamen to scab on the oil workers by manning tankers carrying Shell oil.

This is not the first time the bureaucracy has scabbed on other workers, the caucus points out. In a special supplement (13 April 1973) to its paper, the *Beacon*, entitled, "Stop the Scabbing, Support Shell Strikers," the M-SC charged that NMU officials allowed scab grapes on NMU ships during the California grape strike, thereby helping lay the groundwork for the Teamsters' current strike-breaking offensive, and refused to halt oil on NMU ships during the 1971 oil workers' strike. As part of its effort to get the membership to reject this contemptible "policy" (members usually are not aware of the nature of the cargo on a ship until after they sign on), the caucus conducted a special mailing of its *Beacon* supplement to all NMU tankers, according to *Beacon* editor Gene Herson.

At the April New York port meeting, Militant-Solidarity Caucus members called for giving the "hot cargo" (refusing to handle) treatment to all Shell products in the following resolution:

> "... *whereas* our union officials are shipping jobs on tankers which are breaking the Shell strike, forcing NMU seamen to transport Shell products and thereby assist the Shell Oil Co., and
>
> "*whereas* this strikebreaking violates the most basic principle of labor solidarity, while denigrating the name of the NMU, be it therefore
>
> "*resolved*, that the port of New York membership, at this monthly meeting call for a complete and total halt to the movement of all Shell products on NMU contract vessels and demand that the National Office direct all NMU crews to 'Hot Cargo' Shell Oil."

"Electioneering"

The resolution was ruled out of order by the chairman of the meeting on the absurd grounds that it constituted "electioneering," since voting is now in progress for all NMU offices and the Militant-Solidarity Caucus is running Herson as a candidate for president (see *WV* No. 19, 27 April 1973). The chairman objected to any mention of the caucus name, as if the M-SC, which has existed since 1970, and before that under the name West Coast Committee for NMU Democracy, were nothing more than a temporary electoral bloc.

The behavior of the caucus, however, is counterposed to precisely the kind of electioneering and opportunist politics which normally accompany campaigns for office in the unions, including the campaigns of the other candidates for NMU president. The caucus is asking members to vote *only* for its candidate for president, rather than a complete slate composed of many different elements, in order to underline the importance of a vote for an alternative, class-struggle program rather than simply new individuals.

None of the three other "opposition" candidates to Joe Curran's hand-picked successor, Shannon Wall, has made the slightest effort to denounce the scabbing of the NMU bureaucracy in the oil strike. James Morrissey, the opportunist darling of the social-democrats, liberal lawyers and news commentators, refused to take a position when directly challenged by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus. The other two have been noticeably unavailable for comment.

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus is distinguished by its full political program, which includes nationalization of shipping without compensation under workers control; international organization rather than the social patriotism of Curran and Morrissey in response to "runaway shipping"; opposition to imperialist wars, racial and sexual discrimination and government intervention in the labor movement; and for a workers party to fight for a workers government. Such a program, which represents the interests of the international working class, requires a complete break from the "militant" trade unionism of Morrissey and the ostensibly revolutionary organizations—Communist Party, International Socialists, Socialist Workers Party, Workers League, etc.—all of which adapt to "bread-and-butter" unionism. ■

PROGRAM FOR POWER

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢
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Class Struggle Heats Up in France

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES

After March elections Pompidou regime remains unstable; 40,000 Renault workers strike. French workers must place no confidence in popular-front Union of the Left. Broaden strikes to demand workers government!

Since the legislative elections in early March, the French working class has returned to active mobilization in the streets and in the factories, putting an end to the bureaucratic truce imposed by the Communist Party and the CP-led labor federation (the CGT) during the campaign period. In a series of mass demonstrations, French youth have demanded the return of draft deferments for students and their extension to all youth, while immigrant workers at the key Renault-Billancourt plant struck for a reclassification of job categories to eliminate the systematic discrimination in pay directed against foreign workers.

In spite of the temporary reprieve won by Pompidou as a result of the ultra-respectable electoral campaign of the Union of the Left, the Pompidou regime is fundamentally unstable. At any time, a vigorous and determined leadership of strike and youth struggles could lead to a massive working-class mobilization. Evidence of this is provided by the massive 9 April Paris demonstration against militarization of the youth and by the 50,000 participants in a spirited May Day march in spite of driving rain.

Under these circumstances, the issue of a workers government is just as immediate as during the legislative elections. No partial struggle, whether strikes for a higher minimum wage and for equal pay for foreign workers, or demonstrations against the elimination of draft deferments, can hope to achieve lasting results without a perspective of overthrowing the reactionary bourgeois regime. The political struggle against the new popular front, the Union of the Left, and its Common Program must continue as a central focus of revolutionary activity.

The Renault Strike

Foreign workers are a major component of the industrial work force of most of the advanced European countries. In France today, roughly 20 percent of industrial workers are immigrants. The system of imported labor was made necessary by the labor shortage during the 1960's and provides certain conveniences for the capitalists. Immigrant workers are denied the vote, participate far less frequently in the workers parties and the trade unions, frequently cannot read French—in other words, they are largely cut off from the political process. To this has recently been added the ability of employers to deport troublesome immigrant workers. This is one of the practical effects of the 1972 Fontanet-Marcellin regulations which replaced work permits with labor contracts.

Traditionally, the major labor unions and workers parties have largely ignored the foreign workers and in particular have not fought against discriminatory job classifications. While the Common Program of the Union of the Left makes some polite noises about improving the legal situation of immigrants, the Communist Party opposes giving the vote to immigrant workers, and when the Fontanet-Marcellin regulations were issued the CP commented that this would help reduce illegal immigration!

The question of immigrant workers was posed sharply beginning in late March as roughly 400 semi-skilled workers in the stamping department of the Renault plant near Paris walked off the job demanding a reclassification of job ratings to provide equal pay for equal work. (Until then there had been three different scales for the same job in the same department.) Most of the workers in the stamping department are foreign, and they are concentrated in the lowest classifications. In the initial negotiations the CGT and Renault agreed on a wage increase, but maintained the discriminatory job classifications. When the workers refused to accept the CGT proposal, the company tried a different tack and locked out thousands of workers in "technical layoff," hoping, of course, that antagonisms would develop toward the immigrant workers. By 18 April 40,000 Renault workers had been locked out.

The result was quite the opposite: Instead, the locked-out workers supported the strike of the semi-skilled workers (OS, for *ouvriers spécialisés*), adding the demand that all workers be paid for the time lost due to the lockout. In addition, the OS and immigrant workers from other factories joined in the 9 April demonstration for draft deferments and, for the first time in years, participated in the May Day march.

French workers must demonstrate their commitment to proletarian internationalism by fighting for full legal rights for immigrant workers, for their integration into the trade unions, for the elimination of the labor contract and work permit systems of police control and for equal pay for equal work. (To organize the foreign workers into the vanguard party and the unions would almost certainly require special organizational means, such as special

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Trade Union Tactics and the Transitional Program

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Part IV
Those Who Revile Our History
Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam

PL Finds Road to Bureaucrats

The Spartacist League has said for some time that the campaign for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay being conducted by the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its trade-union front group, the Workers Action Movement (WAM), is purely reformist and could be easily co-opted by left-talking bureaucrats. Now this has been confirmed by PL itself! But instead of seeing this as proof of the necessity for a programmatic struggle against the bureaucracy, PL/WAM is unable to come up with anything except an apolitical "we fight harder" policy.

In the keynote address to the recent WAM convention (28 April), "30 for 40" is simply presented as the "super reform" which will solve everything:

> "30/40 is the single demand that WILL HELP US WIN *ALL OTHER DEMANDS* ...30/40 will help us win higher wages and smash the wage freeze because... 30 hours work for 40 hours pay BY DEFINITION means a higher hourly wage....
> "30 for 40 means better public services. ...Shorter hours means you'll be less tired and irritable, less likely to make mistakes, less likely to take your hostility toward the boss out on the worker you have to serve [in other words, the *workers* are responsible for poor public services and 30 for 40 will increase productivity!]....
> "30 for 40 will give us a lot more leisure time to spend with our families, train for better-paying jobs, or however else we want to spend that extra ten hours a week...." [emphasis in original]

If ever a demand was presented in such a way as to foster simple trade-union consciousness, this it is! Raised in a revolutionary manner, "30 for 40" should be explained as a concretization of the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours, a demand to end unemployment at the expense of the capitalists, which was first put forth in Leon Trotsky's "Transitional Program." Such a *transitional* demand serves the purpose of leading the fight against unemployment beyond simple reform demands (unemployment insurance) to a real answer, a fight against the capitalist system which causes unemployment. To accomplish this task "30 for 40" must be linked to the overall Transitional Program (including its slogans of workers control of production, expropriation of key industries without compensation, and workers government, among others.

Enter the Bureaucrats

PL has never taken a hard line against the labor *bureaucracy*, nor does it follow Lenin in distinguishing between the trade-union consciousness of the militant workers and the socialist, class consciousness which is brought to the class by the vanguard party. Instead, PL speaks impressionistically of a "right," "left" and "center." This vague terminology allows it to side up to liberal bureaucrats, as for example the building up of CWA and SSEU leaders in PL's 1972 election day "30 for 40" rally (see *WV* No. 16, February 1972). But in any bloc of this sort there is always the question of who is the horse and who is the rider.

As evidenced in the same keynote address, PL/WAM is now waking up to the danger of its campaign being co-opted by slick labor fakers, but lacks an answer to this problem:

> "As more and more unions set up 30 for 40 committees—as more and more referendum campaigns develop, increasingly enemies of the workers will try to take over the 30 for 40 movement.... Even with a strong WAM organization, many will fall into the trap.... Then our task will be to fight for the leadership of that movement; to fight to see honest, sincere, militant workers, in the lead...."

This abstract possibility is already taking form in one of PL's key areas of concentration, the Lynn/Everett, Mass., GE plants, the one industrial complex where it has any visible support. There a small group has formed around a shop newspaper called *The Real News* led by two stewards who were fired last year for passing out a leaflet protesting GE's racism. PL/WAM has gone beyond the elementary duty of defending victimized workers unconditionally against the company to form a political bloc between itself and The Real News. The character of this bloc can be judged by the fact that Charlie Murray, one of Real News' leaders, frequently engages in red-baiting at meetings called by left groups in Boston. He constantly proclaims that he is a Democrat, a good friend of the IUE local president and a supporter of Lynn's former "reform" mayor. Despite his occasional militant activities, Murray is essentially an aspiring bureaucrat, similar to the leaders of the United National Caucus in the UAW, which PL also supports.

From the Aspiring Bureaucrats to the Bureaucrats Themselves

Some Right forces may come over to a class-struggle position, says PL's Trade Union Program, noting that this is especially true at the "lower levels" (of what?—the bureaucracy, of course, although PL doesn't want to say this openly). Pregnant words, and now we see the offspring. In the 13 July 1972 issue of *Challenge*, we read:

> "IUE Local 201 [Lynn/Everett, Mass., GE plants] members voted unanimously at the June 19th membership meetings in support of "30 for 40" resolutions introduced by a member of WAM at General Electric plants here. The resolutions mandated the live local delegates to the June IUE convention in Washington, D.C. to press for making "30 for 40" and "better pensions with earlier retirements" key contract demands.... Local president Farnham came out in support of the resolution but cautioned members that the deadline for submitting it to the convention was given weeks ago. He promised to have the resolution raised, anyway."

CHALLENGE

WAM convention says the bureaucrats will try to take over shorter work-week movement; PL helps them do it. In 1971 CHALLENGE called IUE Local 201 (Lynn GE) President Farnham a "phony," "faker," "puppet," "hack," "bum" and "boss." Since he supported PL's "30 for 40" resolution at a union meeting a year ago CHALLENGE has not criticized him once!

Nowhere in the article is there any criticism of Farnham, a not-so-liberal bureaucrat. Although before this there was severe criticism of Farnham in several issues of *Challenge*, *there has not been a single word of criticism since then.* And how could there be? By supporting the "30 for 40" resolution, Farnham supports the political basis for the existence of WAM. There is no reason why he, and the rest of the union bureaucracy (who apparently supported the resolution), could not join it. For all of PL's militant leaflets at Lynn GE, its successful campaign to rehire an open PLer and support for various local job actions, PL is now acting as a left cover for the bureaucracy!

Already Local 201 has acted as a springboard for one militant-talking bureaucrat to make it in the big time, namely Farnham's predecessor, Peter DiCicco, now an international vice-president of the IUE. PL's non-aggression pact with Murray and Farnham will aid them in doing the same.

Transitional Program

From the 1965 PLP Trade Union Program to WAM today, Progressive Labor has consistently called for a "center-left" coalition in the trade unions. In the most likely event that it is outmaneuvered by the bigger and more able Communist Party, this "fight the Right" policy means a lot of wasted energy; where successful it can lead only to outright betrayal of the rank and file.

As against the reformist policy of lesser evilism, the Trotskyists counterpose the struggle for the transitional program which leads from simple trade-union reform demands to the fight for socialism. In the words of the founding program of the Fourth International:

> "It is necessary to help the masses in the process of daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."
> —Leon Trotsky, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*

Fighting in the unions through caucuses based on the transitional program, and helping to construct the Trotskyist vanguard party, class-conscious militants can avoid the trap of reformism and destroy the bureaucracy instead of acting as its left cover in the manner of PL/WAM. ■

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Spartacist Local Directory

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CWA Ranks Must Defeat Anti-Red Clause!

Stung by spreading rank-and-file opposition to their dictatorial rule, leading local bureaucrats in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) are pushing for the adoption of a vague and open-ended anti-"subversive" amendment to the union constitution at next month's national convention. Combined with the existing federal laws prohibiting anyone with "dangerous" political views from working for the phone company, this anti-red clause would be used by the Beirne bureaucracy to smash any serious opposition to its sellout policies. *Every union militant has a vital interest in building a united campaign to smash this witch-hunt drive in the CWA.*

As presented to the Constitution Committee by President Kirkpatrick of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco), the amendment would make the following an offense against the union:

> "Willfully supporting or assisting any and all corrupting influences of the undermining effects of Communist agencies or others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and Democratic Unionism."

Such an amendment, which specifies no anti-union *actions*, would make any member of the CWA subject to prosecution and possible expulsion from the union for any anti-leadership *opinion* which the bureaucracy declares to be "subversive."

The proposed amendment was read by Kirkpatrick at the San Francisco local meeting on 15 May after a supporter of *Yellow Pages*, an opposition newsletter in the local, pointed out that for some reason Kirkpatrick had overlooked it in his report, despite the fact that he sponsored the amendment! In the discussion which followed, Kirkpatrick was accused of generally being against union democracy, as evidenced by his earlier statement that a proposal to have elected shop stewards would only be instituted "over my dead body." Kirkpatrick acknowledged having made the statement and refused a direct request for a straw poll of the local membership on his amendment.

The proposed amendment was also read at a Local 9415 meeting in Oakland, according to members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC). Questions were not allowed on the report; however, it was learned that members of other local leaderships in California, including Local 9415, had "helped" Kirkpatrick with his amendment.

This comes as no surprise. The failure of the recent attempt to drive members of MAC out of Local 9415 by bringing them up on phony charges of bringing the union into "disrepute"—it was not the so-called "subversives" that brought the phony charges, but their opponents!—was well noted by other California local leaders. Because members of MAC had stood for consistent struggle against the company, as well as for a comprehensive program for turning the entire union into a real weapon of class struggle rather than a conveyor for the company's labor discipline, discredited elements in the 9415 Local leadership could no longer tolerate MAC. Their lame effort to bring MAC members up on charges collapsed, however, as defense for the right of opposition to exist mounted in the ranks (see *WV* Nos. 16 and 17, February and March 1973). Through the new amendment, these elements and others like them hope to be able to destroy opposition and cling to office regardless of the destructive effects of their pro-company policies on the union.

Smash the Beirne Bureaucracy

The issue, however, is much broader than the presence of "radicals" in a few troublesome locals. Whenever the labor tops have been threatened by revolt in the ranks, their favorite weapon has been the witchhunt. But it is the union itself that suffers. In the space of ten years, during the 1920's and early 1930's, the reactionary AFL leadership managed to reduce union membership by a *half*, largely through mass expulsions of oppositionists, militant locals and "reds," as well as by refusing to fight the wage-cutting offensive of the companies. With the beginning of the cold war in the late 1940's, similar anti-red clauses and the Taft-Hartley law were used to drive thousands of the most militant trade unionists out of the shops, smashing virtually every left-opposition caucus in the labor movement, splitting the once-powerful United Electrical Workers and securing the power of the existing CIO bureaucracies. Many of these petty dictators have by now maintained their stranglehold on the unions for more than a quarter of a century and their positions are again shaky as they become more and more isolated from the ranks, and as the increasingly sharp and frequent economic crises expose their refusal to defend the living standards of the working class.

In this situation the anti-red-clause drive fits neatly into the concerted effort by top labor leaders to obtain a "moderate" wage-control program and the current campaign for "voluntary-compulsory arbitration." Together they add up to a program to insulate the bureaucracy from rank-and-file revolt by firmly integrating the unions with the corporations and the capitalist state. In this the pro-McGovern Beirne is no different from the conservative Abel or Meany. Beirne's entire policy is to endorse the basic interests of the companies, such as improving profits through automation and the consequent drastic cutbacks in jobs.

In defense of these sellout policies, the bureaucracy is forced to resort more and more to tactics of intimidation and open strikebreaking. When Beirne decreed the end of the 1968 nation-wide phone strike, locals were given 72 hours to ratify the contract and get the results into the CWA Washington headquarters. Locals which refused to comply and militantly attempted to continue the strike were broken up and their leaders blacklisted. In 1971, however, fearing that there would be even more resistance than in 1968 to acceptance of what were basically the company's original contract terms, Beirne and his executive board decreed the end of the strike and a return to work, with a phony "ratification" to follow by mail ballot. This amounted to a virtual *fait accompli* for the company, yet nevertheless, locals in 10 states attempted to stay out, and New York state locals defied Beirne for more than six months by continuing the strike (see *WV* No. 5, February 1972).

The anti-red clause must be seen as an attack on the entire membership of the union. It will be used by Beirne and Co. to control local leaders, ram through sellout strike settlements or no-strike agreements and to nip potential opposition in the bud with red-baiting smear campaigns and bureaucratic expulsions. All class-conscious CWA militants must join in a united campaign to smash the anti-red clause. An attack on one is an attack on all! ■

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NEW ORLEANS

Letters

Chicago
April 9, 1973

Dear Comrades:

I thought the *WV* article on the French election results was flawed by a narrow parliamentary focus. I don't believe that Gaullism has been stabilized by the working class apathy engendered by the Union's campaign. To begin with, I think the French working class had a considerable subjective stake in a Union victory. But more fundamentally, the article implies the workers must tolerate a reactionary government until they get a parliamentary majority (and the Union did get 46% of the vote). Given the clear class polarization in the election, the open contempt of the Pompidou government for democratic norms at every level and the revolutionary traditions of the French working class, I think a main theme of the article should have been a general attack on parliamentarianism. Why should the workers accept a political system which produces an oppressive regime, particularly when that regime has demonstrated that it is quite prepared to throw off the democratic rules-of-the-game when they work against it. Under the circumstances, I don't think that propaganda line would be ultimatistic. The article should have ended with the demand to overthrow the Pompidou regime through industrial action, which is a real possibility. After all, in the last few weeks there have been major wildcats at Renault and nation-wide student strikes against the dralt supported by the CGT.

Comradely,
J. Seymour

WV REPLIES: The article "French Elections: Gaullism Wins a Reprieve" in WV No. 18, April 1973, did suffer from a narrow focus on the parliamentary arena, failing to place the elections in the framework of the broader class struggle (see article this issue). A necessary part of a revolutionary policy during the campaign period was a determined struggle against parliamentary cretinism. The article should have indicated clearly that fundamental questions such as the class nature of the state will not be resolved in the peaceful confines of the voting booth, but by the direct action of the working class using its own methods, principally strikes and ultimately insurrection.

At the same time, during the election period the political life of the working class, including in the unions, was dominated by the question of the Union of the Left "alternative" to Pompidou. In this situation it was crucial to expose the Left Union as a popular front, agitating in the unions and approaching CP and SP workers with the slogan of a workers government, break with the bourgeoisie! Since the only conclusion of such a policy was either abstention or a vote for a revolutionary alternative to the popular front, a limited electoral intervention by the vanguard party was called for. To simply dismiss the elections, as did the Maoists, would have been anti-parliamentary cretinism, and would simply have left intact the workers' illusions in the Union of the Left.

Chicago
May 3, 1973

To the Editor
Workers Vanguard
New York

Dear Comrades:

In the article entitled "Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam" in *WV* No. 19, there is a rather unfortunate misformulation concerning the relationship of the vanguard party to non-proletarian classes. The sentence in question is as follows: "For Marxists, who seek to organize the *workers'* international, there could be no question of building a peasants' international, that is, of organizing another class." While it is clear that organizing a peasants' international, or in fact any non-proletarian party, is totally alien to Marxism, it is not true that we do not organize other classes. We see the necessity for organizing the peasantry, especially the rural proletariat and poor peasants; in addition, it is necessary to organize sections of the petty bourgeoisie in the cities. The point that must be made is that we organize these people on the basis of a proletarian program, and thus in *opposition* to their petty bourgeois class interests.

We do seek to organize the peasantry, and draw its lowest layers into the proletarian party. When the peasantry is in struggle against their landlords, we seek to intervene in that struggle, and, if possible, lead it, even to the point of forming peasants organizations in order to further the anti-capitalist aspects of their struggle. The real question is not that of whether to organize non-proletarian sectors of the population, but of the program around which we organize. Always and everywhere we seek to organize all classes to accept and struggle for the class interests of the proletariat. And this is why we would not organize a non-proletarian party. A peasant party would necessarily have a program in the class interests of the peasantry. It would be a petty bourgeois program, hostile to the interests of the proletariat. Thus there is no possibility of Marxists organizing a peasant party. However, we will organize non-proletarian sectors of the population, organize them around our program, the program of the proletariat.

Comradely,
M. Frazier

WV REPLIES: the writer's point is well taken. The article should have said that Marxists do not organize another class as a class.

Trade Union Tactics and the Transitional Program

In the 11 May issue of *Workers Vanguard*, in an article dealing with a centrist regroupment between the "Vanguard Newsletter" grouplet and the "Class Struggle League," we mentioned these opportunists' misrepresentations of the trade-union work of the Spartacist League and promised a fuller discussion of the totally counterposed approaches of petty-bourgeois workerism and revolutionary Marxism toward work among the proletariat. While the VNL/CSL conglomeration is not very significant in itself, its attempts to justify its opportunism over trade-union work and its consequent distortions of the Spartacist League's positions and practice provide an illuminating starting point for an examination of a key component of the SL's politics: our struggle to build a revolutionary leadership in the labor movement.

The SL's trade-union policies are totally counterposed to the petty-bourgeois workerism currently rampant among most of the U.S. left. The common denominator of the union line of Progressive Labor, International Socialists, Workers League, Revolutionary Union, etc. is support for any militant-talking "opposition" to the incumbent union bureaucrats and the formation of programless "rank-and-file" committees based on simple trade-union militancy. We have documented repeatedly how this "lesser evil" policy gives way to craven capitulation to the bureaucracy itself when the opportunity presents itself; in practice the union work of these fake lefts differs little from the more openly reformist policies of the Communist Party.

In contrast to the opportunists stands the Spartacist League with its Bolshevik policies of trade-union work, centered on the construction of caucuses based on the transitional program. Simultaneously an oppositional force aimed at defeating the labor bureaucracy and a vehicle for winning workers to the program of the vanguard party, the caucus represents an alternative leadership based on class struggle instead of grovelling class collaboration.

Predictably, the opportunists attack the SL's principled policy as "sectarianism" or "trade-union ultimatism" and seek accordingly to distort our trade-union work to justify their own practice. Thus, in a draft document entitled "Tasks and Perspectives of the International Communist League," the VNL/CSL wrote of the SL's union work:

> "...they *only* organize on the basis of the *entire* transitional program. All caucuses are built around this program and only workers who agree with the SL's program may enter. Further the SL refuses to engage in work in other rank-and-file caucuses and abstains from every struggle by the ranks against the bureaucrats...."

Elsewhere, the VNL/CSL amplified:

> "...without specifically denying it, SL rejects the tactic of critical support in trade union elections....For example, it implies that intervention of the state, as in the UMW Arnold Miller campaign ["Miners for Democracy" in the United Mine Workers union], makes non-support a principled question...."

Can There Be a Partial Transitional Program?

The "Transitional Program," concretized by Trotsky in 1938 in the founding document of the Fourth International, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," begins with the concrete felt needs of the class (e.g., wages, working conditions, unemployment) and formulates an alternative which directly leads to an attack on the capitalist system itself (e.g., sliding scale of wages and hours, expropriation of industry without compensation, workers control of production, factory committees) linked explicitly to the struggle for proletarian power and the destruction of the capitalist state (e.g., labor party, workers militias, soviets, workers government).

The Transitional Program transcends the partial and sectional concerns of atomized layers of the class through demands which unite the workers around their historic class interests. Demands such as the sliding scale of wages and hours to eliminate unemployment at the capitalists' expense, organization of the unemployed by the union movement and the struggle against all forms of national, racial and sexual oppression are therefore essential to overcome the pitting of sections of the class against one another and to unify them in the assault against capital.

The Transitional Program embodies the most urgent interests of the proletariat as an international class. The division of the workers along national lines—abetted by the union bureaucracy, which seeks to make the proletariat of a particular country the junior partner of its "own" imperialism—must be transcended through demands for industrial union organization across national boundaries and for concrete international class solidarity. For example, a crucial component in the Bolsheviks' construction of anti-feminist transitional organizations of oppressed women was the struggle against the first world imperialist war (see *WV* No. 11, September 1972). In the present situation of heightened inter-imperialist economic rivalry, which brings closer the menace of new world wars, the demands for solidarity with the Indochinese revolution and opposition to chauvinist economic protectionism are crucial.

The opportunist attempt to bowdlerize the Transitional Program into "relevant" and "ultimatistic" elements is a gross capitulation to the class as it is and to the bourgeois ideology and backwardness which, refracted through the labor bureaucracy, dominates the class and blocks the development of revolutionary consciousness. As Lenin insisted, the massive spontaneous outbursts of proletarian militancy can by themselves lead only to trade-union consciousness. Socialist consciousness requires an intersection with the revolutionary vanguard through its cadre and program. *Thus, to pick and choose among the elements of the Transitional Program is to destroy its very purpose —the attempt to link the felt needs of the workers to the struggle for power.* To abjure crucial aspects of the transitional program as "too advanced" reveals the appetite for reformism and inevitably constitutes an adaptation to parochialism and national chauvinism.

In particular situations, certain aspects of the program acquire special urgency and immediacy, enabling the communists to involve and lead masses of workers in struggle. But while emphasizing particular demands in their propaganda and campaigns, communists seek always to link such demands to the full program. To do otherwise can only build new reformist roadblocks. There is no demand which retains an automatic revolutionary thrust in artificial isolation from the program as a whole, as demonstrated by the nakedly reformist content of the Progressive Labor "30 for 40" and the Workers League "Labor Party" campaigns.

The primary organizational vehicle for communist cadres in the unions is the caucus based on the transitional program. The caucus engages in a continual struggle for power in the union, demonstrating at first in an exemplary fashion the program which the labor movement as a whole must adopt. As the caucus grows and becomes a real factor in the life of the union, this process necessarily involves tactical maneuvers—blocs and united fronts with other forces in the union, the possibility of short-term entries into other formations, etc.

But as Lenin pointed out, the ability to maneuver requires a foundation of granite hardness. Unlike those who justify opportunism by arguing that a hard independent stance will come "later" ("when we are stronger," "when the workers are more open"), the SL recognizes that principled maneuvers can be undertaken only from a position of some independent strength. Only when the caucus has already established its identity and authority on the basis of its full program can it work with or bloc with other formations without blurring its positions or confusing its supporters. To bloc with or enter opportunist or bureaucratic formations before the programmatic lines are sharply drawn in the minds of the workers is merely to hand those who look to the caucus for leadership to the betrayers on a platter.

How Does a Caucus Mobilize the Ranks?

To characterize the trade-union practice of the SL as does the VNL/CSL ("All caucuses are built around [the full] program and only workers who agree with the SL's program may enter") reveals either deliberate cynicism or the total absence of experience in work among the proletariat.

The process of building real programmatically-based caucuses in the union movement depends upon a constant interaction between disciplined communist cadres in the unions and the militant ranks. The caucus both engages in agitation around its full program and seeks to provide leadership in particular workers' struggles, demonstrating in action that only the transitional program can consistently uphold the felt needs of the workers and safeguard gains already won in struggle. In fact, winning the advanced workers in a particular union situation to acceptance of the transitional program and the communist leadership offered by the caucus inseparably and inevitably involves the ability to mobilize less advanced sections of the ranks around the caucus in particular situations.

Whereas workerists view the class abstractly as a unitary mass (and gloss over the manifestations of backward and uneven consciousness in order to glorify the class in its totality as it exists, elevating it above the vanguard), communists recognize layers and polarizations among the workers. Thus we know very well that as the caucus develops a hard following of supporters committed to its full program, it also becomes a factor among workers who do not fully understand or accept its program or its goals but will, to a greater or lesser extent, follow its lead in particular struggles. Especially in the context of a corrupt and ossified conservative union bureaucracy, even a small caucus of communist militants finds itself frequently thrust into a position of leadership when the sellout policies of the union tops and the absence of alternative leadership-forces create a temporary vacuum of authority.

For example, in the National Maritime Union the only force interested in and capable of launching a struggle against the job-trust "group system" (which relegates the younger NMU members to perennial unemployment and second-class union status) was the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, a grouping based on a principled transitional program, and not the liberal-backed out-bureaucrat James Morrissey. Similarly, it was as the direct result of the prominent role played by the Militant Action Caucus of Communications Workers of America, Local 9415 (Oakland, Calif.) in a wildcat operators' walkout that a MAC supporter was elected to the Local 9415 executive board. Such militants who, through struggling for the caucus program, win authority as courageous, far-sighted and principled in particular campaigns or job actions, become recognized leaders among their fellow workers, many of whom still do not accept the program of the caucus.

Unlike aspiring careerists, who simply gloat over the extension of their influence, communist militants in the unions must view these situations as invaluable opportunities to mobilize in struggle workers who are not yet communists, while recognizing that they also can lead to disorientation: either the pressure to adapt the caucus program to vacillating elements or the temptation to overestimate the degree of its programmatic support among the ranks and give way to adventurism.

Vanguard Party Needed

To resist these dangers, militant proletarian leaders must be firmly grounded in the theory and history of the Marxist movement and linked as disciplined members to a vanguard organization whose analysis and program embody the interests of the international working class, transcending all partial and sectional concerns, and the experience of previous generations of working-class fighters. Unlike the syndicalists who exalt the class as it is above the party, we of the SL want communists in the unions, not trade unionists in the party.

An organization which does not persistently struggle, within the limitations of its forces, to begin and deepen its intervention into the struggles of the oppressed and exploited is not a revolutionary organization. But the colonization into the organizations of the working class of what Trotsky referred to as "your petty-bourgeois boys and girls" is only a precondition. Until they are tested in living struggle, until they have learned to fight for the program under the constant pressures of concrete work, they are neither recognized union militants nor proven communists. It is the responsibility of the party as a whole to guide and direct the work of its trade-union comrades and to assimilate their experiences as an integral part of its own world-view.

Thus, in particular the U.S. radical movement's impressionistic turn toward the recognition that the proletariat is indeed the only revolutionary class in society did not obviate the struggle against petty-bourgeois radicalism, but merely shifted the battleground. In a belated partial recognition of the lessons of the French general strike of May-June 1968, tendencies like the International Socialists (whose line has always been determined by the turns and twists of the petty-bourgeois radical mood) began to send their supporters into industrial jobs, armed however with a left-social-democratic program. The arena had shifted but the politics remained the same. All the workerism in the world cannot conceal the opportunist appetites of the IS and their left mini-reflection, the VNL/CSL.

When is Critical Support Principled?

The VNL/CSL document charges that the SL "insists that nobody but purists can belong to the caucus they

build, and will not build or participate in caucuses that have less than the full transitional program." In fact, the assertion is made that "without specifically denying it, SL rejects the tactic of critical support in trade union elections."

Now to begin with, building a caucus and participating in a caucus are not necessarily the same thing. It is hardly to be expected that a revolutionary organization claiming to stand on the Transitional Program should proclaim an intention to initiate caucuses based on a minimum program—a fundamentally defective program which limits the struggle in advance to reformism! But to deduce from this that the SL will never critically participate in partial formations thrown up in the course of struggle is quite another matter. (However, for those whose "critical support" is a figleaf of criticism as a cover for unprincipled support—and who in any case have pitifully little experience *either* in building union caucuses or participating in them!—this confusion may be understandable.)

The accusation that the SL has a de facto policy never to give critical support to qualitatively deficient forces is absurd. The SL does not have such a policy toward the unions—any more than we have toward contradictory formations in parliamentary elections, where we offer critical support ("as a rope supports a hanging man") to reformist working-class parties such as the British Labour Party, for example. What we do in fact insist on as the condition for critical support in union elections is merely that there must be in such a case a clear qualitative programmatic difference and not merely the attempt of an out-bureaucrat to pose as a good guy.

Lewis defies Roosevelt, calling miners' strike in violation of the pro-war no-strike pledge during World War II. The top CIO leadership denounced the miners as "fascists," while the CP's DAILY WORKER called on miners to break the strike. The Trotskyists of the SWP, however, called for unconditional defense of the strike.

It is this insistence which infuriates the opportunists of the VNL/CSL ilk, who seek to cover over their own accommodation to the petty-bourgeois public opinion which acclaims the Millers and Morrisseys as just what the doctor ordered to keep the workers in line without offending liberal sensibilities. It is the VNL/CSL's own inability to demonstrate any principled arguments for critically supporting such fakers which prompts them to distort our position.

The Leninist tactic of critical support is an application of the tactic of the united front. We recognize that the masses do not desert their established leaderships on the basis of the abstract call to follow the communists, but rather through recognizing in the course of struggle that only the communists fight for the avowed common aim. The purpose of the united front is to regroup the workers around the leadership of the vanguard, *not* to refurbish the bankrupt reformists' authority!

Thus the communists cannot lend their weight to cynical attempts by bureaucratic aspirants to rope in the workers when the programs of the "oppositionists" and the incumbents are virtually identical. No matter how popular Miller and Morrissey may be in the bourgeois press, no matter what illusions they may succeed in creating among the workers themselves, the task of communists in these unions is simply to expose them.

But the particular wretchedness of these fake "rank-and-file" movements—"movements" which consist only of court suits and liberal press acclaim—does not vitiate the applicability of the tactic of critical support! When an oppositionist is compelled to break from even *one* central aspect of the bureaucracy's policies of abject class collaborationism, and to place himself at the head of a real rank-and-file movement, then whatever the limitations of the rest of his program, revolutionists may offer such a candidacy critical support. For instance, the principle of industrial rather than craft unionism in the rise of the CIO was in itself grounds for critical support in particular instances. In the recent period, had an oppositionist—or even an aspiring bureaucrat—transcended empty rhetoric about "peace" and taken up the demand, raised by the Spartacist League, for strike action against the Vietnam war, such a campaign would have merited critical support. Similarly, the question of a clear break with the capitalist political parties and the call for a labor party might be an acceptable minimum condition—but this is something quite different from the vague "labor party" threats of those, like the Steelworkers' I.W. Abel, who hoped to pressure the Democratic Party into abandoning the "radical" McGovern in favor of a "mainstream" Democrat like Jackson. As an example, to call for a labor party during an election year in which most labor leaders were pushing one or another capitalist politician could lead to a real political struggle against the bureaucracy.

When a union office-seeker seriously campaigns on the basis of a program which, whatever its reformist limitations, offers the working class a real gain on even one such issue, revolutionaries can legitimately proclaim their support for that plank and offer the candidate critical support even as they seek to demonstrate that only their full program can win and safeguard this gain, even as they warn that the out-bureaucrat will betray his promises once in office. The caucus works alongside the ranks while calling on them to rely on their own organized strength to win and extend the struggle which the oppositionist claims to represent. When the workers' own experience reveals to them the real character of the new bureaucrat, the revolutionists stand forth as the only force which is truly committed to this struggle and can regroup the workers around their own program.

The purpose of the tactic of critical support to programmatically defective or incomplete formations within the union movement is to sharpen the contradictions between the militant base and the reformist leadership, between the formally supportable programmatic element and the careerist appetite, to expose in the process of a common struggle for real but limited gains the vacillations and treachery of the bureaucracy and to counterpose the communist program as the consistent extension of the aspirations of the ranks. But when there is no contradiction to expose—as in the case of the Millers and Morrisseys, who offer merely a more "democratic" version of exactly the same program as the incumbents—"critical support" is nothing more than a left cover.

Trade-Union Independence

The VNL/CSL adduces as evidence that the SL foreswears the tactic of critical support in practice the SL's vehement refusal to support the UMW "Miners for Democracy" (see *WV* No. 17, March 1973). Unlike its own approach of jumping eagerly on the bandwagon of Arnold Miller and his "Miners for Democracy," the VNL/CSL points out that the SL "implies that intervention of the state, as in the UMW Arnold Miller campaign, makes non-support a principled question."

Unhappily for the VNL/CSL opportunists, Trotsky in fact considered the intervention of the state *the key question* facing the unions. In his pamphlet "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," Trotsky begins his consideration of revolutionary policy in the unions by stating categorically that "There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations in the entire world; it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power."

Trotsky went on to point to the increasing difficulty of work in the unions, for example in fascist countries and in what he termed "totalitarian and semi-totalitarian" unions. It was precisely in the context of the discussion of the increasing restrictions on trade-union democracy that he wrote:

> "It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses not only against the bourgeoisie but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime. The *primary slogan* for this struggle is: *Complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.* This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.
> "The second slogan is: *trade union democracy. This second slogan flows directly from the first* and *presupposes* for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state." [our emphasis]

We do not think that Trotsky would have minced words in dealing with those professed "Trotskyists" of the VNL/CSL who preach critical support to formations like that of Miller, which use the pretext of "democracy" as the excuse for seeking to bring the capitalist government into the direct administration of the labor movement!

The shabby evasions of this opportunist claque of "Trotskyists" ("... But as the state intervenes more and more in trade union elections, what will SL do—refuse to run even its own candidate in a government supervised election? Trotsky said that we must learn how to operate in the unions 'even under fascism'...") will avail them nothing. The SL—which has not flinched from intervening in some of the most right-wing, corrupt and openly gangsterist unions in this country, as the VNL/CSL knows perfectly well—will undertake communist work in the unions under whatever concrete conditions take shape, but that certainly does not lead us to warmly welcome with "critical support" precisely the dangers against which Trotsky warned us!

Class Struggle vs. Opportunist Diversions

The Millers and the Morrisseys are in fact the great white hope of the bourgeoisie for extending its intervention into the labor movement. But even setting aside for a moment the ominous precedent of these "oppositions" whose only real base is the Labor Department, the assumption of power by such forces (even if they were not government-backed) would not represent in any sense a gain for the working class and is in some ways a greater obstacle than the incumbents to the construction of truly class-conscious and programmatically-based rank-and-file movements.

As the Spartacist League has repeatedly pointed out in our propaganda, the existing labor bureaucracy is now deeply unstable and can be shattered. Profoundly ossified and corrupt, socially isolated, especially from the younger and minority-group workers, its rigid Cold War variant of anti-communism an impediment to the flexibility of the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, the Meanyite bureaucracy is losing its grip on the allegiance of the working class. If the workers are mobilized to replace these traitors only with a slicker version of same—armed with the social-democratic rhetoric used to such advantage by their European counterparts and not tarnished by the particular betrayals of their predecessors—rather than with a communist leadership, then an opportunity will have been lost which will not quickly recur. The forces of bureaucratism and inertia in the trade unions are strong, particularly after an exhausting faction fight. The leaderships which rode in on the CIO revolt against the AFL—Murray, Bridges, Curran, Quill—remained in power for decades. If the current generation of militant workers invests its commitment and its aspirations in installing an equally treacherous replacement, then the enormous combativeness of the U.S. proletariat will have been diverted once more through the lack of an alternative revolutionary leadership.

It is to the construction of an authentic communist leadership in the union movement that the Spartacist League is committed, as we struggle to consummate our transformation into the nucleus of the vanguard party, U.S. section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

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Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam

John Sharpe

Part III

"Socialism" in Half a Country

After repeatedly capitulating before the imperialist powers (Saigon, September 1945; the 6 March 1946 accords; Fontainbleu *modus vivendi*), the Viet Minh were finally forced to fight the French by a series of open provocations in late 1946. On 20 November, the French navy, which had blockaded the Haiphong port, seized a Chinese junk trying to run the blockade; in response, a Vietnamese shore battery shelled the French. Seizing on this incident as an excuse, three days later the French brutally attacked Haiphong with heavy artillery and aerial bombardment, killing roughly 20,000 Vietnamese. Early in December, the French demanded that the Vietnamese withdraw entirely from the city and the surrounding roads; in response, the Vietnamese commander, Vo Nguyen Giap, proposed a mixed commission to discuss the question! Subsequently, on 19 December the French demanded the disarming of the Viet Minh militia, and that night general fighting broke out in Hanoi. The fighting continues to this day. As it turned out, the Viet Minh were quickly driven out of the capital and did not return until after the 1954 Geneva settlement. Had the Stalinists resisted the French reoccupation from the beginning, when the imperialists were weakest, a quarter century of war and more than two million deaths would have been avoided.

The attitude of the French Communist Party in this conflict was an illustration of the lengths to which the Stalinists would go in attempting to ingratiate themselves with their respective bourgeoisies. Thus, while Ho Chi Minh was writing servile letters to the Americans, forming political blocs with the pro-Chinese bourgeois nationalists, dissolving the Indochinese Communist Party and agreeing to permit the entry of French troops into the north, his French comrades were busy explaining why the right of national self-determination did *not* apply to Vietnam and voting war credits to finance the French expeditionary force!

As early as September 1945, the Saigon committee of the French CP "warned [the Viet Minh] that any 'premature adventures' in Annamite independence might 'not be in line with Soviet perspectives.'"[20] That same month the French government (including several CP ministers) proposed a military budget of 193 billion francs, including 100 billion for the Expeditionary Force in Indochina; the CP voted for the bill![21] In July 1946, smelling a victory in the next elections, the Communists took up a virulent nationalist stance: "Are we, after having lost Syria and Lebanon yesterday, to lose Indochina tomorrow, North Africa the day after?" wrote *L'Humanité* (24 July 1946).[22] Two days later the CP deputies voted for a constitutional definition of the French Union which made Vietnamese "independence" purely fictional:

But this obscene nationalism could not stop at mere generalities: On 20 December 1946, a month after the French bombardment of Haiphong, the CP voted in the French Assembly to send congratulations to General Leclerc and the Expeditionary Corps. On 23 December, three days after the outbreak of hostilities in Hanoi, the CP deputies voted a special military budget made necessary "because of the resumption in hostilities in Indochina." As Vice-Premier in the government of Paul Ramadier in March 1947, Maurice Thorez, head of the French CP, signed the order for military action against the Vietnamese; at the same time, Ramadier stated that "on the question of Indochina, we have always noted the correctness of the government of the Soviet Union"![23]

Some have alleged that because of these nationalistic acts, the French CP during the late 1940's was opposed to the line of Ho Chi Minh in a fundamental sense, implying that Ho was essentially a centrist, as against the reformist Thorez. That the differences were essentially tactical is shown by Ho's repeated efforts to enlist American aid (at least eight letters to Truman in this period), his agreement to the March 1946 accords and the Fontainbleu agreement and the extremely conservative policies followed by the Viet Minh through most of the first Indochinese war. Ho and Thorez were simply capitulating to different bourgeoisies; qualitatively their policies were the same.

The Agrarian Question

As Leon Trotsky wrote in the "Transitional Program":

> "The central task of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the *agrarian revolution*, i.e., liquidation of feudal heritages, and *national independence*, i.e., the overthrow of the imperialist yoke. Both tasks are closely linked with each other."

From the very beginning, in 1941, the Viet Minh took only the most minimal reformist position on the agrarian question, favoring a 25 per cent reduction in rents. The Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam written in 1946 stated flatly: "The rights of property and possession of Vietnamese citizens are guaranteed."[24] In the period from 1945 to 1949 even this minimal program of rent reduction was only applied to five per cent of the land belonging to large landlords, while eight per cent (belonging to "unpatriotic" landowners) was redistributed—hardly a radical land reform, much less an agrarian revolution.[25] However, beginning with the agrarian decree of 12 April 1953, the picture changed as the stipulations calling for reduction of rent, elimination of debts and distribution of lands owned by colonists were put into effect by the local peasant unions. At the same time, the membership of the peasant unions doubled and the percentage of poor peasants in the Lao Dong [Workers] Party increased from 37 per cent to 53 per cent. The French commander at Dien Bien Phu commented that after the new agrarian legislation he wasn't dealing "with the same adversaries."[26]

Yet even this change was merely tactical. With the beginning of the Cold War with the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine in 1947, the Soviet foreign policy had undergone a shift to the left, embodied in the "Zhdanov line." The victory of the Chinese CP in the civil war with Chiang Kai-shek in 1949 meant that Ho was assured of supplies from the deformed workers states. Thus, soon after, the Vietnamese Communist Party was refounded as the Lao Dong [Workers] Party in 1951, and in 1953 the Viet Minh decided to launch a militant land reform campaign. This pattern was virtually identical to that followed by Mao in China, where even the simple democratic demand for land reform was put off until the final break-off of negotiations with Chiang in 1946! However, in both cases, the agrarian program which was implemented in the final stages of the civil war in no way called into question bourgeois property relations in the countryside. We have referred to Mao's policies in China as simply "reformism under the gun," a label which certainly applies with equal force to Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam.

Ta Thu Thau

1954 Geneva Settlement

As Stalinists, the Viet Minh leadership ultimately represented the interests of the bureaucratic clique running the deformed workers states. At the first opportunity after a stalemate was reached in the Korean War in 1953, the Russians began pressing for a peace settlement in Vietnam as well. Ho soon took up the refrain even though the Vietnamese were winning militarily. By the time the negotiations finally took place in spring of 1954, the Viet Minh controlled roughly 85 per cent of the country, according to Western estimates, and had decisively defeated the French expeditionary force at Dien Bien Phu. Commenting on the settlement, Douglas Pike, a U.S. official associated with the CIA, has written:

> "Ironically the agreement written at Geneva benefitted all parties except the winners. . . . "Only the Viet Minh, the winners, lost. Or were sold out. Ho Chi Minh somehow was persuaded—apparently by a joint Sino-Soviet effort—to settle for half the country on the grounds that the other half would be his as soon as elections were held. . . ."[27]

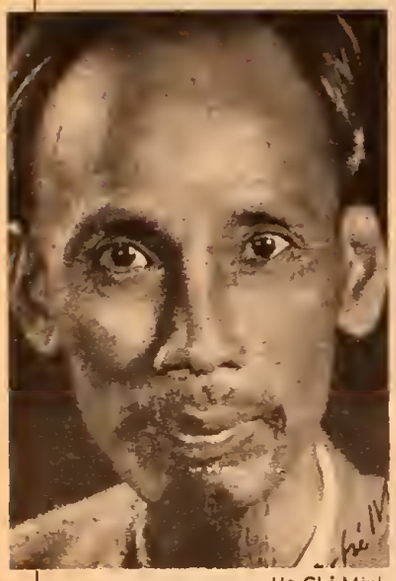
The role of the Soviet Union in pushing for this sellout "settlement" is well known. The equally

pernicious role of the more militant-talking Chinese was documented by the "Pentagon Papers." A key point in the negotiations came on 18 July 1954, when a Chinese official transmitted a message to U.S. negotiators at Geneva. According to a State Department cable:

> "The informant said the Communists are pressing for the stamp of American approval on the armistice agreement—already okayed in principle by Britain and France—which would divide Vietnam between Communist leader Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh and Bao Dai's pro-Western regime....
> "But the informant did not (repeat not) rule out the chance of an Indochina cease-fire even if the U.S. refuses to okay the armistice agreement."[28]

As for Ho, despite rumors of secret dissatisfaction with the cease-fire, and opposition to Moscow and Peking, this is how he presented it to the Vietnamese people:

> "At this conference, the struggle of our delegation and the assistance given by the delegations of the Soviet Union and China have ended in a great victory for us."[29]



Ho Chi Minh

With victories like this, who needs defeats!

The Viet Cong

The whole struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam since the 1954 Geneva agreement reads like a replay of the earlier war against the French. The names are changed, but the play is the same. For six years Ho and the Hanoi leadership refused to organize a revolutionary movement in the south, believing instead in the miraculous powers of "peaceful coexistence." Meanwhile, the butcher Diem was hunting down southern resistance leaders, throwing peasants off their lands, murdering thousands. Ho's answer to this savagery summed up the position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) leadership quite nicely: "Our policy is: to consolidate the North and to keep in mind the South."[30]

As late as 1960, the DRV was still trying to hold down the struggle in the south, arguing:

> "The Northern people will never neglect their task with regard to one half of their country which is not yet liberated. But in the present conjuncture, when the possibility exists to maintain a lasting peace in the world and create favorable conditions for the world movement of socialist revolution and national independence to go forward, we can and must guide *and restrict* within the South the solving of the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies of our country." [our emphasis][31]

As in the first Indochinese war the agrarian program and political perspective of the National Liberation Front are clearly and precisely limited to "democratic" tasks. From the very beginning, the NLF called for a coalition government:

> "The present South Vietnamese regime is a camouflaged colonial regime dominated by the Yankees.... Therefore, this regime must be overthrown and a government of national and democratic union put in its place composed of representatives of *all social classes*, of all nationalities, of the various political parties, or all religions....
> "Support the national bourgeoisie in the reconstruction and development of crafts and industry." [our emphasis][32]

The NLF has subsequently called for protection of foreign investment and has never expropriated the *French* rubber plantations; thus in good old Stalinist fashion it distinguishes between the good and the bad imperialists.

As for the agrarian program, in the words of NLF Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho:

> "Our program reflects the broad nature of the Front and the forces represented in it. We are in favor of land to the peasants for instance, but not systematic confiscation; we are for reduction of rents but for the maintenance of present property rights except in the case of traitors. Landlords who have not supported the U.S. puppets have nothing to fear."[33]

The 1973 Paris Accords

Since April 1965, when Premier Pham Van Dong set out the DRV position on peace negotiations (the "Four Points"), the fundamental North Vietnamese demands have been for U.S. withdrawal and a coalition government in Saigon. The coalition government is clearly intended to be based on the existing state apparatus, which would make it a classical popular front regime. If realized it could spell outright defeat for the millions of Vietnamese who have fought for years with the NLF against U.S. imperialism and the feudal-bourgeois reactionary regime in the South. By preserving the property rights of "patriotic" landlords and the "national" bourgeoisie, by guaranteeing foreign investors against expropriation, such a regime would necessarily be unable to fulfill the fundamental aspirations of the working masses.

The actual Paris accords of January 1973 do not set up such a government, nor do they call for regroupment of North Vietnamese forces or disarmament. As a result, this "ceasefire in place" is not simply a sellout, as the 1946 and 1954 agreements clearly were; on the other hand, aside from the U.S. withdrawal, which itself could be reversed, it settles nothing. There is no peace; the civil war goes on. In the meantime the Stalinist leadership of the DRV/NLF has essentially abandoned the civilian political prisoners in the South, as it continues its fundamental strategy of betrayal, the search for a bloc with the nonexistent "good" bourgeoisie.

> No Support for the Robbers' Peace—U.S. Imperialism Out of S.E. Asia—Free All Political Prisoners in Saigon Government Jails!
>
> Unconditional Military Defense of the DRV—Political Revolution in Hanoi!
>
> Military Victory for the NLF—Viet Cong Take Saigon—No Coalition Government!

Part IV

Those Who Revile Our History

Vietnam in 1945 was a typical colonial country. The vast mass of the population was composed of poor peasants and landless laborers, who suffered from exploitation at the hands of feudal and bourgeois landowners, and from direct military oppression by various imperialist powers (France, Japan, China, Britain and the U.S.). Yet, as shown by centuries of unsuccessful peasant revolts, this heterogeneous popular mass was unable to lead a victorious social revolution. In the early years of this century the urban petty bourgeoisie threw up a series of nationalist sects which, however, were equally unable to achieve the unity or social force necessary to overthrow a developed colonial power. At the same time, the tiny bourgeoisie never advanced beyond the most timid reform demands and, faced with an awakened working class and peasantry, chose instead to cower behind the protection of its French, and later U.S., masters.

Thus the lot of emancipator of the oppressed Vietnamese masses fell to the young, small, but highly combative proletariat. In contrast to India or even China, the bourgeois nationalists were never more than a secondary (and at times minuscule) force in Vietnam after 1930, while the political scene was dominated by the two major currents of the workers movement, Trotskyism and Stalinism.

The Trotskyists stood on the historic Marxist program of permanent revolution, insisting that because of the combined feudal-capitalist character of Vietnamese society and the uneven development of the various class forces, the "national" and "democratic" tasks of the bourgeois revolution could be fulfilled only under the dictatorship of the proletariat, supporting itself on the peasantry. This program was represented in Vietnam by the International Communist League (ICL), which called for complete national independence, land to the peasants, nationalization of the factories under workers control and a workers and peasants government. At the height of the Saigon insurrection of 1945 this program was crystallized in the demand of all power to the People's Committees. While seeking to overthrow the bonapartist bourgeois Viet Minh regime in Saigon, they called for a military united front against the invading imperialist powers. Nevertheless, although at the high point of the uprising the ICL led tens of thousands of workers, it was militarily overwhelmed by the Stalinist Viet Minh, which brutally massacred hundreds of its militants, along with leaders and members of the centrist Struggle group (also supporters of the Fourth International) and various bourgeois nationalist leaders.

This heinous crime gave Ho Chi Minh and the Stalinists unchallenged hegemony in the Vietnamese political scene. However, despite this position they have consistently refused to mobilize the working class for socialist revolution. When faced with imperialist armies, their policies have amounted to a classic "bloc of four classes"—a purely national revolution in coalition with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie (and, in this case, the monarchy as well). In power, they have adhered to the policy of "socialism in one country" (more precisely in half a country), first sacrificing and then only reluctantly supporting their own comrades against U.S. imperialism and its puppet regimes in South Vietnam.

These are the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalinism, the political expression of a parasitic bureaucracy which acts as the agent of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement; this is the program of the "communist" Ho Chi Minh. It is also the program of his foreign mentors, in the first instance Stalin himself and the French Communist Party, but also of the more militant-posturing yet equally reformist Mao regime in China. The sorry results of this strategy of betrayal have been three successive robbers' peace settlements, in 1946, 1954 and 1973, each of which has left intact a bourgeois regime in Saigon.

Revolutionary Defensism

What attitude are proletarian revolutionaries to take when faced with the actual struggles led by the Stalinist leadership, these butchers of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, betrayers of the peasants and workers, appeasers of French and U.S. imperialism—who, however, also base themselves on and, in a limited and distorted manner, defend the conquests of the working class? As Marxists we must begin with the fundamental question—what is the class character of the states involved? The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a deformed workers state; that is, while it has socialist property relations, political power is in the hands of a parasitic bureaucracy rather than the working class. The struggle in South Vietnam is essentially a civil war, pitting the working class and exploited peasantry on the one hand against the local and foreign bourgeoisie on the other. Fundamentally, the NLF-controlled areas in the South are deformed workers states in embryo. Therefore, the only attitude that a party claiming to represent the historic interests of the proletariat can take in a conflict between the NLF/DRV and capitalist forces is one of revolutionary defensism. Thus we unconditionally

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Workers League Method Exposed:

Phony "Dialectics" and Impotent Opportunism

In a desperate attempt to harden up his organization against the impact of Spartacist League criticism, Tim Wohlforth of the Workers League has been holding over the past two months a class series in New York centered almost exclusively on the SL. In an unprecedented reversal of WL policy, Wohlforth has permitted supporters of the SL to attend the public series and to speak during the discussion period, even in several instances granting SL spokesmen extended floor time to make brief presentations. SL supporters have actively intervened in the classes and have succeeded in turning them into sharp political confrontations—of course, on unequal terms, with Wohlforth making presentations of one to one and a half hours and having the only summary. The SL has continued to press for a real, equal-time debate between the two organizations, but without success.

If the WL had ever maintained even lip service to the principle of workers democracy, its observance of standard democratic discussion procedure in this class series would be unremarkable. But the WL has a long history of excluding opponent tendencies (especially the SL) from its "public" meetings; in fact, only the night before the fifth WL class was held in New York, the SL was excluded from a public meeting called by the WL in the Bay Area.

Even the temporary suspension of the WL's usual exclusionism in the New York classes proved too much for Wohlforth to sustain. At several of the sessions SL supporters were prevented from entering the building by a WL goon squad until all WLers had been admitted. Inside the hall the atmosphere resembled a miniature deformed workers state, with Wohlforth revelling in his total power. Any protest by SLers to even the most vicious slanders (such as the accusation at the fourth class that a former member of the SL was probably now working for the CIA) was met with threats of immediate forcible expulsion. At the end of every session SL supporters were instantly herded into the elevator and every conversation with WL supporters cut off by the goons. At one point Wohlforth called on his thugs to "sit down" a member of the audience who simply wished to go to the bathroom! Then, at the end of the sixth class, after refusing in typical fashion to answer the numerous criticisms raised by SLers during the discussion period, instead devoting most of his summary to reading aloud for a half hour from Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*, Wohlforth flew into a rage when two SL supporters were detected reading the *Bulletin* instead of respectfully paying attention to this force-feeding. He proclaimed that as punishment, these ingrates would be excluded from subsequent meetings, and when the SL supporters at that point indignantly rose in protest to leave the hall, they were physically prevented from doing so!

Is Workers Democracy "Stupid"?

Wohlforth's fundamental stand on the crucial question of workers democracy was made crystal clear at the fifth session of the New York class. He shrilly denounced the Bay Area SL comrades for picketing in protest of their exclusion from the WL San Francisco meeting, terming the action "anti-communist," and repeatedly made implicit but unmistakable threats of physical violence any time our comrades again publicly protest the WL's exclusionism. Going so far as to allege that the SL's protest demonstration had been intended to get the WL barred from the future use of public meeting hall facilities, Wohlforth stated that the WL had also often been kept out of similar meetings called by other organizations and that exclusionism is to be expected. He then went on to make the astounding remark that "if the SWP is stupid enough to let us into a meeting, we will use the opportunity; if they are smart enough to keep us out we will never picket them." This revealing remark—delivered with appropriate pounding on the table—shows the real "method" of the Wohlforth tendency: sneering at Trotsky's fight for proletarian democracy, the WL considers exclusionism (like opportunism in general) "smart."

Tim Wohlforth

WV PHOTO

To the Workers League, principles are "stupid" because they get in the way of temporary organizational appetites. The entire history of the WL demonstrates that it has never been restrained in pursuing its shameless opportunist zigzags by any consideration of elementary Marxist principle. To revolutionaries, however, it is opportunism which is stupid because it subordinates the historic interests of the international proletariat to short-term parochialism. Proletarian morality is not based on bourgeois moralism but rather on the understanding that only a conscious working class can make the proletarian revolution. Opportunism may "build" an organization like the WL but it can never build an authentic working-class vanguard party. Thus the practice of exclusionism, preventing the open confrontation of different political programs, enables the misleaders to strengthen their hold over their followers and is inherently a weapon of the reformists and centrists against the revolutionists.

What has apparently prompted Wohlforth to permit even these limited and stacked debates with spokesmen of the Spartacist League has been the WL's inability to continue to seal off its membership from SL politics. Finally forced to confront the SL after years of relying solely on slander (such as his infamous "What is Spartacist?" pamphlet), Wohlforth wants to take his followers from naive acceptance of his characterizations to hardened cynicism—to weed out any who might be disturbed by the exposure of their organization's abandonment of Marxism and to make of the rest fully corrupted opportunists who do know what authentic Trotskyism is—and simply *don't care*.

Organizational Stalinism

The purpose of these carefully controlled political confrontations with the SL (a full discussion of the issues raised in the WL class series will follow in the next issue of *WV*) is to harden up the membership of the Workers League, Young Socialists at a time when the organizational stagnation of the WL, combined with the recent striking growth of the SL, has rendered the Wohlforth organization vulnerable despite its characteristic use of typically Stalinist organizational methods intended to quarantine its members from authentic Trotskyist criticism. Recently, several New York WL/YS members were castigated as "SL agents" and summarily expelled (naturally without a trial) almost before they had time to investigate whether the SL does indeed offer the answer to their developing programmatic criticisms of the WL.

Through the liberal use of gross falsification of the positions of opponent organizations and the total suppression of internal democracy in the WL, Wohlforth has in the past been quite successful in preventing the emergence of any serious political opposition within the organization. Members of the WL are in practice denied the right of factional communication with other members, and are virtually prohibited from familiarizing themselves with the literature of other political organizations. As is also common in the Stalinist movement, the WL is divided up into "locals" which typically consist of half a dozen or ten members, so that any comrade with questions or differences can be effetively isolated and prevented from learning if there are other WL members elsewhere who might share his views.

In the WL there is no real provision for the circulation of critical, let alone factional, material to the general membership. Even members of the leading bodies of the organization have no real access to information, and their "rights" are mainly confined to the receipt of circulars which begin with pompous declarations of the ever-deepening crisis of capitalism and end with exhortations about fund-raising or circulation drives. WL members who have raised differences are immediately assigned to make "reports" on such items as Wohlforth's big-lie "What is Spartacist?" pamphlet or the WL's purported continuity with the Fourth International, knowing that they must reaffirm the line of the WL on precisely the questions on which they disagree, or be summarily expelled. The holding of oppositional or even merely critical views on any significant question is likely to lead to immediate expulsion without recourse to a trial.

Political education in the WL is systematically precluded by a frenzied level of deliberately mindless activity which leaves the members almost no time for a study even of the written materials of the WL, let alone a chance to read Lenin or *Workers Vanguard*. Wohlforth's elaborate falsifications are the only version available to WL members of their own history—the actual documents of the formation of the Wohlforth tendency in the 1962 split or of the policies pursued by this tendency inside the SWP, for example, are not accessible to WL members except through the Spartacist League's *Marxist Bulletin* series. Even back issues of the WL's own *Bulletin* are virtually unavailable—not an unimportant precaution, since they are the skeletons in the closet which demonstrate incontestably that the WL has at various points in its history pursued diametrically counterposed lines on virtually every significant political question.

The fruits of this years-long practice of undermining the creation of cadres were apparent in the classes. SL supporters were able to dominate the discussion period due to the simple fact that, despite glares and prodding from the meetings' chairman, only a handful of WL supporters raised their hands and attempted to defend the line of the organization. Those who did dare to take the floor responded only with vague denunciations of the SL speakers' exposures of the concrete opportunism of the WL over specific programmatic points. "SL hates the working class"; "SL shares the method of Shachtman"; "SL is Pabloist"; "SL does not understand dialectical materialism"; "SL rejects internationalism"; "SL has no economic analysis"—this was the WL litany. What was missing from these interventions and from Wohlforth's summaries was any attempt to reply to any concrete programmatic points or to defend the WL's wretched opportunist history.

Phony "Dialectics"

The "method" which Wohlforth constantly invokes like a talisman to ward off evil is precisely this: the systematic denial of the importance of program. Simply to proclaim oneself an anti-revisionist or a dialectician does not make it so. Trotskyism and internationalism are fine words but the test is the concrete positions and practice of the organization and its consistency over time. Oh, Wohlforth will admit that the SL has "lots of positions" but he refuses to discuss those positions—or the WL's own positions.

The "method" of Wohlforth is completely counterposed to the method of Lenin and Trotsky, who struggled ceaselessly to draw the political lines over concrete programmatic issues. The basis for the foundation of the Communist International was not the vague protestations to solidarity with the Bolshevik revolution on the part of erstwhile revolutionists impressed by the accomplished fact, but the "Twenty-

One Points" by which Lenin attempted to separate the real communists from the centrists and reformists on the specific and overwhelming programmatic issues facing the working-class movement, in order to struggle concretely to overthrow the bourgeois order and to achieve socialism. And the founding document of the Fourth International was—the Transitional Program!

The WL's pervasive "method" of belittling program as a mere collation of unimportant "bits and pieces" having no relationship to the organization's purported revolutionary capacity is all that stands between Wohlforth and disaster. When confronted with the wretchedly opportunist history of his tendency, Wohlforth takes cover beneath a barrage of idealism masquerading as dialectical materialism. Wohlforth's ultimate dodge for every concrete programmatic question raised by SL speakers at the classes was that the SL refused to recognize the primacy of "Marxist philosophy" over program. An SL spokesman who was granted extended floor time to present a position on "the Marxist method" began by citing the SLL's own Cliff Slaughter, whose pamphlet "Lenin on Dialectics" explicitly attacks the view that Marxism can be considered a philosophy as such:

> "The science of society founded by Marx has no room for philosophy as such, for the idea of independently moving thought, with a subject-matter and development of its own, independent of reality but sometimes descending to impinge upon it."

The Slaughter pamphlet quotes Marx in *The German Ideology:* "When reality is depicted, philosophy as an independent branch of activity loses its medium of existence." And the pamphlet concludes that "we shall follow the path of Lenin in using theory as a guide to action, not as a system."

Wohlforth is compelled to caricature Marxism as a closed "philosophy" unconnected to reality precisely in order to prevent consideration of the WL's history and program. It is certainly true that a grasp of the living method of dialectical materialism is vital to an organization's ability to preserve and creatively extend Marxism; it is equally true that there must be a relationship between theory and practice. The writings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky on dialectical materialism certainly demonstrate that Wohlforth is no more a philosopher than he is a Marxist. But an exploration simply of the WL's history on almost any political question would be sufficient to expose the Wohlforth leadership as cynically unprincipled political bandits.

Thus it does not require a knowledge of dialectics to understand that the WL's position on the 1971 New York police strike was a shameless betrayal of Marxism. The WL line that cops are in effect part of the working class (see WL *Bulletin*, 25 January and 15 February 1971) was an abandonment of the elementary Leninist position on the state, dictated by the WL's constant policy of sucking up to the labor bureaucrats (who, as usual, crossed the class line to hail the racist cops as their brothers). Every militant class-conscious worker should have been revolted by the WL's disgraceful capitulation. The purpose of Wohlforth's constant abstract appeals to "the Marxist method" is precisely to dodge the political questions and drown any inchoate class instinct among his membership in a sea of mystical obscurantism.

"Philosophical" obscurantism and organizational Stalinism may be sufficient to prevent the development of any hard, cohesive or extensive oppositions in the WL, but they are not sufficient to insulate the WL from its inherent contradictions. Far from being able to build a mass Trotskyist party with these deliberately anti-consciousness methods, the WL is not even able to stave off disaster for its own little sect. Over the past year the WL YS membership has been substantially contracting. The Potemkin Village WL continues to shrilly proclaim the expansion of its apparatus—the acquisition of a new national office and an $88,000 press, the expansion to twice-weekly of its "mass" paper which (fortunately) is read by nobody and has no influence in the working class because the organization which it represents has none—but the reality behind the facade is becoming increasingly an empty shell.

The Old Shell Game

The WL has always pursued a policy deliberately counterposed to the creation of politically conscious cadre. Far from seeking to create a body of lifetime professional revolutionists who can acquire the theoretical knowledge and experience in struggle which enables them to develop authority among the workers as the carriers of the party's program, the WL has always pursued a burn-out policy which takes willing young revolutionaries and works them for a couple of years at fever pitch with promises that the revolution is around the corner, fully expecting that in a year or two they will drop out—politically uneducated, exhausted from the feverish make-work pace and demoralized by the empty promises of instant success—to become at best non-political and at worst cynical anti-communists, having however in the meantime recruited two or three others to take their places. Those who do last must learn to accept and even glorify the WL's shameless opportunist zigzags and finally become as cynical as the WL leadership.

The operational motto of the WL has always been, "nothing succeeds like success." The working class is presumed to be as cynical and non-political as the WL, to be won to "revolutionary" politics through admiration of a going concern and impressed by constant opportunist zigzags as "smart." Thus the apparatus for a mass party—dozens of branches, a daily paper—will be established and the masses will follow. Like any group of cynical advertising men, the WL leadership aspires to maintain a high profile at the expense of any real mass work. In 1968 the WL explicitly affirmed that there was no time to seek trade-union implantation and the consolidation of significant industrial fractions because the crisis of capitalism was imminent. Today the WL maintains virtually no trade-union presence with the exception of a couple of white-collar caucuses and a few scattered militants in industry whose sole purpose is to be featured in the newspaper. The organization is little more than a sales and promotional apparatus for the *Bulletin*, and the *Bulletin* is nothing more than a radical rewrite of the bourgeois press. The WL's youth organization, currently named the "Young Socialists," makes no attempt to train young militants as Trotskyists and future communist workers, but simply seeks to draw in, through various youth-culture activities, undifferentiated radical youth suitable for photographing for the paper.

Political Bandits

Behind this organizational charade, however, lies a political method—the method of cynicism. Behind the WL's hysterical opportunist zigzags (which have included a nearly simultaneous chase after the Black Panthers and the New York City cops in 1971), certain features of the WL have remained constant: crisis-mongering to keep the members going for another month or two (Wohlforth seems unaware of the absurdity of proudly proclaiming in one recent article that, unlike the SL—which recognizes ebbs and flows within the context of a world system which has been fundamentally unstable at least since 1914—the WL has insisted that the final crisis of capitalism has been at hand since its inception as a tendency in 1962); crisis-mongering as the implicit excuse for the abandonment of the Trotskyist transitional program (the "logic" is that since the capitalist system has exhausted every option for maneuver and reform, therefore even the most purely reformist demands are revolutionary because they cannot be granted); an organizational practice which is a mockery of Leninist democratic centralism; the substitution of organizational apparatus for politics; the invocation of thoroughly phony "dialectics" to obscure political issues and explain away bizarre zigzags in line; the use of deliberately mystical appeals to "continuity" or "method" to substitute for the elementary Leninist understanding that the basis of the party is its *program* (thus Wohlforth's meaningless attack on the SL as "having lots of positions but no perspective" while dismissing crucial programmatic differences raised by SLers as "tertiary questions"); a subservience to the British Socialist Labour League of Gerry Healy, which has about as much in common with real internationalism as Browder's subordination to Stalin; gross capitulation to the Peking and especially the Hanoi wing of Stalinism, which reached its height (or depth) in an adulatory obituary for Ho Chi Minh, the murderer of the Vietnamese Trotskyists; the vilest trade-union opportunism, flowing out of appetites toward even the Meany wing of the racist and American-chauvinist trade-union bureaucracy, focused around endless empty campaigns for a "labor" party deliberately stripped of Trotskyist programmatic criteria; the systematic use and defense of physical gangsterism within the working-class movement, exemplified by constant exclusionist "public" WL forums and the employment of incredible slander in the WL press.

Were it not for the destruction of subjectively serious revolutionary militants drawn to the WL by its professed "Trotskyism" only to be plunged into a cynical anti-Trotskyist whirlpool of fake "mass" activity and then discarded, we would be tempted to hail the WL's mushrooming organizational expansion—"Forward to the daily *Bulletin!*"—based on a declining pool of human material as inevitably hastening the collapse of this fraudulent pretender to the continuity of the Fourth International. A house of cards can only be built so high before it must inevitably topple. But as serious Marxists we can only deplore the political fact that the necessary destruction of the Workers League and other obstacles to the construction of the U.S. section of a reborn Fourth International means that the dedication and self-sacrificing work of many who began as subjectively revolutionary militants has served only to build a hideously deformed diversion which can play no role in the principled combat of the world working class for socialism. ■

NEXT ISSUE:

"Wohlforth Embraces Pabloism"

In NY class series, Wohlforth elevates the WL's opportunist appetites into a "method," the dialectics of betrayal.

Workers League Taxi Cover-Up

The *Bulletin* (23 April) report on the 11 April meeting of the New York City Taxi Drivers' Union Local 3036 carries the Workers League "method" of slander, falsification and red-baiting to absurdity. Here we read that the Spartacist League is part of the "Rank and File Coalition," the main oppositional group within the union, which recently took the union to court—first to get the recent contract voided as unconstitutional, and then to guarantee its speaking rights at the recent union meeting. The WL knows that the *only* open, public denunciation of the Rank and File Coalition made at the union meeting was made by a supporter of the SL. This was further reported in the 27 April issue of *WV* which stated:

> "The main recent activity of the RFC has been taking the union to court to get the contract thrown out as 'unconstitutional'! But the courts, like government 'mediators,' cops, taxi commissions—or prisons—are not 'impartial.' They are all coercive arms of the capitalist state. Bringing the courts into union affairs tends to integrate the union into the capitalist state apparatus, and can only make more difficult the struggle to transform the unions into organs of class struggle."

The WL-supported caucus, "Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract" (MDDC), although it was able to get two speakers to address the meeting (not one speaker, as the *Bulletin* article mistakenly reports), *did not even mention* the RFC's taking the union to court. Further, as reported in the 27 April *WV*, the WL-supported caucus did not even raise the need for a labor party. In the safe seclusion of its press, where lies and slanders can go unchallenged, the WL can condemn taking unions to court and can call for a labor party, but before 1500 taxi drivers all the WL-supported caucus dares to mention is that workers need a raise.

The WL knows full well that supporters of the Spartacist League have *never* been in the RFC. Workers League supporters, however, were in the RFC themselves; and they supported the RFC in the recent union elections! The *Bulletin* claims that at the recent taxi union meeting:

> "The complete anti-unionism of the Rank and File Coalition could be seen when they opposed the Van Arsdale motion that unions do the hiring of all new drivers instead of the bosses."

In fact the Van Arsdale motion was *not* for a union hiring hall, but for allowing the union leadership the right to pick and choose which drivers can join the union, a procedure obviously aimed at keeping out militants and oppositionists. No WL-supported caucus has ever raised the need for a union hiring hall, either in the RFC or at union meetings, nor has the WL raised the need for a union hiring hall in its press. *Only* the Spartacist League has raised the demand that:

> "The entire industry, gypsy and Yellow, must be unionized under a closed shop with a central union hiring and dispatch system, with union regulation of safety standards, working conditions, hack lines, etc."

A Spartacist supporter was the *only* speaker at the recent union meeting to demand a union hiring hall.

On the issue of taking the union to court the WL not only grossly lies when it claims the SL is part of the RFC, but its condemnation of the RFC is completely hypocritical. For the WL supports the campaigns of Miller in the United Mine Workers and Morrissey in the National Maritime Union, whose principal tactic is taking the unions to court. Furthermore, the WL has consistently supported bringing cops and prison guards into the union movement *as members*. The WL not only supports campaigns which serve to integrate the unions into the capitalist state, but calls for the coercive fist of the capitalist state, prison guards and cops, to enter the unions!

Finally, by referring to the presence of the Communist Party, International Socialists, Labor Committee and Spartacist League members in the RFC the *Bulletin* article is not only lying in terms of the SL, but is engaging in crass red-baiting. Of the WL we can only paraphrase what Trotsky said of the Stalinists: The Workers League takes no care to give its slander even an appearance of sense. No wonder if the advanced workers more and more turn their backs on the dishonest, ignorant and traitorous WL. ■

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...Vietnam

defend the NLF/DRV against the U.S. and the bourgeois regime in Saigon, while at the same time calling for a political revolution to overthrow the treacherous reformist leadership which is holding back the struggle.

This was the approach taken by the Vietnamese Internationalist Communist Group in France, which in 1947 declared:

> "Our attitude vis-à-vis the Viet Minh can best be defined by Lenin's phrase 'march separately, strike together.' The Vietnamese internationalist communists are ready to join their blows against imperialism with those of the Viet Minh, but they must maintain complete programmatic independence and freedom of criticism, because in the face of the past capitulations of the Viet Minh, placing confidence in its policies would mean renouncing a revolutionary position." [34]

Ho "Assimilates the Permanent Revolution"

In their rush to capitulate to the heroes of the petty-bourgeois radical milieu, the fake-Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat" and the "International Committee" must gloss over the real history of Stalinism in Vietnam.

The U.Sec. of Frank, Mandel and Hansen is the direct descendent of the Pabloist International Secretariat, which in the early 1950's formulated the "theory" that the world was divided into two camps, the imperialists and the Stalinists; because of the sharp character of the impending conflicts, the Stalinists would be forced against their will to defend the interests of the proletariat. Pablo's conclusion: The Trotskyists should dissolve their movement in favor of "deep entry" into the Stalinist parties.

In the early 1960's the U.S. Socialist Workers Party came over to Pabloism with its theory that Fidel Castro was an "unconscious Marxist" and thus the SWP's function was to be merely a cheering section for Castroism, recapitulating the European Pabloists' capitulation to the Algerian nationalists. The common thread of Pabloism is the belief that one or another non-proletarian force (the Stalinist bureaucracy, students, peasant guerillas, etc.) will carry out the revolution, thereby rendering superfluous or at least secondary the leading role of the Trotskyist party.

What this means in the case of Vietnam can be seen from a recent book by Pierre Rousset, a leading member of the French U.Sec., on *Le Parti Communiste Vietnamien*. The book's central thesis is that:

> "... *the Vietnamese leadership as a whole has assimilated the decisive implications of the permanent revolution for colonial and semi-colonial countries.*" [emphasis in original] [35]

As we have shown, Ho Chi Minh's policies of vacillation and betrayal were in direct counterposition to revolutionary Trotskyism and in fact required the massacre of thousands of supporters of the Fourth International. How does this revisionist explain the extermination of the Vietnamese Trotskyists?

> "These assassinations, about which historians of the Indochinese CP don't speak, in their writings in French at least, show at least two things: the width of the political gulf which then separated the Trotskyist groups from the Indochinese CP [one would hope so!], the former probably underestimating the importance of the national question in the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, the latter profoundly underestimating the social question in the colonial revolution, including at the outset." [36]

In short, for the Pabloists there is not only no need to be a Trotskyist in Vietnam, since the North Vietnamese and NLF leadership has absorbed the lessons of the permanent revolution; but in addition, the ideological conflict between Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam was entirely unnecessary, since there was a little bit of truth on both sides. The murders? Just an unfortunate mistake.

Healy and "People's War"

The position of the U.Sec. at least has the virtue of reflecting a consistent long-standing policy: the open abandonment of the Transitional Program and rejection of the essential lessons of Trotskyism. It is noteworthy that the Socialist Labour League (Britain) and its fake "International Committee," which claim to be fighting Pabloism, and which criticize sharply Hansen's phrase about Castro being an "unconscious Marxist," take precisely the same position regarding the Vietnamese Stalinists as the U.Sec. In their obituary of Ho we read:

> "There can be no doubt that he [Ho Chi Minh] contained within himself and came to personify, all the anti-imperialist hatred and fighting spirit of the colonial peoples....
> "Like Mao Tse-tung, Ho instinctively yearned to do battle with imperialism and the internal forces of reaction within his native country." [37]

Rather than an "unconscious Marxist" (à la U.Sec.), we find here Ho Chi Minh the "instinctive" Marxist. A distinction without a difference, if ever there was one.

Elsewhere the Healyites elaborated:

> "It is indisputably true to say that, on the basis of the Vietnamese experience, guns combined with the courage and endurance of individual guerrilleros would have meant little or nothing if Ho Chi Minh and other leaders were unable to analyse the principal and secondary conditions within Vietnam as well as between Vietnam and imperialism and on that basis outline a strategy for the conquest of power." [38]

And just what was this strategy?

> "It [Vietnam] demonstrates the transcendental power and resilience of a protracted peoples war led and organized by a party based on the working class and the poor peasantry and inspired by the example of the October revolution [!]." [39]

And the Vietnamese Trotskyists, murdered by these "instinctive" Marxists—what of them? Well, here it seems that Ho was a little naughty, for which the SLL slaps his hand in reprobation:

> "We do not forget these crimes committed against our movement by Ho Chi Minh, any more than we seek to play down his very real contribution to the struggle against world imperialism."

But at the very moment that Ho massacred the Trotskyists, he was according to the Healyites lined up against world Stalinism itself!

> "Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh were on one side of the barricades, Thorez, Stalin and French imperialism on the other." [40]

So you see, it is all here: The unconscious (or instinctive) Marxism, the assimilation of the lessons of the permanent revolution, the understanding attitude toward the murders of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. And it is no isolated case. Healy's famous "method" also allows him to support the Red Guards, Mao Tse-tung, the "Arab Revolution" and Indira Gandhi as supposed fighters against imperialism.

Although Healy uses "theory" and "method" primarily as a smokescreen to hide his abandonment of fundamental Marxist principles, there is in fact a method to the madness. The thread which unites these various positions is the same objectivism which is implicit in Pabloism: Since the sweep of the revolutionary wave (the objective forces) is so all-embracing, the struggle for the program of permanent revolution, the organization of the Trotskyist vanguard party, the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International—all this is secondary and ultimately expendable.

SL and the Vietnamese Trotskyists

In contrast, the Spartacist League continues to uphold the struggle and the memory of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, while recognizing and seeking to learn from their mistakes. This is no secondary or sentimental question. We have seen how the scandalous abandonment of the theory of permanent revolution on the part of the IC and U.Sec. leads them to solidarize themselves with the Stalinists against the Trotskyists in Vietnam, going so far as to *apologize* for the murder of the latter. The practical consequences of Pabloism are liquidation of the revolution and annihilation of the revolutionaries.

The Spartacist League has *consistently*, throughout its history, called for military defense of the NLF/DRV, including in times or places where this has not been a popular demand. We have demanded that Russia and China provide adequate military aid to the Vietnamese. Alone of *all* the tendencies of the U.S. left we raise the question of the war in our trade-union work, calling for immediate U.S. withdrawal and labor strikes against the war. At the same time, as Trotskyists we hold high the banner of permanent revolution and expose the repeated betrayals of the Vietnamese Stalinists. Likewise we analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in order, in the words of the Transitional Program, "to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be." Only in this manner, by openly struggling for the program of revolutionary Marxism, can the Fourth International be reborn. ■

[20] Harold Isaacs, *No Peace for Asia*, pp. 173-174.
[21] Bob Potter, "The Rape of Vietnam," *Solidarity* pamphlet, p. 9.
[22] Quoted in Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
[23] Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Hammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 200.
[24] Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
[25] Chesneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 297, 300.
[27] Douglas Pike, *Viet Cong*, Cambridge, 1966, pp. 51-52.
[28] NY Times, *The Pentagon Papers*, New York, 1971, p. 48.
[29] Bernard Fall, ed., *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution*, New York, 1967, p. 246.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273.
[31] Le Duan, *On the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam*, Hanoi, 1965, Vol. 1.
[32] "Program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (1960)," in Bernard Fall and Marcus Raskin, eds., *The Viet-Nam Reader*, New York, 1967, pp. 216-218.
[33] Quoted in Wilfred Burchett, *Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerilla War*, New York, 1965, p. 187.
[34] Comité central, Groupe communiste internationaliste vietnamien en France, "Nouvelle étape de la contre-révolution et de l'offensive impérialiste en Indochine," *Quatrième Internationale*, November-December 1947, p. 64.
[35] Rousset, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[37] *Newsletter*, 9 September 1969.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] "The Vietnamese Revolution and the Fourth International," *Fourth International*, February 1968.
[40] *Newsletter*, 9 September 1969.

Correction

In Part II of this series (*WV* No. 20, 11 May, p. 4), in a paragraph dealing with the differing fortunes of the Vietnamese Stalinists and Trotskyists during World War II, we wrote:

> "... the Stalinists supported the Allies in World War II (as did Chiang Kai-shek) and were willing to make an alliance with the Kuomintang against the Japanese. The Trotskyists, in contrast, took the Bolshevik position of revolutionary defeatism during the war, refusing to support any of the rival imperialist camps and their puppets."

While the paragraph is clearly talking of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, the sentences in question could be misinterpreted as implying that the Fourth International as a whole took a defeatist position in the war between China and Japan. While the FI took a revolutionary defeatist line in the struggle between the Allied and Axis imperialists, it did make a distinction in the Far East by supporting China against Japan. In *WV* No. 4, January 1972 ("War, Revolution and Self-Determination") we argue that this position was correct until 1942, when the Chinese were essentially subordinated to and integrated into the inter-imperialist war, thereafter necessitating a position of revolutionary defeatism, while continuing to support the right of self-determination for China. This was the position taken by Lenin with regard to Serbian and Polish independence in the similar situation during World War I.

The position of the Vietnamese International Communist League gives added support to this policy. In the specific conditions of Vietnam, where both Japanese and Chinese sought to dominate Vietnam, a position of support for the Chinese could only have led to a new imperialist master, as in fact occured in North Vietnam in 1945 and early 1946, with Ho Chi Minh acting in concert with the Kuomintang army instead of fighting against it.

In Part I (*WV* No. 19, 27 April) we referred to the Struggle group as the official section of the FI. It has since come to our attention that this is only partially correct. An article from Vietnam in the *Labor Action* of 27 October 1947 mentions that when the Struggle group was recognized as the official section of the FI in 1939, the ICL fused with it. In 1945 the two groups separated once more, over profound divergences concerning the attitude to be taken toward the Viet Minh. At that time (1945-47) the reports on Vietnam appearing in the official organ of the International Secretariat (*Quatrième Internationale*) treated both groups as Trotskyists. ■

Continued from page 12

...Rubber Workers'

of the Goodyear settlement. The minimal wage increase (which in no way threatens the wage controls—what the ruling class is really concerned about at this point) is treated by the URW leadership as untouchable. Instead the union claims it is demanding improved pension benefits whose long-term or even immediate effect is impossible to measure. In addition, the bureaucracy is responding to the threat of layoffs due to plant closings by simply demanding that laid-off workers be permitted to transfer to the new plants with full seniority! Run-away shops are a major issue in the rubber industry; but the major attraction of southern locations is the wage differential, which the union does nothing about. Similarly the strike demands say nothing about the productivity drive, which has struck Akron rubber workers with particular ferociousness. Last spring Akron locals gave up the six-hour day, a historic achievement won in the 1930's, and were hit with a series of speed-up work-rules changes.

The Bommarito regime is keeping the Goodrich workers ignorant of exactly what they're striking for. Bommarito has graced the picket lines to dispel any rumors that he is selling the workers out and to announce that there are high stakes at the bargaining tables. As to what concretely these stakes are, Bommarito has been strangely mysterious. Thus far, the official union statements have been limited to ritually denouncing the company for not bargaining in good faith and have not indicated the specific union demands. A number of picketing workers told a *Workers Vanguard* reporter that they didn't know much about the union demands and what they knew of the contract talks came solely from the press.

In general, conservative bureaucrats like Bommarito do everything possible to suppress strikes. Strikes disrupt production, embitter union relations with the company and heighten class consciousness. However, at times, these same bureaucrats will manipulate strikes to demoralize militants and discredit the strike weapon. Thus, in its campaign to *not* fight speed-up in the auto shops, the Woodcock regime first let the Lordstown and Norwood wildcats starve themselves out by withholding outside support. Then it disorganized the ranks with a series of quickie strikes (the "Apache" strategy) which allowed General Motors to pro-

duce more cars and money than ever before. With its present demands and scope, the Goodrich strike is a carefully contrived device to demoralize the ranks of the URW and provide a "horrible example" to the rest of the working class, to prevent an offensive against Phase III from getting off the ground.

For a National Rubber Strike to Smash the Wage Controls!

The URW leadership, as well as the rest of the labor bureaucracy, is engaged in an elaborate effort to enforce the Nixon wage guidelines in a show of "responsibility." While the bureaucrats have been forced to make a pretense of militancy in the Goodrich strike, it is simply in order to maintain their authority and force the Goodyear contract on the rubber workers. But at the same time, this controlled localized show of militancy is a dangerously double-edged tactic. While the ranks have not broken from the bureaucratically-imposed straitjacket of a strike limited to pension improvement and seniority rights, the workers do see it as a rejection of the Goodyear settlement (the national contract). The dynamic of the Goodrich strike could easily extend back to Goodyear and forward to the other rubber companies, Firestone and General. What the ruling class is worried about in the Goodrich strike is that it could sabotage the ever-so-sweet Goodyear settlement and set a pattern of industrial militancy. This fear is expressed in the *New York Times* (13 May 1973), "The Goodyear pact has already been ratified, but if the company reopens it to match the Goodrich settlement the shock-waves will be felt throughout the collective bargaining process."

Rubber workers must demand that the URW *reject the Goodyear contract* and turn the Goodrich strike into a *national rubber strike* against all the companies *to smash the wage controls*. Any rubber contract must have a substantial wage increase simply to make up for recent losses in real wages caused by inflation (consumer prices are up by 30 percent since 1969 alone), and a full cost-of-living escalator clause (sliding scale of wages) to protect against future losses.

Fight layoffs by a 30 hour week with no loss in pay, by strikes against layoffs, a campaign to organize the South and Puerto Rico and elimination of the wage differential. The capitalists' efforts to circumvent the strike with imports must be defeated through international strike solidarity, in particular by the members of the International Federation of Chemical Workers of which the URW is an affiliate. The speed-up productivity drive must be fought by the creation of factory committees to enforce workers control of production.

For a Class-Struggle Alternative to the Bureaucrats

Unlike the reformists of various stripes, we must have no illusions that rubber workers' needs will be met simply by a 20 per cent wage increase or some other panacea (why not 21 percent?). As long as the unions limit themselves to piecemeal reforms the bosses will take back with one hand what they give with the other: wage increases will be eliminated by inflation and speed-up, improvements in working conditions will be nullified by layoffs, and so on. Workers must fight against the whole profit system which is responsible for wage slavery. The unions must fight for necessary wage increases regardless of what the President of the United States wants. To do this, it is necessary to prepare the ranks to fight back when Nixon and the corporations attack.

Fundamentally the class struggle is a political process: Who shall rule, who is calling the shots? This is the issue in the Goodrich strike as in every other major class battle. For that reason it is necessary to raise a full political program to show the way forward toward the emancipation of the workers. Instead of meekly accepting the dictates of the corporate monopolies, we must call for the expropriation without compensation under workers control of the key industrial and financial enterprises. As against dependence on the labor fakers and their friends in Congress, we must dump the bureaucrats and build a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government.

At the same time we must counter-attack against the government-company-union campaign to enforce their wage guidelines. Limited to its present demands (or more precisely, lack of demands) and scope, the Goodrich strike can only lead to defeat. However, turned into a *national rubber strike against the wage controls* the strike could win the support of the entire working class, leading to major struggles by the teamsters, autoworkers and electrical workers as well. It could be one of the pivots to turn the defeat represented by Nixon's Phase III into a victory for the workers. Furthermore, rejection of state wage control *in principle* is a partial recognition of the class nature of the state and a beginning of revolutionary class consciousness. ■

Witchhunt in Jersey Auto

In a pre-strike political purge now underway at the Mahwah, N.J. assembly division, Ford has fired three leaders of oppositional caucuses in UAW Local 906 and given disciplinary layoffs to several more. The company is also cracking down on distribution of political literature, searching individuals and rifling lockers for "evidence" in the critical months before the contract expires on September 14.

The first victim in the recent rash of firings was Wilbur Haddock, a member of the United Black Workers (UBW) who had been the only remaining leader of the April 1969 Mahwah strike which shut down the night shift for several days. Next fired was Paul Levin, for getting only verbal, not written, permission to skip work to serve on jury duty. He was followed by Ricky Eisenberg, suspended indefinitely for handing out unauthorized literature and subsequently fired for absenteeism. Levin and Eisenberg, both members of the Local's United Rank and File Committee, were fired shortly after a smear leaflet signed by a so-called "Mahwah branch of the Anti-Communist Coalition" had red-baited them.

URFC members Pedro Rentas and Harry Mullen received disciplinary layoffs after being accused of distributing "illegal" literature. The URFC is supported by El Comité (a Puerto Rican nationalist group), the International Socialists and the CP. The CP's *Daily World*, however, has not had a word to say about the victimizations. About the same time Larry Goldbetter was suspended after ten copies of a socialist paper and other pamphlets were found in his locker during a company search.

Most of the firings and suspensions followed a walkout three weeks ago in Commercial (the truck department) over speedup and overwork. Eighty-four participants received suspensions which the Local 906 Reilly leadership claims to have been unable to reverse. Dissatisfaction of the rank and file has also been building over the issues of the leadership's failure to fight the elimination of committeemen; of the joint union-company "harmony clause"; and the betrayal of a struggle to fire a foreman, who was caught undoing the work of a man on the line in order to frame him. (The foreman had received his promotion from the ranks when he made an efficiency suggestion which eliminated eight jobs.) After promising to get the foreman fired, the union settled to have him merely busted back to the line, and thus reinstated in the union!

While claiming they were unable to throw this company fink out of the union, the bureaucracy now is obviously stalling while Ford purges the plant of many of its militant fighters. Reilly, a Woodcock loyalist, is trying to ensure that the upcoming negotiations will come off without any annoying objections from the ranks.

The response to Ford's move to smash all potentially militant currents during the combustible pre-contract period is an acid test to separate those in the unions who fight for the working class from those who reduce the slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" to hollow demagoguery. Both wings of the Local 906 leadership, supporting President Joe Reilly or Vice President Dave Gardner respectively, are using the mishandling of the defense cases as a political football to attack each other. Gardner recently accused Reilly of playing politics with the firings and trying to bargain away Levin's job in exchange for other concessions. In recent leaflets the leadership has openly lent its support to the "anonymous" red-baiting campaign accompanying Ford's crackdown by blaming disunity in the union on "outside forces."

Despite this, apparently none of the fired workers, nor any of the oppositional caucuses under attack took the floor at the April union meeting to demand that the leadership fight to defend its members. All the caucuses have missed the glaring need for a united class defense against the witchhunt. A Workers' Action Movement leaflet recently distributed called only for the black worker to be rehired, ignoring the two fired whites! PL in typical sectarian fashion called only for defense of its own supporter, while stupidly fingering him by identifying him in a leaflet as a member of Progressive Labor. The UBW, which has criticized the bureaucracy in leaflets for failing to defend all those fired, has never in the union meetings called for defense of any but their own members.

At the May meeting, Reilly dodged a demand, which had been gaining momentum, for the union to go on record for a united defense of all those fired, saying it was unnecessary since he had already pledged himself to this goal in his oath of office. Thus an opportunity to confront the company with a strong statement of determination was missed. ■

Continued from page 1

...France

sections, to deal above all with language problems.) This must be raised in the framework of an overall program for power calling for the formation of a workers government, to nationalize the key industrial and financial corporations under workers control, to dissolve the bourgeois army and police and replace them by a workers militia, etc. With the recent renewed activity of fascist bands and their attacks on student demonstrations and the Peugeot strike, the formation of workers self-defense guards is an additional urgent demand.

However, it appears that most French left groups are limiting themselves to one or another set of reform demands. Thus the "political group" of Renault workers which is supported by the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) calls simply for 1,500 francs minimum salary, equal pay scales, the 40 hour week, etc., and "all the demands included in the Common Program" *(Informations Ouvrières*, 21-28 March 1973). This is the same program that up to three weeks previously the OCI was polemicizing against as totally inadequate and restricted to the framework of capitalism! But then, the Communist Party, which was itself until three weeks earlier pushing the Common Program, set the pace by calling on Pompidou to implement the program of the UDR (the government party)!

The Student Demonstrations

The student demonstrations against the elimination of draft deferments have been remarkable for their unexpectedly large size and the participation of the Communist Party. Apparently worried that a new "Spring of 1968" could break out, the CP has gone so far as to sign joint leaflets with the Ligue Communiste (French section of the "United Secretariat") and organize joint demonstrations with "the ultra-leftists," in order to retain control of the movement.

The demonstrations began on 22 March and escalated to the mammoth 9 April mobilization which drew over 150,000, including numerous trade-union contingents. The concrete demands centered on the Debré law which reforms the military system by eliminating student deferments. The main demands of the demonstrations have been for return of the deferments, although some groups have raised the demand for the extension of the deferments to all youth.

In France where the deferments affect primarily secondary and technical school students, a call for deferments does not have as pronounced a class-privilege aspect as in the United States where they have been limited to college students. However, in any case, the struggle against militarism must strike at the heart of the bourgeois army by calling for abolition of the draft. To call for "extending the deferments" is simply skirmishing when what is called for is an assault. The call for abolition of the draft, since it would have as a necessary corollary the disorganization of the armed forces, can be clearly linked to the struggle for a workers government. Linked to the call for workers militias, it likewise is counterposed to petty-bourgeois pacifist ideology and leads toward an understanding of the class nature of the bourgeois state. ■

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...Fremont

which arose with the New Left's turn to Maoism, fails to call for united working-class struggle, instead proclaiming vaguely "People of the World Unite!" In the unions, instead of putting forward a definite class program, it calls for "practicing the mass line, that is, gathering the unsystematic and spontaneous ideas of the masses and formalizing them into demands, programs and actions" *(The Call*, January 1973). This vagueness has, however, a very specific purpose; namely it is a cover for teaming up with operators like the leadership of the Brotherhood Caucus, and through them with a section of the bureaucracy itself (the "Blue Slate").

Similarly, the Maoist Revolutionary Union also tails after the Brotherhood uncritically. Worried about having their rank opportunism exposed before the working class, RUers have taken to using the bureaucrats' own gangster tactics against *Workers Vanguard* salesmen outside the plant. The simple appearance of an apolitical opposition caucus, like the Brotherhood, seems to draw out the opportunists of every stripe, even sucking in the fake-Trotskyist Workers League. "The formation of the Brotherhood Caucus reflects the enormous anger of the ranks and their determination to build a new leadership in the UAW," wrote the *Bulletin* (11 December 1972). The WL has now withdrawn its enthusiastic endorsement of the Brotherhood only in order to push its *own* reformist auto program, whose central demand is a 20 percent wage increase.

Faced with an array of bureaucratic cliques and opportunist caucuses, militants in the UAW have only one choice: to unite in a class-struggle caucus basing itself on a program of working-class struggle against capitalism, the Trotskyist transitional program. ■

Leaders Sabotage Rubber Workers' Strike

The Rubber Workers strike against B. F. Goodrich is the first national strike against a major industrial corporation since the beginning of Nixon's New Economic Policy. It is a critical test of whether Nixon's Phase III can maintain wage-control, as Phases I and II did. Yet the Bommarito bureaucracy of the United Rubber Workers (URW) has deliberately set this strike up to be defeated.

Faced with a major strike wave and worsening international competitive position, in August 1971 the American ruling class resorted to direct state wage control. With the active support of the union bureaucracy, Nixon's anti-labor policies have been by and large successful. Total man-days on strike fell from 66.4 million in 1970 to 47.4 million in 1971 and again to 26.0 million in 1972 (*Monthly Labor Review*, February 1973).

Equally important as the overall decline in strikes was that virtually no strikes were called against the big manufacturing corporations, that is, against the heart of the capitalist class. The major strikes in the past few years have been among public employees, notably teachers; these, while disturbing social order, do not directly attack profits. Indeed, profits have been booming under Nixon's "wage-price controls," going up twice as fast as national income in the past two years and increasing an incredible 26 percent in the first quarter of 1973!

With national contracts in steel, trucking, auto, electrical equipment and rubber, 1973 is a critical year for continuation of the ruling class' highly profitable wage-control policy. Despite Nixon's attempts to hold down prices by cutting back the "frivolous" spending of the poor, workers are suffering under the highest rates of inflation in 22 years. With the Watergate scandal, the moral authority of the Nixon administration is reduced to zero. In this context, 1973 should be a year of explosive strikes, and given the high profit levels, of sizeable gains for the working class.

However, Nixon's anti-labor program has a powerful ally in the union bureaucracy. I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers started the year off right (for the bosses) by signing a no-strike pledge with the steel industry and allowing the contract terms to be decided by an arbitration board. Nixon's closest labor comrade-in-arms, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, began his contract preparations by disciplining the Chicago local, which had the disturbing habit of successfully wildcatting against the national contract. Donald Rogers, one of Nixon's key labor advisors, crowed that the government provided the structure for "an era of voluntary-compulsory arbitration" (*New York Times*, 2 April 1973).

Bommarito Joins Phase III

At the 1966 Miami URW convention, in the wake of widespread revolts and unrest in local unions, incumbent President George Burdon, accused of bureaucratism and personal corruption, withdrew his candidacy for renomination. Peter Bommarito rode into power and immediately became indistinguishable from the rest of the Meanyites, despite his previous pretentions of honest militancy. The "model" national contract he signed with Goodyear on 25 April is truly a disaster for the workers and a gift to the capitalists. At a time when prices are rising by 8.8 percent a year, the Goodyear contract calls for a wage increase of 6 percent this year and 16 percent over three years *without a cost-of-living adjustment!* With this contract the rubber workers will probably be earning less real wages in 1976 than they are earning now! The other major "improvement" was in the pension, which leaves most retirees with smaller pensions than welfare gives to old people. A joint company-union statement triumphantly announced that the settlement stayed within Phase III guidelines. Indeed it had, and the ruling class was well pleased with the Goodyear contract. The *Wall Street Journal* said approvingly, "The chief cost they are watching is labor cost, and so far the signs have been encouraging. Last month, for instance, the Rubber Workers Union settled with Goodyear for increases amounting to about 6 per cent a year..." (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 May 1973).

A settlement as bad as the Goodyear contract was not easy to sell to the ranks. Local 2 of Akron, the heart of industry and union, voted the contract down unanimously and three other locals also rejected it. The announcement of the Goodyear settlement produced wildcats in the firm's Union City, Tenn. facility and three Firestone plants. But the Bommarito regime smashed these wildcats and managed to push it through the other locals.

"Apache Strategy" Hits URW

Rather than openly pushing the unpopular Goodyear settlement on the workers in the other rubber companies, the URW bureaucrats tried a different tactic. They called a strike around small, easily winnable demands in order to evaporate militancy and restore the bureaucracy's authority. The demands of the Goodrich strike are *not fundamentally different* from the terms

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Out-Bureaucrats Seek to Co-opt Angry Ranks in Fremont UAW Elections

OAKLAND, Calif.—Election time in a local union often brings with it the sudden development of caucuses which are for militant struggle against the company and "membership control" of the union, and which are particularly good at denouncing each other's various crimes, especially the crimes of an incumbent leadership or ex-leadership. Such caucuses come and go very easily. Invariably, they serve only to install new leaders who pursue the same rotten policies and sellouts as the old leaders. The membership can only lose in such a contest.

This is the situation facing auto workers in UAW Local 1364 at the Fremont, Calif., GM plant in upcoming local elections in June. The popular "Brotherhood Caucus" has absolutely nothing more to offer than the rotten, incumbent "Unity" group led by John "Chief" Herrera. This point was strongly underlined by the recent endorsement of the Brotherhood by the "Blue Slate"—the caucus of the deservedly discredited *previous* local leadership! In a completely demagogic posture of militancy, these out-bureaucrats, who for years did nothing for the membership, put out a leaflet appropriately entitled "Time for a Change," saying "we (the Blue Slate) have decided to join the Brotherhood to eliminate the stranglehold on our local union.... With PEOPLE POWER we can overcome the dictatorial leadership that now exists."

New Skirmish, Old Feud

The feud between Herrera's "Unity" clique and the clique around Floyd Bueno and the "Blue Slate" goes back about a decade, when the present Local 1364 was formed by a fusion of Locals 333 and 1031, in response to GM's opening of the Fremont plant to replace the old Fisher Body and Chevy plants in Oakland. The two old bureaucracies of Bueno and Herrera have been fighting for control ever since, to the detriment of the membership.

After dumping Bueno and riding into power in 1969 on the back of the "Headlighter Caucus," Herrera immediately began to line up with the International leadership and adopt all the policies which had built up tremendous bitterness against Bueno's gang. He sat on overwork grievances, suppressed all discussion of the union's demands during the 1970 GM strike and even called the police to suppress an opposition-backed strike rally at the plant, blaming "outside agitators" (see *WV* No. 12, October 1972).

Now the Brotherhood has appeared, organized by, among others, one Earlie Mays, who has been accused of conniving with company officials during the 1970 strike. Although the Brotherhood Caucus claims to have recruited 1500 local members since November 1972, there was no way for the membership to tell what the Brotherhood stood for until December, when the caucus finally issued a statement of purpose. This statement was based on generalities such as, "The Brotherhood Caucus is a coalition of other caucuses and concerned brothers and sisters uniting to stop the atrocious, and capricious crimes against the membership." Exactly *how* this was to be done was left unsaid.

Gradually the caucus has found issues to use against the corrupt incumbents: a Brotherhood leaflet in February boasted about exposing the "exploitation" of union funds and winning "the right to check the financial secretary's books or have the Federal Government do it." This threat to have the bosses' government intervene in a workers' organization, if carried out, is no different than Herrera's use of the cops against strike militants. The capitalist government intervenes in workers organizations only to weaken or destroy the workers' ability to struggle against the capitalists. Use of the police, courts, etc., within the labor movement is the method of bureaucrats or would be bureaucrats, whose power rests largely on intimidation, graft and alliances with sections of the bourgeoisie.

Brotherhood Caucus Stalls on Company Firings

This issue has become important at Fremont, where in the past six months GM has launched a conscious drive to eliminate known militants, radicals and "communists" from the plant, in an attempt to intimidate the workers and prevent a strike at the contract expiration date in September. Especially after the recent witchhunt against the Maoist "Venceremos" group in the Bay Area, numerous people have been fired at Fremont for "falsification" of employment applications. One of those fired issued a leaflet documenting how he had managed to see his personnel file, which contained a report from the House Internal Security Committee identifying him as a member of the Revolutionary Union. When the issue of these obviously government-backed political firings was raised at the 25 February local meeting, the Herrera regime, backed by International Rep. Harold Dunne, defended their current policy, which has allowed the firings to proceed.

On this important issue, the Brotherhood has stalled for months and has consistently shrunk from organizing united action to defend *all* those fired for alleged "falsification." On 10 May, the Brotherhood finally took the step of holding a rally (which was attended by less than one tenth of the caucus' claimed "membership") to announce the filing of a suit against GM with the NLRB. A Brotherhood leaflet to the workers explained that the action was to defend *"any* and *every"* person who was fired, but the press release to the bourgeois media (distributors refused to give it to a *WV* reporter!) stated that the purpose of the case was to stop GM's "attempt to obstruct the Brotherhood from organizing itself as a union caucus." The Brotherhood's only concern is for the firing of their own organizers, such as Pat Klonsky; they do nothing for a united *class* defense of the victimized militants.

"Revolutionary" Cover for Opportunism

The so-called "revolutionary" groups who have uncritically cheered the Brotherhood in their press must themselves take responsibility for the lack of a determined, *unified* working-class defense against the capitalist repression and for the lack of a genuine working-class political alternative in the election. The October League (OL),

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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LIBERALS ANXIOUS AS NIXON CREDIBILITY SHAKEN

Watergate Exposes Capitalist "Democracy"

Opening session of Senate Watergate hearings. NEWSWEEK

For the past two months the liberal press has been piously prating about the Watergate affair revealing "a corrupt style of government which is profoundly subversive of this country's institutions"(*New York Times*, 20 May 1973). The whole scenario is summed up by the recently resurrected 1972 Republican campaign button: "Nixon's the One." In fact, however, the corruption and conspiracy of Watergate go far beyond Nixon and his cronies. Year in and year out, spying, bribery, lying, theft, infiltration, forgery, etc., as well as wholesale buying of influence and selling of principles, have always been the lifeblood of bourgeois politics. Even the "heavy" methods—provocateurs, rigged trials, sabotage—have been used for decades against radicals and the labor movement. (For instance, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro boys, the jailing of Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act.)

The crimes of Watergate pale in comparison to the daily atrocities of the capitalist system (the tens of thousands who die every year as a result of industrial accidents, the hundreds of thousands killed by needless hunger and disease) and the repeated massacres organized by the bourgeoisie to prop up its tottering rule (more than two million Vietnamese workers and peasants murdered by imperialist forces since 1945, the killing of more than half a million Indonesian Communists in 1965), not to mention the unspeakable carnage of two imperialist world wars. Guilty of these crimes are not only Nixon (who, as far as his personal responsibility is concerned, would certainly merit the honor of being the first to receive the death penalty he has been eager to reintroduce), but the entire bourgeoisie which he represents.

While Watergate methods are nothing new in the life of the working class, there is a difference in this case: First, they were used against another bourgeois party. And second, Nixon got caught. In contrast to normal times, when all this goes on secretly, these two abnormal circumstances have given the public an opportunity to gaze upon the real nature of capitalist politics.

Just Doing a Job

The actual chain of events reads like a comic opera with one blunder after another. First, ex-CIA agents get caught trying to copy papers in the Democratic Party offices. Then they are immediately linked to the Republican campaign committee. Soon reports appear of a widespread GOP effort to infiltrate rival campaign organizations and put out smear stories to discredit Democratic candidates. (Part of the plan was a conscious attempt to ensure a McGovern nomination.) Various covers for the operation are debated (e.g., blame it on the CIA and "national security"); then it is decided to let the underlings who got caught take the rap, with guarantees of future favors for their pains.

But there is a fly in the ointment: one of the operatives (McCord) doesn't like the plan to involve the CIA and wants desperately to stay out of jail. Another wrench in the works: key Congressional leaders decide that Nixon has gone off the deep end by his hostile attitude toward the legislature in early 1973 and in retaliation start pushing a Watergate probe. After a drawn out cat-and-mouse game at the trial, McCord decides to get Nixon by talking.

Big uproar. Denials all around. Another important Nixon aide (Dean) senses an attempt to make him the scapegoat: more leaked hints in the anti-Nixon press. A loose-lipped incompetent (Gray) running the FBI accidentally lets out some tantalizing clues in Senate hearings. Then lower-level Administration officials start telling what they know, afraid of becoming the scapegoat. Nixon denials. More admissions. Then Nixon admissions and "trust in me"!

As we go to press, the circle has tightened around Nixon's three top domestic aides (Mitchell, Haldeman and Ehrlichman), who have apparently decided to brazen it out, denying all in order to save the President. Meanwhile various leading newspapers and congressmen test the wind on the subject of impeachment but find substantial resistance in more "responsible" quarters.

"Gestapo Tactics"

Amid the general confusion some important information has come out concerning a 1970 Nixon plan to set up a domestic secret political police apparatus. Published reports speak of a growing ineffectiveness of the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover's last years of rule. According to the plan, all the various intelligence arms (CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, etc., and the FBI) were intended to participate in setting up this secret agency. Despite Nixon's claim that the plan was shelved five days after it was implemented, a top-secret inter-agency "Intelligence Evaluation Committee" was established to carry on a wide range of domestic spying. Among other things, it reported almost daily to the Republican National Committee. In the meantime, the White House set up its own private spy task force (informally called "the plumbers"), supposedly to concentrate on intelligence leaks. Among other things, this group illegally tapped at least 14 telephones of administration officials (including enabling Kissinger to spy on his aides in 1969), broke into the offices of the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg (of Pentagon Papers fame) and forged a telegram linking Kennedy to the death of South Vietnamese dictator Diem.

The "IEC" national red squad was also quite active. In the space of two years, it broke into offices of the Black Panthers, the Berrigan brothers' group and the "Chicago Seven," and perhaps others, to get "evidence" and plant wiretaps for the government's frame-up efforts. One of the most frequent activities of the red squad was the planting of provocateurs. Last year, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War were charged with planning to shoot up the Republican Party convention; the indictments were based on the testimony of an FBI plant, William Lemmer, who admitted giving the government information which was "95 percent false." A recent newspaper account tells of another FBI provocateur, Larry Grathwohl, who was a prominent Weatherman: He gave lessons in bomb-making and the use of delayed fuses and, "utilizing a special munition he manufactured—participated in the bombing of a public school in a suburb of Cincinnati

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Strike Against Wage Controls! Build a Workers Party!

Wohlforth Embraces Pabloism...3

Program for Power: Early Communist Work in the Trade Unions 6

SL Expelled from Chino Defense Committee

On May Day members and supporters of Venceremos, in an unsurprising display of infantile sectarianism and anti-Trotskyism, expelled the Spartacist League from the San Francisco Chino Defense Committee (CDC). The following week a similar "purge" was carried out in the East Bay CDC. Not one charge was brought against the Spartacist League and, in fact, Venceremos was forced to admit that the SL/RCY had functioned in exemplary manner as members of the Committee. The expulsions were motivated by political cowardice alone.

Basing itself on the principle of unconditional defense of the left against bourgeois attack, the Spartacist League last January responded immediately to the call to form a Chino Defense Committee in answer to a witchhunt by the State of California directed against the Venceremos group. The SL has been the only organization to do so. Apart from participating in the CDC meetings, members of the SL/RCY distributed leaflets, sold defense buttons, collected money and organized the only forums to be held on Bay Area campuses. Again basing itself on Leninist principles of the united front, the Spartacist League demanded the following preconditions for its participation: First, the SL fought for the principle of unity in action within the CDC; i.e., literature and activities sponsored by the committee were to be agreed upon by all participating groups, thereby preventing the committee from being opportunistically used by any of the participating organizations. Second, there has to be freedom of criticism for organizations involved. That is, while participating in a common defense, the SL refused to liquidate its politics into those of the defense committee and insisted on the right of all organizations to put forward their politics under their own name. These principles can be summarized by the main slogan of the united front, "march separately, strike together."

In its struggle to codify these principles of freedom of criticism, unity in action, the Spartacist League met immediate resistance from Venceremos members in San Francisco. Weeks prior to the May expulsions, these Maoists argued that there could be no common work with "Trotskyites," and claimed that SL/RCY members were disrupting CDC meetings in San Francisco. In a CDC coordinating committee meeting, the Venceremos charges were shown to be fabrications and slanders, and the "principles of unity" were confirmed. This was particularly embarassing to Venceremos in that the coordinating committee is composed entirely of members and friends of Venceremos.

What the principles of unity and autonomy meant in practice is best exemplified by the format of the SL-sponsored CDC forums. A twenty-minute presentation by a CDC representative was strictly limited to facts related to the defense case. This was followed by two ten-minute presentations by members of Venceremos and the Spartacist League. This format was expressly almed at ensuring the political rights and autonomy of both groups involved. It was precisely this principled united-front approach that was cynically rejected by Venceremos when, in its preparations for a CDC rally, the Spartacist League was denied the right to speak at the rally despite full provisions for Venceremos speakers. And, as might be expected, it was precisely the principle of freedom of criticism which precipitated the expulsions. Venceremos, which liquidates its politics as a matter of course, was appalled that the SL had dared put forward SL politics and criticisms of Venceremos during the forums. Venceremos, they declared, would not send representatives to future forums (so there!). Though they tried their best, they were never quite able to make this political cowardice look like righteous indignation. The expulsion proceedings began at the following meetings of the CDC.

On both sides of the Bay the arguments were identical. "Stalin said that it's unprincipled to work with 'Trots,'" we were told. "To say that you defend an organization without supporting it is opportunist." This last argument is in perfect accord with the criminal refusal of Venceremos to defend Angela Davis; it also justifies the refusal of every other group on the left to work in the CDC. Finally, by limiting the Venceremos defense to those who support Venceremos, they ensure the narrowest participation and, therefore, sabotage their own defense efforts. In both the East and West Bay it was admitted that the SL had functioned in a responsible manner, and the expulsions had the explicit character of a political purge.

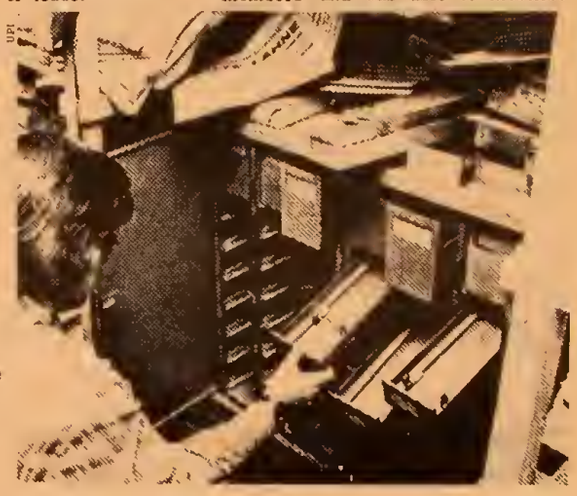
At present, the CDC is limited to members and friends of Venceremos who, we presume, will carry on under the banner, "Dare to Betray, Dare to Lose," and with a total disregard of principles. For our part, we reaffirm our unconditional defense of Venceremos members under attack by the bourgeois state and call on the Chino Defense Committee to re-establish Leninist norms for a united-front defense effort. ■

Repression Hits German Maoists

The West German government last month took a major step toward outlawing the Maoist movement by a nation-wide raid on the offices and homes of members of the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD, the Communist Party of Germany) and the arrest of several KPD leaders. At precisely 6:30 a.m. on 15 May, police in West Berlin, Dortmund, Frankfurt, Munich, Dusseldorf and Bonn began a systematic operation of breaking into scores of apartments in search of "incriminating material." More than 100 police were involved in Berlin alone, and the raid netted "several truckloads" of files and documents, the subscription list of the KPD newspaper *Rote Fahne* and the arrest of Jürgen Horlemann, one of the top leaders of the organization, on the charge of membership in an organization pursuing "punishable aims." The Chief Federal Prosecutor refused to answer questions about the raids, simply confirming that they had taken place.

SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

Jürgen Horlemann, arrested KPD leader



UPI

Results of police raid on offices of German Maoist group (KPD) last month.

The raids and arrests came only four days before the visit to West Germany of Russian CP head Leonid Brezhnev, and most newspapers linked the police action to that visit. (The KPD had threatened demonstrations against Brezhnev.) The Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP, the German Communist Party, the far larger pro-Moscow group) had called on the Brandt government to act against the Maoists. According to a report in the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, "the DKP ended by giving valuable information to the Federal authorities" (cited in *Workers Press*, 18 May 1973). A week earlier the leadership of the Metalworkers' Union (IG Metall) called for the expulsion of members of the Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition (RGO, the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition), the KPD's trade-union group, from the union. The Social Democrats, with the aid of the DKP, have called for the expulsion of Trotskyists and Maoists from the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) (*Workers Press*, 10 May 1973).

In spite of the use of Brezhnev's visit as a justification for the police action, it is clearly intended as a first step toward declaring the organization illegal. The Minister of the Interior of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia (including Dortmund, the headquarters of the KPD) had already initiated the process of banning the KPD on 30 April (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 16 May 1973). He also declared that there were more than 2,000 members of Maoist, Trotskyist and anarchist groups in his state.

The KPD is a largely student organization, concentrated in Berlin, which has managed to combine Third Period "ultra-leftist" Stalinism with popular-front policies in a manner that captures the worst aspects of each period. Thus it calls for signing the treaty in Vietnam (thereby endorsing the robbers' peace) and its Liga gegen den Imperialismus (Anti-imperialist League) has no socialist program whatsoever; at the same time, its answer to Thieu's April visit was impotent adventurism (invading the Bonn city hall), and the RGO trade-union groups are clearly oriented toward dual unionism, thus giving the bureaucrats an easy excuse for expelling them (as they are now doing) as members of "a rival labor organization." These Stalinist policies are combined in various blends by all of the Maoist groups, which in Germany include (besides the KPD) the KPD/ML *(Roter Morgen)*, the KPD/ML *(Rote Fahne)*, various groups entitled Kommunisticher Bund and several student groups. The largest of the organizations, the KPD, has roughly 1,000 members and was able to mobilize 10,000 participants in a demonstration in Berlin last year.

While Trotskyists are totally opposed to the Stalinist reformism of Maoism, we recognize these police actions as an attack on the entire workers movement and therefore call for unconditional defense of the KPD against the bourgeois state. This contrasts sharply to the DKP's encouragement of the state in moving against the Maoists, despite clear indication in the semi-official organ of the German bourgeoisie, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (16 May 1973), that the DKP itself should eventually be banned. ■

Corrections

In the article, "Workers League Withdraws Debate Challenge" of 27 April 1973, *Workers Vanguard* reported the following:

"Last November Wohlforth told the Buffalo Marxist Collective... that he was 'speaking under protest' and that 'after our discussion any further contact with the SL would mean a break in our relations.' The BMC went on to fuse with the RCY."

While Wohlforth did make these remarks, he withdrew them the next day, telling the BMC that "you can talk to whomever you want," providing Wohlforth was not brought to Buffalo as a subterfuge to debate the Spartacist League. Despite the BMC's insistence on further clarification through a debate, Wohlforth categorically refused any confrontation. Additionally, the discussions were held in August, not in November as the article originally reported.

Following successful discussions with the SL/RCY, the BMC broke off relations with the WL.

In the last issue of *WV* (No. 21, 25 May 1973) an important error of translation was made in the article "Class Struggle Heats Up in France." On page 11, we stated that the OCI-supported "political group" in Renault calls for implementing the demands of the "Common Program," the program of the popular-front Union of the Left. In fact, the call is for implementing the demands of the "Common *Platform*" of the three trade-union federations. Thus our criticism of the OCI on this point—of calling for the implementation of the popular-front program they rejected three weeks earlier—was inaccurate.

We would like to emphasize, nevertheless, that the government of Pompidou remains fundamentally unstable, and that in such a situation a program limited to trade-union reforms (such as the "Common Platform") is wholly inadequate. A Trotskyist program in the unions today in France must include a perspective of replacing the rule of the parties of capital with a workers government based on a program for socialist revolution.

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NCLC "Strategy" Conference

Marcus Raves On

Heroic music set the stage for the fantasy which unfolded last week in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, where Lyn Marcus of the National Caucus of Labor Committees unveiled his (latest) plan for seizing state power within five years.

"We have been accused of being fascists," intoned the moderator, as the last strains of stirring music faded away. He then noted that the fascists had, after all, made the trains run on time and that the NCLC would carry out a revolution within the next few years on an equally precise timetable. These remarks served as prologue to the introduction of Marcus as "the station-master behind it all."

Marcus, despite his unequalled expertise in the production of non-fulfilling prophecies, remains unflappable in stating exact dates for his crackpot schemes, perhaps because, like Tim Wohlforth of the Workers League, he and his organization of petty-bourgeois academics manqués always have available as last line of defense the spurious employment of Marxist contradiction to prove that black is white. Thus "Operation Mop-Up," in which the NCLC, with equal assurance, announced the demise of the Communist Party within six to eight weeks and its own consequent assumption of hegemony on the Left, has been proclaimed successful! Understandably, however, even Marcus preferred not to dwell on this "success" in his address.

Marcus' keynote address dealt primarily with the formation of a new paramilitary revolutionary youth movement which he claims will come into existence by fall and will number in the tens of thousands within one year. Completely superseding the street gangs, this "movement" will recruit ghetto youth on the basis of "pure rage." These youth will, again within a year, be able to debate down academically trained philosophers and economists.

By what miracle will these erstwhile street-fighters be transformed into redoubtable debaters endowed with the full panoply of Marcusite obscurantist weaponry? Marcus explained that abstract philosophical and economic concepts come easily to "complete" gut-level revolutionaries who have grasped what he terms "sensuous reality"! Ghetto youth, filled with pure rage, will then be organized through "psychological terror," through exposure to a rage greater than anything they have ever seen, into the core of a revolutionary movement. Thus cadre-building is reduced to an essentially psychological, individual task; this accords with Marcus' (ultimately self-aggrandizing) stand that a "real" revolutionary is defined not by the correctness of his political positions but by the possession of "internal authority." Alas, in one of several indictments of the NCLC membership, Marcus was forced to admit that (with the exception, of course, of himself and a few other initiates) the NCLC is composed of people who are less than "complete revolutionaries." Hence, only a few members of NCLC are to be permitted to participate in this youth work, the others being relegated to the less psychologically demanding NU-WRO, where they will not be intimidated by having to face the psychologically overwhelming "mana" of ghetto youth. "Only those who have really gotten themselves together," said Marcus, would be selected for this work.

The plan seemed simple enough. To youth who according to Marcus make "hustling" a way of life, the NCLC will propose that they cease these small-time operations and execute a bigger rip-off—the seizure of state power. The youth would thus be told that they are wasting their time holding up filling stations and grocery stores when they have the power to "take it all."

A youth movement in New York, Marcus asserted, could immediately wipe out prostitution, drugs, the robbery of ghetto inhabitants and the payment of rent. Marcus revealed his own step-by-step plan for the liquidation of the narcotics problem in New York. *Workers Vanguard* now makes this hitherto secret plan public:

- Stage One: Collect the names and addresses of all Mafia members in New York. (Marcus was understandably less than precise as to how this initial step was to be carried out.)
- Stage Two: Get rid of the pushers. (Marcus was a bit vague about the execution of stage two as well.)
- Stage Three: Wait for the Malia to retaliate. (This stage, at least, was crystal clear.)
- Stage Four: When it does, allow Maliosi to pursue a few revolutionary youth, who will lead them into an ambush. Simultaneously, throw rocks through the windows of all Mafia members on the list.

And that, believe it or not, is the solution to the narcotics problem in the capitalist necropolis! Marcus was, however, careful to warn that until the movement was prepared to execute this plan drugs would continue to pose a problem.

According to Marcus, the Justice Department is now in the process of planning a frame-up of the NCLC. The only thing which has up till now protected the NCLC from the government, he said, has been its "factitious advantage" vis-à-vis the Justice Department, which doesn't want to dignify the

Lyn Marcus

NCLC by prosecuting it. This situation, however, cannot last: the government will attempt to crush the NCLC unless it can be made afraid to do so. Marcus' answer to the terror of governmental repression is the unleashing of ghetto riots; the NCLC must build a "riot potential" strong enough to deter the government from its planned crackdown.

In fact, a nationwide organization of ghetto youth under the direction of a crackpot like Marcus would be just the thing to call down the Justice Department and the FBI! But far more importantly, such a scheme—which abandons the necessary struggle for the construction of the vanguard party of the working class on a political basis—can end only in disaster. Outbreaks of undirected mass rage—although they are understandable and justified—can have no other result than to bring down the repressive arm of the bourgeois state, while these victims of capitalist oppression are condemned to live in ghettos devastated in the course of an uprising which had no prospect of success. Only the working class united under the leadership of the Leninist vanguard party can confront and defeat the capitalist state power.

But it is not of the problems of the ghetto-dwellers that Marcus is thinking, but of those of his own organization, faced with the results of a whole chain of hysterical aberrations. The only drawback Marcus can perceive in his get-rich-quick (get-smashed-quick?) scheme for organizing ghetto youth is that the membership of his organization is composed of what he terms "scared bunnies." Thus he sees the organizers of most socialist groups, including the NCLC, as having as their primary task the "amusement" of the membership, so that half the ranks won't quit in any given week and go back to daddy's business, academia or a "meaningful personal life." Marcus followed this revealing statement with a proposal to remedy the situation. Conveniently enough, it turned out to be the very same plan that will free NCLC from governmental repression and wipe out drugs in the ghetto, namely the transformation of street gangs into revolutionary youth. Once the ghetto youth—who by virtue of their all-encompassing rage, will be "complete" revolutionaries—enter the NCLC, their sheer presence will transform the rest of the membership from petty-bourgeois dilettantes who, as Marcus admits, can't decide whether to remain in the organization from one week to the next, into genuine revolutionaries. But it won't be easy, Marcus warns. (Some of the members already appeared a bit timorous.) The process necessary for this great transformation will compel each and every member to look deep within himself to confront his hitherto unadmitted psychological problems—to face his own childhood!—in what will be an agonizing and traumatizing experience of the first magnitude.

But while the "station-master" is devising new games to play with his timetables and (as he himself put it) listening to the inspiration of his guts (while the NCLC ranks endeavor to tighten up theirs sufficiently to look ghetto youth in the eye), serious revolutionists will continue to pursue the task of building the vanguard party rooted in the working class.

We repeat our warning to members of the NCLC: there are elements in the politics of the Labor Committee which can take the NCLC, or a section of it, straight out of the workers movement altogether. The "Operation Mop-Up" program of physical attacks on other left tendencies, and now the call for an apolitical organization of youth gangs on the basis of psychological terror, are proceeding to crystallize these elements into a consistent pattern. ■

OCAW Leaders Sabotage Shell Strike

While calling for a nationwide consumer boycott of Shell products and playing up to liberals with the slogan, "America's first environmental strike," leaders of the Shell Oil strike allowed the strike to die through cynical, defeatist policies. They refused to extend the strike internationally and even failed to shut Shell down completely in the U.S. While withholding "official" endorsement, they allowed the 1800 workers at the Deer Park refinery near Houston to return to work with terms substantially less than the points on health and safety already agreed to by other major oil companies before the strike began. These terms now form the basis for other "local" agreements.

The defeatist perspective of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) leadership was revealed at a meeting of the union's District Council 8 in New York, 5 May, during the strike. The meeting was addressed by Gene Herson of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union. Herson recounted the efforts of his caucus to stop the scabbing on the Shell strike by the NMU bureaucracy, which was permitting the handling of Shell products on NMU-contract ships. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus had called for "hot-cargoing" all Shell products during the strike (see *WV* No. 20, 11 May 1973). This task was made more difficult, Herson pointed out, by the fact that OCAW workers at the Shell terminal at Sewaren, New Jersey were working during the strike!

OCAW International Secretary-Treasurer Ben Schaeffer replied that Herson was correct about the Sewaren workers' working during the strike, but that the OCAW had decided not to call them out because they were "new" to the OCAW and "uneducated" about unions. Presumably their first "lesson" was entitled, "how to make excuses for strikebreaking"!

This nonsense conflicted with an earlier excuse Herson said he had received over the phone from another OCAW official, who explained that it was unnecessary to call out Sewaren because the terminal was only involved in "marketing," not production. And this from a union which claimed to be "boycotting" precisely the marketing of Shell products!

Schaeffer had been preceded by another International representative, Angelo Augustino, who reported that progress in the strike was very slow. "We're not making any headway whatsoever," he reported. One bureaucrat privately revealed the reason: The money would soon run out, forcing the locals to go back to work, but under *separate* local agreements, so that the International would not have to put its seal of approval to the failure to achieve at Shell what all other major companies had granted! This is precisely what has happened.

When asked later if any effort were being made to extend the strike to refineries in Venezuela and Curaçao, major Shell installations, the officers had no response, saying that they were simply concentrating on domestic Shell. This went hand in hand with their demagogic appeal to American patriotism against Shell, which is owned primarily by Dutch and British capital: all Americans should support Shell workers against exploitation by foreigners, said the bureaucrats. Supposedly, oil workers would get a better deal from American exploiters!

This bankrupt strategy was uncritically endorsed by Progressive Labor and International Socialists, among others. The IS proclaimed the OCAW's alliance with West Coast environmentalists as "an important step in changing the history of this country" and announced that "a consumer boycott can materially affect the outcome of this strike" (*Workers Power*, 30 March-12 April 1973). Nowhere in the article is there the slightest criticism of the OCAW bureaucracy. The boycott and bloc with liberal ecology freaks were simply a means to save face for the International, a cover for a policy of consciously subverting and suppressing the organized strength of the workers, which could have been mobilized to actually win the strike. ■

NYC WORKERS LEAGUE CLASS SERIES

Wohlforth Embraces Pabloism

This is the second of two WV articles dealing with the issues raised in the recent Workers League public class series in New York City.

The Workers League's pretensions to internationalism and the continuity of the Fourth International are just as phony as the pseudo-dialectics which Wohlforth prates about in order to obscure any consideration of program. Thus the WL systematically betrays the *program* of the FI by, among other things, its constant chasing after militant-talking Stalinists (Mao Tse-tung or Ho Chi Minh) and leftist nationalists (such as Huey Newton), its "critical" support for aspiring labor fakers (Morrissey in the NMU), its adaptation to even the most reactionary elements of the labor bureaucracy (Meany and Abel) and its refusal to fight in the unions for solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. Now it abandons the Transitional Program explicitly with the line that wage demands are inherently revolutionary, and transitional demands therefore unnecessary and sectarian.

IC Fiction

But even organizationally, the "internationalism" of the WL is a fiction. Wohlforth equates internationalism with abject subservience to the Socialist Labour League of Gerry Healy, in much the same manner as Earl Browder's Communist Party slavishly capitulated before every twist and turn ordered by Stalin. The Healyite "International Committee" has always been an empty form without content—a rotten bloc between the British SLL and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste in which each pursued its own policies (often sharply at variance with one another) and divided up the rest of the world as spheres of influence (Healy getting the English-speaking countries, while the OCI received the rest of Europe and South America).

A carefully preserved secret until 1966 was the fact that there was no discipline in the International Committee, the only basis for decision-making being unanimity. Thus the repeated demands by Healy from 1962 to 1966 that the Spartacist tendency subordinate itself to "international discipline" (which *in every case* we stated we would do, while refusing to *sign*, as was the fashion of the Stalintern, documents which amounted to a repudiation of our positions or else simply apolitical demonstrations of servility) were nothing but the capricious whim of a would-be petty dictator. In the fifth class Wohlforth explained this fraud by saying, well, nobody's perfect! But to speak of a federated international bloc as the "International" is no less absurd than to profess that a federated national grouping which does not "yet" have democratic centralism can be a vanguard party.

At the class on Spartacist Wohlforth denounced SL National Chairman James Robertson for alleged "anti-internationalism" because at the 1966 IC Conference Robertson had unwittingly violated an unannounced conference "rule" by missing a session. Wohlforth's demagoguery only revealed the WL's boundless hypocrisy, for the SL had just distributed to the class participants material showing that Wohlforth himself—in direct violation of a categorical instruction from Healy—did not bother to attend the conference at all!

Behind the question of organizational structure (itself a crucial programmatic aspect of Leninism) stands the question of the very nature of the fC as an unprincipled political bloc. For years the SLL and OCI held sharply counterposed positions on central questions—even on the very nature of the party. Thus the OCf has maintained that the basis of the party is program, while to the SLL, the basis of the party is "Marxist philosophy." Similarly, the OCf held the view that the Fourth International had been destroyed by revisionism and needed to be reconstructed, while the SLL proclaimed that the IC *is* the Fourth International. Nor was there agreement on issues such as the 1967 Arab-Israeli war (over which the OCf took a revolutionary defeatist position for both sides while the SLL supported the "Arab Revolution"), or the united front (which the SLL sees as a tactic while the OCf supports a "strategic united front").

In his presentation at the seventh class (on the split with the OCf) Wohlforth presented an elaborate fairy-tale history of the fC, explaining that there were, of course, differences, but they had to be discussed instead of precipitously splitting. As revealed by documents published by the SLL and OCI after the split, the actual "discussion" in the fC had the character of two ships passing in the night.

A perfect example was the true story of the "split in the fC at the Essen youth conference." According to the WL/SLL the prime sin of the OCf, its failure to recognize the absolute centrality of the struggle for dialectics, was revealed by the OCf's document for the June 1970 London pre-conference of the fC. However, that document was published in late 1969, yet nine months later the SLL had no alternative to offer to the meeting; it also refused to vote on the document. Another twelve months pass and the SLL delegation arrives at the Essen youth conference to be faced with an OCf-written document which had the same line as the previous one; in the meantime, of course, Healy and Co. still had not produced an answer. But this was apparently too much, so in typical Healyite fashion the English delegation offered an amendment-ultimatum on "dialectics" which was voted down by the French-dominated delegates assembly. The SLL now maintains that this is when the IC really split. However, at the time the SLL delegation not only did not take their amendment onto the floor of the conference to fight it out, but they then went on to give the conference enthusiastic coverage in their press; the "already-split" IC continued to appear in the pages of the *Bulletin* as the continuity of the Ff.

OCI Centrists and SLL Political Bandits

The formal split came when the OCI handed Healy a nice factional club by supporting the centrist policies of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, which in the 1971 Bolivian events took a line similar to that of the POUM during the Spanish civil war. To avoid being tarred with the same brush Wohlforth claimed that "Lora [head of the POR] had never been in the International Committee and he never would have been admitted to it without a full discussion on his political history." But, as an SL spokesman pointed out at the class, the Healyites themselves had been very happy to take credit for the influential POR as recently as one month before the military coup (see the uncritical article which hailed the POR as "the Bolivian section of the International Committee" in the *Bulletin* of 19 July 1971)!

At the time of the split, Healy was able to capitalize on the OCf's centrist positions of support for the POR and a "strategic united front" in order to pose as the principled left wing of the fC. But the history of the SLL and WL reveals that they have wallowed in every opportunist deviation for which they now denounce the OCI. Thus, while the OCf accommodated to the French Stalinists by calling for votes to the CP in the recent elections (in spite of the fact that the CP was part of a popular front), the Workers League flatly supported the pop front: "The illusions of the workers can only be exposed by first electing the Left Union in the second round..." (*Bulletin*, 12 March 1973).

"I can't shut the damn thing off." Bulletin (13 December 1971) cartoon expresses Pabloist theory that workers can make revolution through traditional leaders.

The SLL/WL's "left" criticisms of the OCI are fraudulent. But no less fraudulent are the Healyites' pretensions to anti-revisionism. The SLL/WL posture toward the Pabloists has always been that of an estranged spouse alternating vituperation with reconciliation. Thus the 20 July 1970 *Bulletin* reported Healy's overtures to the United Secretariat with a proposal for political discussions and common work, hopefully to result in a "joint international conference" between the IC and the Pabloists. An internal WL directive dated 15 March 1970 earnestly explained the need to tone down criticisms of the SWP/YSA because:

> "The perspectives document agreed to in England proposed that *the road to the American working class is through the YSA* and it meant just that."

The whole thrust of the Healyite overture was to legitimatize the Pabloist cabal of Mandel, Frank, Hansen and Co. at precisely the moment that the USec was becoming markedly unstable and left currents were beginning to develop in several sections. The symbiosis between the USec Pabloists and the IC "inverted Pabloists" was clearly revealed here again, and the USec leadership was enabled to adopt a "principled" facade by turning the Healyites down.

When the OCf and SLL came to a parting of ways in 1971, this finally stripped naked the facade of internationalism of the "International Committee." A true International is composed of tendencies which are defined by *program*, not geography. (Even in the badly degenerated Socialist Workers Party, whose international ties to the fC had long been merely formal, the motion toward reunification with the Pabloists caused enough concern among some elements to precipitate the formation of an anti-Pabloist faction.) But the 1971 IC split had no ramifications in either of the leading national organizations! Apparently the entire SLL was in agreement with the "British line" and the entire OCf with the "French line."

Cuba and Inverted Pabloism

The WL class series was an instructive lesson in the methodology of Pabloism. The class on Cuba demonstrated Wohlforth's total confusion about the process of the Cuban revolution which, under petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership, uprooted capitalist property relations and established a deformed workers state. Duplicating in its essentials the Chinese revolution, Cuba illuminated the problem which had faced orthodox Trotskyists following World War II: how could capitalism have been overturned in Eastern Europe, and then China, without proletarian revolutions under Trotskyist leadership? Did this mean our evaluation of Stalinism was wrong? Unable to creatively extend orthodoxy to explain these transformations, the post-war Trotskyist movement's inability to solve this problem opened the road to a *revisionist* answer: Pablo's 1951 theory that under the pressure of a new objective reality Stalinism could become revolutionary, and thus the Trotskyists had no further function except as a pressure group to aid this "blunted instrument" to realize its new-found revolutionary potential.

The orthodox Trotskyists could only reply by pointing in horror at the necessary consequence: if Pablo's theory were correct, the very founding of the Fourth International was a mistake. Seeking to resist Pablo's liquidationist conclusions, they sought to deny reality until it overwhelmed them (the SWP did not officially characterize China as a deformed workers state until 1955). The response of the Healy tendency to the Cuban revolution was the same: according to the WL/SLL, Cuba is still a capitalist state!

Spartacist spokesmen at the class pointed out that this response accepts the method of Pabloism while seeking to reject its conclusions. At the heart of both is the acceptance of the deformed workers states as being only quantitatively different from healthy workers states. Thus the SWP justified its uncritical accommodation to Castro, saying Lenin's Russia was a very good workers state; Stalin's Russia was a very bad workers state; Castro's Cuba is a pretty good workers state (getting better all the time), and after all, so long as it's a workers state, that's good enough. Healy argues that if a *petty-bourgeois* leadership could establish a deformed workers state (which, for him, is just another workers state) then the Transitional Program is wrong in claiming that a Trotskyist working class leadership is necessary for successful proletarian revolution: therefore, Cuba is not a workers state.

Confronted with this analysis, Wohlforth vehemently insisted that indeed there "is no qualitative difference" between a healthy and deformed workers state. In this one statement, Wohlforth reveals his fundamental kinship with the Pabloists and sweeps aside the

achievement of Trotsky in recognizing in 1933 that a qualitative change had taken place as a result of the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Third International. The consolidation of power in the hands of a *petty-bourgeois* stratum (the bureaucracy) made necessary a new international party to struggle for political *revolution* in the Soviet Union as well as for social revolution against capitalism.

As one could expect by now from the fabled Healyite "dialectics," the SL's position (that Cuba is a deformed workers state) was termed by Wohlforth (who considers Cuba to be capitalist) as "Shachtmanism"! Anyone with the slightest familiarity with the positions of Shachtman (who split from Trotskyism in denying that Russia was a degenerated workers state) can easily understand the absurdity of such an accusation.

Vietnam: Pabloism and Social Patriotism

Healy/Wohlforth's contortions over Cuba are nothing, however, in comparison with the blatant and disgusting Pabloism of the WL on the question of Vietnam. In a positively obscene laudatory obituary *(Bulletin*, 22 September 1969) for Ho Chi Minh, the murderer of the Indochinese Trotskyists, the WL refers to him as an "instinctive" fighter against imperialism (akin to Hansen's description of Castro as a "natural" Marxist). Some of the articles of the Healy/Wohlforth tendency on Vietnam could be set side by side with those of the arch-Pabloist Ligue Communiste and even a careful reader would have trouble figuring out which was which (for example, the reference to the "transcendental power" of "peoples war" in the February 1968 *Fourth International*).

Wohlforth's class presentation on Vietnam was a textbook example of Pabloist method. To begin with, the Vietnam struggle of the 1960's was essentially a "movement of the colonial peoples under Stalinist leadership." It was under Stalinist leadership, but "for 20 years Stalinism could not compromise the movement as it wished to"! And, of course, there are different wings of the Stalinists and "the North Vietnamese have time and time again come into conflict with the Soviets; the latest time was last December." To top it all off was a little bit of spicy orthodoxy, claiming that "our position is for victory of the NLF against the U.S. imperialists."

Wohlforth pointed out the fundamental unity of the WL position on Vietnam and its support for the "Arab revolution" and for the bourgeois Indian army in the 1971 war with Pakistan over Bangla Desh. (At the time, the *Bulletin*, 20 December 1971, gave "critical" support to Indira Gandhi. In the class Wohlforth revealed what "critical" support means to the WL, saying "we were 1,000 percent for the victory of the Indian army.") He also emphasized several times that "the colonial revolution is not simply a workers revolution."

To begin with, the term "colonial revolution" has been given circulation in the "Trotskyist" movement by the Pabloists who, with their theory of "epicenters" and "blunted instruments," wish to deny the world-wide unity of the permanent revolution. Trotskyists do not call for a "colonial" revolution, Brother Wohlforth, but for a *proletarian* (yes, workers!) revolution in the backward countries (such as Russia), leaning on the peasantry, to successfully carry through even the democratic tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution. Like the Pabloists of the United Secretariat the WL used the label "colonial" revolution to justify political support to various left-talking nationalists.

The "method" of the Healyite Workers League is thus ultimately that of Pabloism. No longer believing in the possibility of proletarian revolution under Trotskyist leadership, the Pabloists seek to construct a rationale for tailing non-proletarian strata (e.g., petty-bourgeois nationalist movements, "left" Stalinists, out-bureaucrats in the unions), on the grounds that the "objective situation" compels even a "blunted instrument" (e.g., the Stalinist NLF in Vietnam) to make the revolution. In contrast to those "purists" or "sectarians" who insist that only the proletariat, under Trotskyist leadership, can create a

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WL Debates Spartacist in L.A.

Tweet Carter speaks for SL at SL/WL debate in Los Angeles. WV PHOTO

The elusive Los Angeles debate between the Spartacist League and the Workers League actually took place on Thursday, 17 May at noon on the UCLA campus, the only time and place the WL would accept. At the same time the WL continues to refuse to debate the SL elsewhere, despite repeated challenges from SL locals in New York, the Bay Area and the Midwest. The WL had earlier tried to worm out of its offer by lying, claiming that "Spartacist Refuses Debate Challenge" *(Bulletin*, 16 April 1973). The SL had written a letter accepting the debate, suggesting it be held not on a weekday at noon on a college campus, but in a central Los Angeles location on a weekend night, when trade unionists could attend (see *WV* No. 19, 27 April 1973). After the WL had announced in its usual peremptory style, "The negotiations are over. The matter is closed," Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth again agreed to the debate when the *Bulletin's* lies on the debate issue were exposed by the SL at a public meeting. Thus, after a seven-year refusal to meet the SL in debate, the WL was forced to come out into the open in Los Angeles (where its local organization has been virtually shattered and it therefore has little left to lose).

"You get a rat in the corner and it will fight; you get a fake Trotskyist, a gangsterist part of the workers movement, to a place where it can't get out and it will even try to defend its politics," explained Tweet Carter, Political Chairman of the Los Angeles local of the SL, in opening the debate.

The Workers League split its floor time between Dennis Brehm on "The Crisis" and Irving Hall on "Theory," with WL West Coast organizer Jeff Sebastian limiting himself to remarks from the floor. After Brehm set the framework by identifying the basic contradiction in society today as that between gold and the amount of money in circulation [!], their politics man, Hall, rejected programmatic differences as "nitpicking over different little disagreements over police strikes, Bangla Desh, etc." Instead of wasting time on such "petty squabbles," he simply asserted that the SL was Pabloist, shared methodology with Shachtmanism and was totally hostile to objective reality as well as to the Fourth International.

Hall's analysis of Watergate finally broke through the mystical fog of "method" which the WL uses to avoid any examination of its actual policies. He polemicized against the SL's supposed "inability to see Watergate as any different from the way *Time* magazine or *Newsweek* sees it, somehow a comic opera, where we sit back in our middle-class glory and laugh at poor Nixon's discomfiture at a time when this country faces the most serious political crisis in its history based upon the whole economic death agony of capitalism in its final throes."

Carter demolished this as sensationalist crisis-mongering. For the WL, she said,

> "... the October Revolution was a mosquito bite; the First World War—a little conflict; the Great Depression—no crisis; the Second World War—well, a lot of people got killed. But Watergate and gold! That's the crisis of humanity!"

Carter identified the method behind the continual claim of the "crisis at hand," over which the WL has been in a frenzy for the past ten years, as an automatic theory of revolution where revolutionaries are no longer needed, where "The Crisis" will finish off capitalism, eliminating the need for the vanguard party.

Trotsky characterized the epoch of imperialism as being in decay since 1914, with the working class incapable of seizing power while dominated by its bureaucratic leadership, the agents of the bourgeoisie. The Workers League, in contrast, sees Watergate as the final crisis of capitalism, with the crumbling of the bourgeois parties forcing the present leadership of the workers movement (Meany, Abel and Co.) to contend for state power because (believes the WL) there is no capitalist alternative.

In the discussion period, Bob Larkin, Los Angeles organizer of the RCY, pointed to recent WL slogans calling for "Nixon Out, Labor In" and "Labor Must Force Nixon to Resign," which turn labor into an abstraction, an undifferentiated mass, and vitiate the Trotskyist struggle for revolutionary leadership of the class. "To talk about the collapse of the capitalist system outside of the internal political life and struggle of the working class is simple objectivism and idealism in the service of Pabloism," he said.

To charges that the SL nitpicks over details, Carter counterposed the programmatic consistency of the SL, which still sells the first issue of *Spartacist* (published in 1963), to the Workers League, whose positions wander all over the map. "What is Marxist method for? Is it to hang on the wall? Method is for the proletariat to use in deciding what to do.... If you've got a method that keeps bringing up the wrong answers, there must be something wrong with your method. So 'The Dialectic,' 'The Method,' is something the Workers League brings out of the closet to obscure its real betrayals of the working class," she said.

"There's been a lot of talk about Spartacist nitpicking, right? So let's do what they call nitpicking," Carter added, pointing to the WL's support of Stanley Hill in the SSEU (welfare workers' union in New York), its subsequent denunciation of him a few days later and then endorsement of him in the following election.

> "A group that calls itself Trotskyist supports an incumbent bureaucrat who they themselves say is betraying the working class!—the fate of the workers in an important union is 'nitpicking.'
>
> "In Bangla Desh, the Workers League supported the Indian bourgeoisie and called for those troops going into Bangla Desh. They knew perfectly well India wants half of Bengal about as clearly as Pakistan does. But the fate of the Bengali people doesn't concern the Workers League—it's 'nitpicking.'
>
> "I challenge the Workers League to defend their line that the cops are workers, or is that 'nitpicking'? Is whether or not cops are scabs, murderers, and a main arm of defense of the capitalist class, or whether they are workers whose demands for wages and working conditions have to be supported, 'nitpicking'?"

The WL "method" was revealed as one of abandoning the struggle to mobilize the working class under Trotskyist leadership until such later date when the class will have fully digested the experiences of betrayal. In the meantime it is supposedly the duty of "communists" to lead the workers into these betrayals. On the subject of the "Brotherhood Caucus" (a reformist group posturing as militants in the Fremont GM plant), Hall was quite explicit:

> "We have no illusions about the Brotherhood Caucus, but the Brotherhood Caucus has a certain following within the trade union. The working class is going to have to go through certain struggles behind certain misleaders and you go through that struggle with them, while at the same time pointing out the basic class positions of those leaders that they've got to follow."

The Workers League tries to convince its followers that to be a Trotskyist means supporting forces which even the *Bulletin* recognizes are holding back the class, under the guise that the working class *must* go through a reformist stage. The WL goes so far as to support James Morrissey in the NMU, whom Wohlforth calls "an out-bastard," over Gene Herson, candidate of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus for NMU president, who is running on a class-struggle program including a number of demands the WL claims to stand for. Carter predicted that the contradiction between the WL's need to pose as Trotskyists while at the same time feeding its voracious opportunist appetites would continue to tear apart its chapters.

The 28 May issue of the *Bulletin* account of the Los Angeles debate misquotes Carter in an attempt to prove that the SL denies the need for political struggle. According to its account Carter said: "What is needed is a general strike. This will paralyze capitalism and the revolutionary party steps in." According to the tape recording of the debate, what Carter actually said was:

> "Notice the comrades of the Workers League did not call for a revolutionary party, but called for a labor party based on George Meany. In this pamphlet *(The Case for a Labor Party)* they don't call for a revolutionary party of the Fourth International; they call for a labor party and an international youth movement. They have abandoned Trotskyism in favor of something that looks pretty much like reformism.
>
> "The Workers League says the crisis of capitalism is so great that the struggle for higher wages has become revolutionary. Their methodology is to make an occasional transitional demand here and there when it's cheap. The minute it gets expensive, they support bureaucrats for re-election like they did in New York City.
>
> "Now, if you believe that revolutionaries have to wage a political fight to show the working class why it needs to seize power and that it has the power to do it through general strikes—there's the motor force for the comrade who wanted to know how to carry out a revolution—general strikes, paralyze capitalism, and the revolutionary party leads the actual insurrection, having prepared the working class for it." ■

Program for Power: Early Communist Work in the

Chris Knox

Opportunists denounce the Spartacist League as "sectarian" for our insistence that only a full transitional program can properly orient the struggle in the trade unions against the union bureaucracy and against capitalism. In its 16 April *Bulletin*, for instance, the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League denounces Spartacist in a frenzied front-page editorial:

> "Spartacist says essentially the following about the struggle in auto. Wages, line speed, job security, grievances, and the right to strike are all trade union demands. But Marxists, at least according to Spartacist, are for revolution *as opposed to* winning these 'reformist' demands. Spartacist therefore concludes that the basic demand that must be made is: 'Communism!' Nothing less will satisfy these ferocious blabbermouths." [emphasis ours]

This gross distortion of our position appeared as part of a defense of the auto program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party (TUALP), the latest organizational embodiment of the WL's program for the unions. This auto program consists solely of points on wages, job security, speedup, grievances, workers rights, overtime, pensions, health, safety and vacations. It thus totally omits not only the labor party (!), but any reference to racial or sexual discrimination, economic protectionism, war, or the question of power (the slogans of workers control and a workers government), all of which directly affect the unions in the epoch of imperialism. The WL defense rests its case with the assertion that "simple trade union demands" are "profoundly revolutionary."

The Workers League is merely one example—and certainly not the most organizationally significant example—of the pervasive opportunism of the U.S. left today, which passively caves in to trade-union economism and workerism, i.e., the worship of the present level of the class struggle.

The Trotskyist "Transitional Program," adopted in 1938 at the founding conference of the Fourth International, was presented by Trotsky as a program for the trade unions. It was designed to provide not "opposition" to reform demands, as the WL alleges, but a *bridge* between the day-to-day trade-union struggles and the revolutionary goals of the proletariat. The program included demands for a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat unemployment; for factory committees, workers control and expropriation of industry and banks; for struggle against discrimination against minorities and against imperialist war; and, most importantly, for a clear expression of the goal of working-class power: for soviets and a workers government.

Apologists for Reformism

Like the WL, the International Socialists claim to agree with the Transitional Program, but find the SL "sectarian" and "revolutionary posturers" for applying it to the present-day situation in the unions. The WL justifies its position that trade-union demands are "revolutionary" on the grounds of the intensity of the capitalist crisis, which it claims makes even minimal demands impossible to attain under capitalism. The IS, in contrast, defends its accommodation to economism on the grounds that the crisis isn't intense *enough;* when the class struggle is at a higher level, "then" the full Transitional Program will be "relevant." By these two mutually exclusive rationales, both groups arrive at the *same* position of rejection of the Transitional Program in practice! They are joined in this conclusion by the other ostensibly "Trotskyist" tendencies, each travelling its own variation on these two paths: the minuscule *Spark* group, the Class Struggle League and, of course, the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP, in its total abandonment of its Trotskyist heritage, has developed particularly odious "transitional" bridges to feminism, black nationalism, youth culture, etc., while ignoring, for the most part, work in the trade unions (or conducting it on the most minimal basis, avoiding all opposition to the trade-union bureaucracy).

The abandonment of the Transitional Program in practice is nothing more nor less than a return to the flawed conceptions which preceded both the Fourth and Third Internationals, i.e., to the old social-democratic conception of "minimum" and "maximum" program: the first for day-to-day issues, the second for Sunday speech-making about "socialism." The social-democratic trade-union bureaucracy opposed any intrusion of the "maximum" program into the "real" work of the party. It is thus quite natural that for these supposed "Trotskyists" of today, the Transitional Program has taken on the character of a "maximum" program, the intrusion of which into their "real" practice would upset the opportunism which is possible only on the basis of their minimum program.

Having thus come together in opposition to the Transitional Program in practice, it is equally natural that the ostensible "Trotskyists" find themselves rubbing shoulders with the Maoists and Stalinists of all varieties, particularly the Communist Party, which long ago abandoned the program of Lenin and Trotsky for a return to a reformist practice totally consistent with its overall strategy of forming broad blocs between the labor movement and the liberal bourgeoisie (the "popular front"). Thus the United National Caucus in the auto union, a trade-unionist, bureaucratic-careerist group, is a typical catchall supported by the CP, IS and CSL particularly. Even the frenzied National Caucus of Labor Committees, which claims to reject trade unionism altogether, can be found in UNC meetings alongside CP supporters pushing the same popfrontist, liberal politics with a different organizational format. That the WL politically belongs in the UNC is clear not only from is auto program, but from its absurdly sectarian reason for avoiding endorsement: that the UNC doesn't fight hard enough for wages!

International Communist Strategy

The Spartacist League alone stands not only on the Transitional Program as formulated by Trotsky, but on its antecedents as developed by the first four congresses of the Communist International (CI) and carried out (not without errors) by CI sections during its revolutionary period through 1923. The trade-union work of the Workers (Communist) Party of the U.S., particularly through its trade-union arm, the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), provides an example of communist work in the unions with tremendous relevance for today.

At once the reformists of all varieties will exclaim, "But that was a different period, one in which revolution was seen as the order of the day by masses of workers!" The period was indeed different, but the tasks of the communists in the trade unions were not so different as the opportunists rush to assume. The Third Congress of the CI directed that:

> "In the United States of North America ..., the communists are confronted with the first and simplest task of creating a communist nucleus and connecting it with the working masses."
> —"Thesis on Tactics,"
> *Theses and Resolutions adopted at the Third World Congress of the Communist International,* June 22-July 12, 1921

While the level of strike activity and general class consciousness was higher, the vanguard party in the U.S. was still a very small force facing a reactionary bureaucracy in the trade unions which it had to expose and replace in order to gain the confidence and leadership of the workers.

This situation was typical throughout the CI, despite the fact that most of the European parties were much larger than the American section and therefore in a better position to gain hegemony of class leadership. Through lack of preparation, and without an experienced cadre and leadership, the Communist Parties were unable to take advantage of the massive post-war revolutionary wave, which peaked during 1919-1920 in Europe and America. Lenin wrote *"Left-wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder* in 1920 precisely to combat tendencies which saw the revolution as inevitable and opposed work in the unions or for partial demands as "opportunist." The Second and Third Congresses of the CI (1920 and 1921) fought for the utilization of all arenas and all methods of struggle in order to deepen connections with the masses and combat the false leaders of the workers. By the Fourth Congress (1922) Lenin and Trotsky were continuing this effort with a proposal for the tactic of united fronts with Social Democrats and others in order to demonstrate to the workers that only the Communists were for a genuine *class* front against the bourgeoisie on the basis of consistent struggle for all the workers' interests, including immediate interests. Lenin and Trotsky were prepared to force a split with all those "ultra-leftists" who still considered such a course opportunist.

The work of the TUEL in the 1922-23 period was an expression in the U.S. of the "united front" tactics Lenin and Trotsky were urging throughout the CI. These tactics were seen as necessary precisely because the revolutionary wave had *ebbed,* and the Communist Parties were not in a position to exercise leadership of the working class immediately. The trade-union work of the Workers (Communist) Party was undertaken on the basis of the defeat in factional struggle of the ultra-leftists who urged "dual unionism"—i.e., opposition to any work in the dominant, reactionary American Federation of Labor (AFL)—and underground work on principle, thereby avoiding all contact with partial demands and the mass movement itself. (The ultra-leftists had been largely

Trade Unions

CPUSA

Foster and Ruthenberg attend 1924 convention of Workers (Communist) Party.

responsible for the failure to seize the opportunities of 1919-1920.)

Origins of the TUEL

The TUEL was not simply a creation of the W(C)P, but was taken over by it in 1922 as the result of a fusion with William Z. Foster's group of Chicago-based trade-union militants. While the bulk of the left in the preceding epoch had been ardently dual unionist, Foster had become convinced that this strategy was sterile and in effect surrendered the fight for leadership of the organized workers to their reactionary, craft leaderships. But Foster bent the stick too far the other way, and was willing to surrender his political program in order to remain in a position to apply pressure to the Gompers bureaucracy to support his organizing drives. Thus in 1919, when called before a Senate investigating committee looking into the steel strike Foster was organizing, Foster dropped his entire political program, ardently avowing his patriotism and his selling of Liberty Bonds during the war.

From Foster's side, the fusion with the W(C)P was based on his agreement with Lenin's "boring from within" tactic, an explicit reversal for the U.S. Communists. Foster continued to lead the TUEL and became the head of the party's trade-union work. Thus if anything, one would expect to find in the TUEL of this period not sectarian errors, but opportunist ones, whether because of Foster's trade-unionist predilections or an over-zealous application of the CI's united-front line.

In general we find neither, however, though the W(C)P did make errors which affected its trade-union work. Under the leadership of the Party, the TUEL was re-founded in 1922 squarely on the basis of the program of the CI. Despite its emphasis on the "turn to the masses" and willingness to struggle for partial demands, the CI's program was clearly conceived of as *transitional:*

> *"The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists is: the struggle for the concrete need of the proletariat and demands, which, in their application, undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, for the transition to the proletarian dictatorship, even if the latter have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship....*
>
> "In formulating their partial demands, the Communist Parties must take heed that these demands, based on the deeply rooted needs of the masses, are such as will organize the masses and not merely lead them into struggle. All concrete watchwords, originating in the economic needs of the workers, must be assimilated to the struggle for the control of production, which must not assume the form of a bureaucratic organization of social economy under capitalism, but of an organization fighting against capitalism through workers committees as well as through revolutionary trade unions." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Thesis on Tactics"

The TUEL, while it conducted mass campaigns and made united-front alliances with sections of the trade-union bureaucracy around key individual issues, such as amalgamation of the craft unions into mass industrial unions, for recognition of Soviet Russia and for a labor party, *began* with its full program and propagandized for it throughout all its work.

In addition, unlike almost every trade-union caucus today—and certainly *all* those supported by the opportunist "Trotskyists" and other "revolutionaries"—the TUEL had a *political* conception of membership. In order to join, one had to have general agreement with the basic program, which was described and summarized in eight points in Foster's *Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement* (*Labor Herald* Library, 1922). The first point was "abolish capitalism, for a workers republic":

> "The Trade Union Educational League proposes to develop the trade unions from their present antiquated and stagnant condition into modern, powerful labor organizations, capable of waging successful warfare against capital.... Instead of advocating the prevailing shameful and demoralizing nonsense about harmonizing the interests of capital and labor, it is firing the workers' imagination and releasing their wonderful idealism and energy by propagating the inspiring goal of abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers republic."

This was intended to be a transitional formulation for "dictatorship of the proletariat," in exactly the same way as Trotsky's call for a "Workers and Farmers Government" in the 1938 program. Throughout the program of the CI and its sections in this period, the concept of transitional demands is manifest: obviously they were not a later "invention" of Trotsky!

The second point in the TUEL program was, "Repudiate class collaborationism, for a class struggle policy." This was a general demand designed to sum up the entire alternate perspective to be presented to the reactionary AFL bureaucracy.

The third point was for affiliation of the unions to the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU), which was the international trade-union arm of the CI. Founded in 1922, the RILU provided an organizing pole for oppositionists in the established unions and for the many unions, often led by revolutionary syndicalists attracted to the banner of the Russian Revolution, which had been ruthlessly expelled from the established federations by Social Democrats and reformists.

The fourth point was "Support the Russian Revolution." The revolution, of course, had split the workers movement of the entire world between those who wanted to make revolution in their own countries and those who did not. Beyond this, however, the demand had specific connotations in campaigns conducted by the TUEL for aid to alleviate the famine, diplomatic recognition, etc.

Fifth was the demand for industrial unionism, which was the key trade-union issue, since the vast bulk of the industrial workers, including a disproportionately large section of the non-English-speaking immigrants, was unorganized. This demand counterposed masses of workers to the conservative, craft-based bureaucracy.

Sixth was "Combat dual unionism," which the TUEL was constantly forced to raise against the influence of other radicals, such as the Wobblies (IWW), who urged the abandonment of the struggle and set up dual unions every time the bureaucracy succeeded in a new outrage. The TUEL advocated an orientation toward work in the established unions even on the part of expelled locals or sections, with affiliation to RILU as a long-range alternative. The TUEL and RILU's call for trade-union unity, however, was never the "unity" of capitulation! RILU/TUEL insisted that expelled union bodies seek readmittance, but only on the basis of their freedom to continue propagandizing for class-struggle policies. (This contrasts sharply with the trade-union reformism of the Workers League, which advocated reunification of the breakaway Social Services Employees Union [SSEU] in New York with its AFL-CIO parent on the *bureaucracy's* sellout terms.)

Seventh was a demand for a shop delegate system. Shop floor representation was generally lacking in unions at the time. Finally, the eighth point was for independent working-class political action. This rapidly transformed itself into the demand for a labor party, which was then distorted by the W(C)P leadership into the campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party.

Blocs Based on Program

Thus the TUEL began with membership based on its full program, which was raised in all the unions in which it did work through its members and the monthly organ, Labor Herald. In addition, together with the W(C)P operating in its own name, the TUEL conducted broad campaigns around key demands such as recognition, amalgamation and a labor party, in which it entered united-front alliances with sections of the trade-union bureaucracy such as the Fitzpatrick/Nockels/Brown leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL). The issues on which the TUEL made united-front alliances were key parts of the TUEL program around which masses of workers could be mobilized in opposition to the bulk of the bureaucracy. With the exception of the bloc with Fitzpatrick's Farmer-Labor Party, they were not political compromises, but points on which sections of the bureaucracy were *forced* to come over to the Communists, which tended to build Communist leadership of the mass movement. Thus after a year of working on the amalgamation campaign (which Foster had gotten approved by the CFL without even bothering to consult Fitzpatrick beforehand), the W(C)P's forces dramatically outnumbered Fitzpatrick's at the 1923 Chicago convention of the Farmer-Labor Party. Furthermore, the issues on which the Communists made blocs tended to reinforce each other, creating a vast political gulf between the party's allies and the rest of the trade-union bureaucracy. Thus Fitzpatrick, who supported recognition, amalgamation and a labor party, was cut off financially by the AFL bureaucracy and denounced as a Communist "dupe" by Gompers.

One serious criticism modifies this perspective, however. Despite the W(C)P's initial call for a labor party as a "class party" with "the abolition of wage slavery, the establishment of a workers republic and a collectivist system of production" *(For a Labor Party*, a statement by the Workers Party, October 1922), as its goals, the Pepper/Lovestone leadership failed to carry out this line consistently: the Farmer-Labor campaign into which they took the party was flawed. Besides approaching the program of the proposed party as though it has to be reformist, thereby capitulating in advance to the trade-union bureaucracy (see *WV* No. 13, November 1972), they failed to recognize the contradiction of the F-LP as a hopeless attempt to combine in one party the class interests of two classes: the working class and a section of the petty bourgeoisie. This error was compounded later, after the split with Fitzpatrick at the 1923 convention, into further errors, for which the CI had to call Pepper/Lovestone to task. Instead of simply entering Fitzpatrick's F-LP, the Communists should have held out the single-class party issue as their condition for support, while continuing to bloc with Fitzpatrick on other issues.

In addition, other, less serious criticisms can be made of the party and its trade-union work during this period, but they do not change our overall assessment of the work in 1922-23 as exemplary. If the TUEL had succeeded in taking over the AFL on the basis of its program and united-front alliances, the AFL would have been in the hands of revolutionary leadership. Further political struggle and clarification—even splits—would no doubt have been necessary, but only to prevent political *retreat*, not to establish the basic revolutionary beachhead.

Union Elections

Foster's chief strategy for union elections was to make blocs with trade-union allies rather than simply running TUEL candidates. But support was generally made on the basis of the TUEL program. Thus Ross Knudsen, backed by TUEL for president of the Machinists union in 1922, won 30% of the votes on the basis of supporting RILU, industrial unionism and the call for a workers republic. The TUEL did not support intra-bureaucratic rivalries or careerists limiting their programs to "better" unionism. It blocked with and gave critical support to other elements only on the basis of qualitative *political* counterposition to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy as such.

The test of a correct united front or bloc is that the issues upon which it is based would have to be *abandoned* before any reintegration into the mainstream

continued on page 9

Continued from page 5

...Wohlforth

healthy workers state and open the road to socialism, the WL in truly Pabloist fashion embraces the most "left" of *what is*, instead of undertaking the arduous task of building the Trotskyist party, the embodiment of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

To Wohlforth's apology for the Vietnamese Stalinists, SL supporters at the fifth class counterposed the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism and political revolution against the bureaucratic misleadership which sabotages that defense and the further progress of the soclalist revolution. To this Lucy St. John, editor of the *Bulletin*, counting on the ignorance or cynicism of WL members, made the fantastic charge that "Spartacist refuses to call for military defense of the Vietnamese workers." On the basis of this flat lie, WL supporters proceeded to accuse the SL of "Shachtmanism" on Vietnam. In the fashion of all Stalinist apologists, the WL seeks to link authentic Trotskyism with those, like Shachtman, whose anti-Stalinism proceeds from their motion toward reconciliation with the bourgeoisie.

Anyone remotely familiar with the history of the Spartacist League knows that the SL has consistently fought for military defense of the Vietnamese revolution, for the exclusion of the bourgeoisie from the antiwar movement and for working-class strike action against the war. The SL is the *only* tendency which has consistently raised the Vietnam war in its *trade-union* work, calling for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces and solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. In contrast, the WL has time after time capitulated on the defense of the Vietnamese revolution in order to pursue its opportunist appetites.

SL speakers at the class on Vietnam cited as examples the 1971 program of the WL youth group (Young Socialists) which did not mention this demand; the refusal of the WL's short-lived "Trade Unionists for a Labor Party" front group to include *any mention* of the war or racial oppression in its program (*Bulletin*, 18 December 1967); the WL's support for U.S. Senator Vance Hartke and the SWP in the brutal physical expulsion of SL and Progressive Labor supporters who were demanding the ousting of the bourgeoisie from the July 1971 NPAC conference.

At the fourth class the SL distributed to those attending copies of a 1965 leaflet signed by Tim Wohlforth (along with all the pacifist social-patriots, Stalinists, SWP, PL, etc.) which demanded simply "Stop the War in Vietnam Now!" and continued:

> "... *The war in Vietnam is not necessary for national security.* The United States is the richest, most powerful, most heavily armed nation in the world. A continuation of the conflict cannot enhance the honor of the American people...." [emphasis in original]

Meany as "Blunted Instrument"

It is in its policies toward the union movement that the Workers League has demonstrated in the grossest fashion its fundamentally Pabloist method. The WL has always conceived of its role as that of a left pressure on the existing Meanyite bureaucracy, which the WL claimed would be forced to build a labor party by the mounting unrest in the union ranks. Wohlforth has heralded every cynical and empty "labor party" threat by the bureaucrats, deliberately masking the fact that these statements were designed as back-handed support to Nixon by a labor bureaucracy so reactionary that it could not swallow the "radical" McGovern.

For example, the 17 July 1972 *Bulletin* front-page banner headline proclaimed, "AFL-CIO Tops Threaten Labor Party at Miami." The 25 September 1972 *Bulletin* front page crowed "Steel Convention Lambasts Democrats" and triumphantly hailed Meany's overture to Nixon as if it were a step toward a break with bourgeois politics in favor of a workers party!

> "Meany made it even more clear than before that the fundamental question was not just McGovern but was indeed the support of labor for the Democrats which has gone on for some 36 years and today is at the breaking point."

One issue of the *Bulletin* featured a cartoon showing a locomotive (the working class) driven by an uneasy Meany rolling over the capitalists. The implication is clear: Meany is the "blunted instrument" who can be pushed, unwillingly to be sure, into leading the workers against the class enemy. This cartoon is the epitome of Pabloism. Reflecting the objectivism which lies at the heart of the Healyite method, this cartoon denies Trotsky's statement that the crisis of humanity is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership, instead investing the present leaders of the class with the power to fight for the workers' interests. The crisis of leadership becomes irrelevant.

WV PHOTO

SL/RCY supporter speaks at WL class.

In order to climb in bed with the labor bureaucrats the WL has always pursued the most shameless economist policies in its relatively sparse trade-union work. Hence the constant calls for a labor party formed by the bureaucrats (and based on the bureaucrats' anti-communist program); hence the deliberate omission of the war and race questions from the 1967 TULP program; hence the "critical support" to out-bureaucrats like Hill of the SSEU and Morrissey of the NMU.

A highlight of the class series was the intervention by members of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU who pointed out that the WL's real appetites were revealed by the *Bulletin's* support to Morrissey, whose entire program consists of vague promises of democracy and a policy of suing the union in the capitalist courts (which the WL claims to oppose). In contrast to Morrissey, the M-SC is based on a full program which includes the demand for a labor party to fight for a workers government and international class solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. Also unlike Morrissey, the M-SC has waged a determined fight against the discriminatory job-trusting "group system," called for building an international union instead of protectionist legislation and campaigned for the release of WL supporter Juan Fariñas (who was jailed after a frame-up conviction for "draft evasion"). In a classic statement of the totally reactionary implications of WL policies in the unions, Wohlforth remarked at the fifth class:

> "Our policy in the NMU, in the Mineworkers, in the SSEU, is to support left bureaucratic layers in the elections, and then criticize them. We support Morrissey 100 percent in the elections and criticize him down the line.... The Militant-Solidarity Caucus is just a showpiece and goes against the movement of the working class.... Morrissey is just a bastard!—but he's an out-bastard! We will support the out-bastards against the in-bastards every time, just as long as we get a little room to breathe in the unions."

So, according to Wohlforth, the demand for a labor party, the struggle against the special oppression of youth through the "group system," even defense of the WL *cause célèbre* Fariñas—all this "goes against the movement of the working class." To grasp the incredible cynicism of the WL, one need only recall that Wohlforth referred to the 1971 NYC police strike as an expression of the movement of the working class! That is the result of WL Pabloism: support for cops and bureaucrats and opposition to real class-struggle politics!

The "Final" Crisis

Behind Wohlforth's rejection of Trotskyist trade-union work as an "empty showpiece" lies his unsated appetite for a "left" section of the trade-union bureaucracy to tail-end. (Similarly Healy, who claims to have broken with Pabloism in 1953, has never repudiated his policies of the 1940's *and 1950's*, when he was deeply submerged in the "Labour left" in a classic example of Pabloist "entrism *sui generis*" which lasted more than a decade.) In order to fulfill this appetite Wohlforth must, however, have something to bargain with, and this means building a movement with at least some pretense to revolutionary aspirations. Such a movement will inevitably be composed of human beings, and Wohlforth must therefore reckon with the possibility that at least occasionally some of his followers will feel the need to explain to themselves the bizarre flip-flops in WL policies. To handle this "unfortunate" eventuality one needs a "theory" which explains why selling out the rank and file to the bureaucrats is really an "expression of the movement of the working class." This is the purpose of the crisis-mongering of the Workers League.

The essence of the Healyite "economic analysis" is the contention that the "post-war boom" has been brought to an end by the international financial crisis: Since gold reserves can only cover at best around 10 percent of the value of world trade, the capitalist system must inevitably collapse. In other words, we have here the keystone to all objectivist theories—the *final* crisis. Exaggerated? Let the SLL/WL speak for themselves:

> "Ever since 1914 the capitalist system has been gripped by contradictions that could only be solved by slump or war. Now its corpse—bloated by the post-war inflation—has burst. And the system is turning to dust...."
>
> —"Capitalism Hits the Dust as Nixon Puts the Boot In," *Workers Press*, 15 February 1973
>
> *"The latest moves by the Nixon administration in devaluing the dollar mark a rapid acceleration of the capitalist system towards a breakdown and crisis deeper than at any time in its history."* [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Development of the Post-War Economic Crisis—Draft Resolution of the Socialist Labour League," *Workers Press*, 24 February 1973
>
> *"The most frantic gold rush in modern history... is a warning to the working class that the latest dollar devaluation is a direct prelude to the complete collapse of the world economic system."* [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Gold Price Soars to New Heights," *Bulletin*, 5 March 1973

If such a crisis is so severe that it can *destroy* the economic base of capitalism, the bourgeoisie will be inexorably driven to fascism while the labor bureaucrats (in the WL's cloud-cuckoo-land of economic determinism) *must* therefore fight for the interests of the working class.

> "The next Nixon government will not compromise with the working class as past administrations—including his own—have. Rather, he plans to run the equivalent of a war-time government that will confront the working class head-on, seek to smash its unions and living conditions, and establish a naked dictatorship that will whip American workers into submission.
>
> "These remarks by Nixon must be seen in the light of the deepening economic crisis which has destroyed the basis for compromise. There is no way that a decisive collision between the government and the working class can be avoided."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 4 December 1972

Thus, you see, it is all right to call on the arch-reactionaries Meany, Abel or Van Arsdale to form a labor party, since the terminal crisis makes a decisive collision "unavoidable." And, of course, what need is there for the Transitional Program, since even "simple trade union demands are today so profoundly revolutionary" (*Bulletin*, 16 April 1973)?

In contrast with the SL, which sees recurring cycles of booms and crises in a world capitalist system that has been decaying at least since 1914, Wohlforth proudly proclaims that his tendency has recognized the imminence of The Crisis "since 1962." The absurdity of this stance is obvious: even if the world capitalist economy were to collapse tomorrow into the worst depression of all time, to take credit for prescience on the grounds that one has spent the last eleven years predicting its imminent arrival is akin to crying all week that Monday is coming and then patting oneself on the back when it finally arrives! Periodic crises are inevitable for the bourgeois order, and at some point the WL's crisis-mongering will undoubtedly intersect reality.

However, so far Wohlforth shows a remarkably poor sense of timing: The post-war boom is supposed to have lasted until 1961, ending around the time of the Belgian general strike. But even Mandel, author of the Pabloist theory of "neo-capitalism," recognizes recessions in 1948-49, 1953-54, 1957-58 and 1960-61. And in the U.S. 1962 marked the beginning of a massive capital investment boom (investment increased an average of 11 percent per year during 1962-66)! Currently the WL claims we are in the midst of the worst crisis ever, which has driven the profit rate to "below the level of zero percent" (*Bulletin*, 12 February 1973), when in fact we are in the middle-to-late stages of a boom which sent profits up more than 25 percent during the first quarter of 1973.

Healy's Cross of Gold

One of the more peculiar aspects of the Healyite economic theories is the explanation of "The Crisis" as being caused by the insufficient supply of gold, thereby placing the SLL/WL in a long line of monetary quacks, beginning with Proudhon and running through William Jennings Bryan, de Gaulle and Lyn Marcus. According to the SLL:

> "While prices, stimulated by government inflationary policies, have risen ...five or six times on their pre-war level, gold was held down in price for 37 years.
>
> "It is in this crisis that gold is enacting its revenge for all these years in which the Keynesians tried to tamper with the law of value....
>
> "Without gold, products cannot enter circulation and become commodities. The rush into gold and the flight from all forms of paper—the feature which now overshadows everything in the crisis—means a collapse of commodity production for the world market...."
>
> —"The Dollar Crisis" (*Bulletin* pamphlet, 1973), p. 23

This approach is totally counterposed to Marxist economic science. As an SL supporter pointed out in the sixth class, Marx insisted that the basis of economic crises was in capitalist *production*, not circulation. The root cause of all crises is that capital expands faster than the surplus value that it generates (i.e., the rate of profit falls). Marx dismissed credit theories of crisis out of hand:

> "In investigating why the general *possibility of crisis* turns into a *real*

crisis...It is therefore quite superfluous to concern oneself with the *forms* of crisis which arise out of the development of money as *means of payment.*" [emphasis in original]

—*Theories of Surplus Value*, Ch. 17

Perhaps the most striking departure from Marxism by Healyite economic theory is the argument that inflation has (only temporarily, of course) suspended the law of value. According to the SLL's monetary "expert" Peter Jeffries, "The operation of the law of value has...been 'suspended' or 'avoided' throughout much of the boom period" (*Newsletter*, 30 March 1968). In the first place, there was no such "post-war boom" in the sense of a qualitatively different period (if the law of value was "denied" for "27 years," as the 28 May *Bulletin* alleges, that certainly would be a qualitative change). Following World War II we have experienced a period of succeeding booms and recessions, with overall growth rates for the major capitalist nations which were well within (and sometimes below) historical norms.

Equally important, the idea of a post-war boom period is the cornerstone of the Mandelian theory of "neo-capitalism." Like Mandel, the SLL/WL links this "boom" to inflation caused by government deficit spending, i.e., Keynesianism; and like Mandel, Healy/Wohlforth believe that this is/was a period in which the bourgeoisie is successfully able to grant reforms substantially benefitting the working class. Trotsky insisted this was impossible during the epoch of decaying capitalism, and concluded that reform demands were inadequate and had to be replaced with transitional demands which point to the only real solution for the working class, socialist revolution. For Mandel and Healy/Wohlforth it was not only the law of value which was suspended in the neo-reformist period of the "boom"—it was also the Transitional Program. (And now, with the "final crisis" at hand, transitional demands are likewise unnecessary, since wage demands are revolutionary according to the WL.)

The Crisis of Leadership

The post-war stabilization of capitalism was not, as the WL claims, the result of the Bretton Woods monetary agreement of 1944, but rather the product of the tremendous destruction of capital accomplished by World War II and the defeat, due to the absence of revolutionary leadership, of the general strikes and revolutionary upheavals which swept the European working class after the war. These upheavals could have meant the end, not only of a period of stabilization, but of capitalism itself. They were defeated because of the betrayals of the Stalinists (and the Pabloists). Thus the question of economic stability in the imperialist epoch is fundamentally a *political* question, or as Trotsky put it, the fundamental crisis in this epoch is the crisis of proletarian leadership.

In Trotsky's "Report on the World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the Communist International" to the Third Congress of the CI, he began not with the expansion of credit (which accompanies every boom), but with the defeats of the European revolution which laid the basis for a temporary period of capitalist recovery. As for the myth of the "final crisis," in the same speech Trotsky comments:

> "So long as capitalism is not overthrown by the proletarian revolution, it will continue to live in cycles, swinging up and down. Crises and booms were inherent in capitalism at its very birth; they will accompany it to its grave.... "It might be asked whether the great struggles over wages...will automatically lead to the world revolution, to the final civil war and the conquest of political power....We have no automatic guarantees of development."

After the Congress, Trotsky wrote concerning the controversy with the proponents of the "theory of the offensive":

> "There was a rather indefinite grouping whose contention it was that the commercial and industrial crisis—and it was extremely acute—...constituted the final crisis of capitalist society, and that this final crisis of capitalist society would inexorably worsen right up to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This conception of the revolution is completely non-Marxist, non-scientific, mechanistic."
>
> —*The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Vol. II, p. 60

In contrast to the monetary crank theories of the SLL/WL, and in answer to Wohlforth's absurd charge that the SL does not recognize any changes since 1914, at the sixth class Spartacist League National Chairman James Robertson read the opening paragraph of the current SL perspectives document as an example of a *Marxist* evaluation of the current period:

> "1. The tasks facing the Spartacist League and the capacity of the SL as a revolutionary Marxist organization have both been qualitatively transformed through an interacting process. The crisis and breakdown of the post-World War II configuration of the world capitalist system, dominated by American imperialism, has been marked by the catastrophic consequences of the American involvement in Vietnam, the French general strike of 1968 and the definitive collapse of the 'American century' with Nixon's new fiscal and economic policies, which mark the forced abdication by the U.S. of the role of world policeman and the reversion of American imperialism to merely the strongest of several competing units. These developments have of course also been conditioned and paralleled by the political decomposition of the deformed workers state bloc, above all the Russia/China split."
>
> —"Memorandum to the CC on the Transformation of the SL," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part III

Philosophical Objectivism and Political Opportunism

The most striking characteristic of the Workers League since its very inception as a tendency has been its constant shifting of positions. When talk is cheap the WL affects a principled Trotskyist stand, but when it smells a chance for an opportunist link-up then principles are thrown out the window (or, more accurately, shelved to be used again next month) as they rush to support the existing more powerful forces—Healy, SWP majority, black nationalism, the labor bureaucracy, French popular front, etc. It is the constant gyrating that we refer to in calling them "political bandits."

Yet beneath the grotesque zig-zags, an underlying *method* can be discerned. It was the exposition of this method that highlighted the recent NYC class series. After hours of obfuscating verbiage about an abstract "fight for dialectics" (the purpose of which is to avoid any consideration of *program*), Wohlforth felt constrained to demonstrate the consistency of supporting Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, Mujibur Rahman, Huey Newton, Stanley Hill and James Morrissey and ignoring the Transitional Program in the trade unions. In doing so he revealed the heart of Healyite "theory" as philosophical objectivism, the belief that the overwhelming economic crisis eliminates the crisis of leadership: wages are a revolutionary issue and Meany/Abel are an adequate leadership.

It is this objectivism that permits Wohlforth to give political support to, for instance, the Vietnamese Stalinists with the justification that "*objective conditions*" have "forced [them] into a fight with imperialism under conditions where *there can be no compromise*" [emphasis in original] (*Bulletin*, 14 May 1973).

As Pablo in the early 1950's launched his campaign to liquidate the Trotskyist movement into the Stalinist parties, he made clear the role of philosophical objectivism as the fundamental justification for the abandonment of the principles and program of the Fourth International. The "Theses on International Perspectives" of the "Third Congress of the FI" (1951) states:

> "The objective conditions determine in the long run the character and dynamic of the mass movement which, taken to a certain level, can overcome all the subjective obstacles in the path of the revolution. This conception continues to be the base of our revolutionary optimism and clarifies our attitude towards the Communist parties."
>
> —*Quatrième International*, August-September 1951

It is this theory which is characteristic of Pabloism in all its variants. But Pabloism itself is only a "theoretical" justification for something far more fundamental: the abject fear of the petty bourgeois faced with the task of leading the proletariat in struggle for socialist revolution, and the resulting overpowering desire to find shelter in the warm embrace of the traditional leaders of the working class, the agents of the bourgeoisie and the most direct expression of *what is*, as opposed to *what will be*. ■

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Early Communist Work in the Trade Unions

of the trade-union bureaucracy is possible. All bureaucrats, at all times, are for "trade-union democracy," but when Fitzpatrick split with the Communists in 1923, in order to go back to Gompers, he had to *reverse* himself on everything he had been saying previously, opposing amalgamation, Soviet recognition and independent working-class politics. This he did with a vengeance throughout the labor movement, becoming a virulent anti-communist and aid to Gompers' reactionary drive.

This drive gained momentum as prosperity and relative capitalist stabilization set in after 1923. The break with Fitzpatrick left the Communists without substantial allies in the labor movement. The TUEL had grown explosively, as had the W(C)P, especially during 1922, but the ranks lacked an experienced cadre to hold them together, and the party, having let the earlier wave of mass upsurge pass it by, was not firmly rooted in the workers movement. The TUEL was branded a "dual union" and virtually driven underground by the end of 1924 through a wave of expulsions of its militants from the unions.

Stalinism Perverts the TUEL

In 1923, with the illness of Lenin and the defeat of the abortive revolution in Germany, a triumvirate of Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin took political control in the Soviet Union and began to twist the CI into an agent of the foreign policy of the new Soviet bureaucracy. This turned the trade-union work of the Communist Parties, as it did all other political questions, into footballs for unprincipled factional warfare in which *renunciation* of previously-held views became the standard for acceptance by the international leadership. Thus the Passaic strike of 1926, which was led by Communists, was at first backed by the Ruthenberg leadership of the party as a factional ploy directed against Foster and the TUEL, but it was dropped later by all factions when a shift in the line of the CI to the right (Stalin's first move against the "left"-leaning Zinoviev) indicated a revival of work through the TUEL rather than directly by the Communist Party.

The TUEL was continued by the CP until 1928 (when it was transformed into a "third period" dual-unionist organization). During the late 1920's, the program of the TUEL degenerated, under the influence of the new leadership of the CI, into one which turned the united-front *tactic* into a *strategy*. As dictated by an Executive Committee of the CI (ECCI) resolution on the American question in 1927, the TUEL program was to consist of five watered-down points: organize the unorganized, for trade-union democracy, amalgamation, a labor party and "an aggressive struggle against the capitalists." The resolution called, in effect, for bringing "all progressives willing to fight against the policies of the reactionaries" *into* the TUEL. The dividing line between the TUEL member and the temporary ally was completely obliterated.

In order to cover up this obliteration and firm up the Stalinist conception of the left-center coalition as a permanent strategy, Foster purposefully blurred the original distinction in his later writings (Foster, *American Trade Unionism*, 1947). In order to do this, he relied on his earlier references to the TUEL as a united front (one of which was quoted, unfortunately without comment, in *WV* No. 18, April 1973). The TUEL had not *been*, in fact, a united front, but a membership organization of Communist trade unionists and others designed to bring the Communist program into the trade unions. It *carried out* united-front alliances with other elements. As such it was politically identical to trade-union caucuses supported by the Spartacist League today, though organizationally pan-union instead of limited to a particular union.

A united front, on the other hand, is a bloc on the basis of the immediate interests of the workers, designed to unite the working class as a whole against the capitalists. While the united front can take many forms (a temporary alliance, a trade union, or, at the highest stage, a soviet), in no case is it the same as, or a substitute for, the intervention of the vanguard party with its program into the workers movement. This is precisely the distinction that Foster and the Stalinist Communist Party blurred over. Foster tried to give the impression that the entire program of the TUEL had always been to bloc with "progressives" around the demands of the big campaigns, and equated the functioning of the W(C)P and TUEL in the 1922-24 period with the functioning of his earlier independent group of trade-union militants:

> "The organized forces behind this big TUEL movement [1922 campaigns] took the form of a broad united front of left wingers and progressives. The Communist Party and the TUEL were the driving left-wing forces, while the progressives, chiefly the Fitzpatrick-Nockels Farmer-Labor Party group, co-operated sympathetically. It was essentially a continuation and growth of the combination that had carried through the packinghouse and steel campaigns."
>
> —*From Bryan to Stalin*, 1936

Thus Foster's conclusion was that there was no difference between a bloc which dropped the political program in order to appease the most reactionary elements and a bloc based on a section of the program of the CI, while the full program was simultaneously carried into the unions by the TUEL itself throughout the duration of the bloc. What this meant for CP trade-union work after the Stalinist degeneration was obvious: get the best bloc you can, but bloc at any price.

For a Political Alternative

The CP's turn to dual unionism in 1928 was a betrayal which not only pulled the rug out completely from under the bulk of its trade-union work at the time, but also helped ensure that reactionary reformists—such as John

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Class Struggle in the National Maritime Union

Speaker: GENE HERSON
Organizer,
Militant-Solidarity Caucus

NMU presidential candidate discusses the fight for a class-struggle alternative to the bureaucrats and reformist labor fakers in the trade unions.

23 June
7:30 P.M.
New York City

St. Gregory's
Church
144 W.90th St.

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Early Communist Work in the Trade Unions

L. Lewis of the UMW—would retain leadership of the labor movement through the period of organization of the mass of unskilled workers. Foster fully endorsed not only this turn but every subsequent betrayal of the CP, including the World War II no-strike pledge.

When Lewis and others organized the CIO—precisely to prevent the rise of revolutionary leadership!—an important change took place in the manner of capitalist rule and labor discipline. Strikes which earlier would have been met with police, troops, shootings and jailings were now dealt with through the mediation of the trade-union bureaucracy, which guaranteed labor discipline in return for periodic favors.

The CIO drive took trade unionism to its limits in its ability to solve outstanding social questions such as unemployment and made the need for a working-class *political* perspective more obviously necessary. The CIO bureaucrats and their CP allies therefore had the task of heading off and tying to the bourgeoisie the incipient political motion of the workers, which arose at this time chiefly in the form of a movement for a labor party. This they did through passing off a class-collaborationist bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie (the "popular front") as a "working-class" strategy. The bureaucracy's task of betrayal was completed through the subordination of the unions to the imperialist Second World War in exchange for increased recognition by the companies and the government.

Since the basic trade-union tasks were thus accomplished under reformist leadership, the main organizational task of the revolutionists in the trade unions changed from that of providing revolutionary leadership in trade-union struggles—as the Trotskyists had exemplified in the Minneapolis strikes of 1934—to that of providing a *political* alternative to the reformist bureaucracy. This was recognized by Trotsky in his codification of the Transitional Program in 1938.

If this was true in the late 1930's, now more than ever the character of the period requires a full political program in the trade unions. The important difference from earlier periods is not the *subjective* factors such as lower consciousness—the fruits of past defeats and betrayals—but the *objective* condition that trade unionism *must* be either the direct tool of capitalist imperialism in its new drive to discipline the work force for international competition and new wars, or the revolutionary instrument of the international proletariat. There can be no middle road between these alternatives, as Trotsky insisted in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940).

The line is drawn ever more sharply: individual unions are less and less able to cope with the problems that confront them (inflation, layoffs, national and international corporate migration, etc.), all of which are determined by the global relationship of class forces and inter-imperialist rivalries. Yet precisely because of this contradiction, union leaderships are more and more dependent on outside political forces. For any trade-union leader or would-be leader who bases himself on anything less than the program and struggle of the international proletariat, there is very quickly no alternative other than reliance on a section of the liberal bourgeoisie.

The only alternative to the capitulation to imperialism which this necessarily entails is the viewpoint of the international proletariat, and this is expressed only by the Transitional Program and the effort to rebuild the Trotskyist world vanguard party. Thus only a leadership based on the full Transitional Program can be fully prepared to meet all questions and turn the unions from the disciplinary agents of an ever predatory imperialism into true weapons of the working class in its international struggle against capitalism. ■

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"Progressive" Bridges Announces No-Strike Agreement

icism of Bridges by the CP, the symbiotic relationship of Bridges as the "progressive" bureaucrat and the CP as the "left," which sells out its supposed program in order to make a deal, continues. The CP's West Coast paper, *People's World*, took the same position as the *Dispatcher* on the warehouse convention's dumping of the no-strike provisions: no mention. If it's not compatible with the maintenance of capitalism, Bridges and the CP agree, it must be shelved "until the conditions are ripe," i.e., forever.

The CP seeks to win piecemeal reforms from capitalism through pressure on the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, in alliance with the labor bureaucracy. When the debate at the warehouse convention turned to a proposal for "30 for 40," the CP supporters again covered for the bureaucracy, pointing out that while the concept was important, it was not on the order of the day. One CP supporter asked plaintively, "Harry, why don't you and Lou [Goldblatt] get together with Hoffa and Smith and Woodcock and lead the fight for 30 for 40?"

During the 1972 election campaign, not *once* did CP supporters in the ILWU speak on behalf of the CP's candidates or explain that the problems facing longshoremen can be solved only through socialism, beginning with a break from the two capitalist parties. The CP supporters ceased all criticism of McGovern after the primaries, despite the latter's vote not only for the original appropriations of the Vietnam war, but also for wage controls and the compulsory arbitration bill imposed on longshoremen to force an end to the strike! Their policy of no criticism of the Democrats aided the open endorsement of McGovern by the ILWU bureaucracy.

Bankruptcy of Maoist Reformism

Supporters of the other ostensibly revolutionary organizations, trapped in the same conception of caving in to the liberals and "progressive" trade-union bureaucrats in order to fight the "main enemy," are equally lacking in an alternative to the left-talking fakers such as Bridges, and have thus failed to make much headway against the CP in the ILWU. The supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU), like the CP, collapsed on the no-strike provisions when the bureaucracy counterattacked. They then proceeded to endorse a bureaucratic compromise to reduce the union probation period for new members from 90 to 30 days, instead of calling for its elimination altogether. Like the CP-supported elements, RU supporters operate haphazardly in the ILWU and lack any perspective of a caucus based on a full program of political answers for the needs of longshoremen.

One supporter of Venceremos, a Maoist group currently undergoing state persecution in California, distinguished himself from the rest of the left in the fall, 1972 union elections by running as an open revolutionist. He did better than RU and CP supporters running for comparable posts on the Local 6 exec board, since they in no way distinguished themselves programmatically from the left wing of the bureaucracy. Yet Venceremos as well lacks a consistent caucus perspective and opposes the raising of transitional demands such as a labor party and political strikes against the government wage freeze, which could bridge the gap between the present level of trade-union struggle and the larger, real needs of longshoremen. Venceremos is thus reduced to the same trap of a "minimum-maximum" program which conditions the approach of RU and CP supporters: the "minimum" of reformist trade-union points is in reality the only real program because there is no way of initiating struggle to reach the "maximum" of revolution.

Another opposition group, supported by various radical tendencies and individuals, publishes *Longshore Victory*, which does not even pretend to have a "maximum" program but simply calls for a shorter workweek in order to get "our just share of the extra profits that the shipowners have been able to provide for themselves through mechanization of the operation" (*Longshore Victory*, October 1972). The Longshore Victory group consciously refrains from attacking the union leadership directly. The paper is thus a mild "left" pressure on the bureaucracy on economic questions, completely ignoring the fundamental class-collaborationist role of the bureaucracy and its link with the Democratic Party.

Role of the Teamsters

The bureaucracy of the two-million member Teamsters Union, now in an openly anti-labor alliance with Nixon involving an all-out assault on the Farmworkers Union (UFW) in California, continues to figure prominently in the affairs of the ILWU as it has throughout the history of the longshore union. The Longshore Division of the ILWU continues in a jurisdictional conflict with the Teamsters over container-stuffing. Both union leaderships approach the question from the narrow standpoint of protecting their own particular power base rather than from the standpoint of the interests of all workers involved. Container-stuffing remains 60 percent unorganized.

The warehouse division, meanwhile, has been engaged in joint bargaining with the Teamsters warehouse division. This alliance is an uneasy marriage of convenience. Since the 1930's, when warehousemen left the Teamsters to join the ILWU, the Teamsters have raided the ILWU incessantly. This continued into the Cold War period, when the Teamsters used red-baiting and mobster tactics to drive the ILWU from Midwest and Gulf ports. In 1959, finding himself expelled from the CIO, Hoffa led the Teamsters into joint warehouse bargaining with Bridges, who found the extra strength very useful, since he had already agreed to virtually automate away the longshore division.

The Teamster alliance is useful to the Bridges bureaucracy for another reason. Militant proposals by ILWU warehousemen, such as elimination of the no-strike clauses, can be conveniently eliminated or watered down on the grounds that the Teamsters would never stand for them. This extends to proposals to militantly defend the longshoremen, so that Bridges not only keeps longshoremen divided against Teamsters, but longshoremen divided against ILWU warehousemen.

Bridges sought to bolster his position against the ranks through an actual merger with the Teamsters bureaucracy, after an attempt to merge with the reactionary ILA fell through largely because of rank-and-file resistance. It was obvious to the ILWU ranks that a Teamster-ILWU merger would have meant loss of key gains, including the hiring hall and the relatively democratic internal structure. Faced with strong rank-and-file opposition, Bridges dropped the idea, but the problems of jurisdictional conflict and joint bargaining remain. If the Teamsters finish off the UFW, and the ILWU continues its policy of catering to the conservative influence of the Teamsters, the Teamsters will gradually weaken and destroy the ILWU. This became clear at the ILWU international convention, which followed the warehouse convention. Despite longtime friendship of the ILWU and the Farmworkers, the Bridges bureaucracy managed by a close margin to sabotage any direct criticism of the Teamsters and refused to invite Cesar Chavez to address the convention.

For a Militant Transport Merger

In considering merger proposals, whether with the Teamsters or the maritime unions, militants must raise a class-struggle program which protects the established gains and *advances* the interests of the ranks rather than retarding them. This can be done only on the basis of struggle against the bureaucracy for the interests of all workers in the struggle against capitalism, not—as the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League proposes—on the basis of unconditionally backing any and every bureaucratic merger proposal. When

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Watergate...

in the fall of 1969" *(New York Times*, 20 May 1973).

Such methods are, we repeat, nothing new. The FBI has for decades used spies and provocateurs in various radical groups. (For that matter, the "guardians of law and order" have also systematically blackmailed leading bourgeois politicians, which is one of the reasons no one, not even the liberal Kennedy, ever got rid of Hoover.) During the late 1960's the Justice Department set up a special section devoted exclusively to "getting the Panthers." Leading Black Panther Party members were acquitted of charges in a series of trials, several of which were obvious frame-ups. In foreign operations by the U.S. government, "dirty tricks" and covert activities are the norm. Earlier this year newspapers reported that the CIA trained, equipped and financed the Tibetan rebellion of the late 1950's. Now the newspapers announce that two of the Watergate conspirators, Hunt and Barker, were also high-level organizers of the "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba.

Less commonly known is the role of the CIA in the labor movement. For more than two decades the government has financed the AFL-CIO's "American Institute for Free Labor Development" and surreptitiously financed conservative and Catholic trade unions in a number of South American and Asian countries (including Vietnam). In Western Europe after World War II, the CIA (operating through UAW leader Victor Reuther) helped finance and organize anti-communist, social-democratic trade unions which split away from the CP-led labor federations in France and Italy. Another important conduit of CIA funds was the Communications Workers of America led by cold warrior Joseph Beirne.

The Watergate affair is not a harbinger of impending Bonapartism or fascism, as many left liberals and some fake-socialist groups have maintained. As we indicated in an earlier article:

> "There is no doubt about Nixon's appetites for a strong state, which could raise itself above the control of the various factions of the ruling class, achieving a *relative* independence in order to better control and if necessary smash the workers and socialist movements. If any proof were needed, it could be found in his proposal to reintroduce the death penalty, the bills to abolish strikes in the transportation industries, the proposed laws to prevent union memberships from voting on contracts, the expansion of the FBI, the attempts to muzzle the bourgeois press, the use of espionage against the Democrats and countless other examples.
> "But Nixon does not completely control the context in which he operates. Appetites are not enough. Thus on Watergate he has effectively been stymied by the liberal outcry and defections in his own ranks. His new doctrine of unlimited 'executive privilege' to ignore Congress has apparently been temporarily shelved. Similarly, while his wage-control program may have been motivated by a desire to break the unions, the results have not gone beyond the limits of traditional bourgeois democracy."
>
> —"Watergate Scandal Shocks Liberals," *WV* No. 19, 27 April 1973

Impeachment?

Obviously Nixon is directly responsible for the whole Watergate affair and the subsequent cover-up attempts. This has been clear since last summer. Yet noticeably the Democratic powers in Congress did nothing to raise Watergate during the presidential campaign, despite the fact that this issue alone might have defeated Nixon. The reason was quite simple: not only was a vast majority of the bourgeoisie supporting the Nixon government, but so were many congressional Democrats who felt their power threatened by the "reform" McGovern. The South Dakota senator was only useful as a good spoiler to draw off steam from various protest movements. Moreover, Nixon had made some solid achievements for his class: trade with China and Russia, cutting down U.S. involvement in Vietnam, new markets for trade and capital expansion. In this context, Watergate was just a pinprick.

But Mr. Nixon's appetites and the interests of the ruling class are not always identical. Congressional hackles began to rise after Nixon announced his new doctrine of executive privilege. The recent call for a "New Atlantic Charter" was also a blunder, since it was based on memories of U.S. dominance in days gone by and not on the present realities of growing trade competition. Similarly, the government management of inflation was bungled this spring, with money supplies being expanded at an annual rate of more than thirteen percent in recent months.

So the Congressional leaders struck back at Nixon with the Watergate hearings. A combination of inter-bureaucratic rivalries (CIA vs. FBI) and inept handling of the affair by the Administration led to the unforeseen eventuality of several of the key participants' actually telling (part of) what they knew. And so the scandal has snowballed, until much of official Washington has now been covered by the web of intrigue.

However, such matters can easily reach a point of no return, and influential sections of the bourgeoisie are now trying to calm the waters. In an important editorial the *Wall Street Journal* (9 May 1973) discussed the question of impeachment, noting that it is one thing to get rid of Haldeman and Ehrlichman:

> "Toppling a President is quite another. ...It would be wise to think about where the momentum is taking us....Impeachment is the gravest possible constitutional action, a last resort when there is no other way to salvage the system itself.... When you damage the President you also risk damaging the nation."

Echoing the desire of the bourgeoisie for stability at all costs, the bureaucrats of the deformed workers states have played down the Watergate crisis in the press and are doing what they can to shore up Nixon. Thus while Chinese diplomats are circulating in Western Europe trying to convince the capitalists to keep NATO (as a weapon against Russia), the Russian party chief Brezhnev will visit Nixon in the U.S. this month, an act that again confirms Moscow's political support for the present administration.

It is possible that impeachment could prove to be necessary for the ruling class (as the *Journal* admits), but given the precarious economic and monetary situation, the delicate maneuvering necessary for U.S. foreign policy in this period and Spiro Agnew (enough said), impeachment would certainly have to be a last resort. However, in the absence of a mass revolutionary workers movement, even impeachment would only lead to a restabilization of bourgeois democracy.

Build a Workers Party! Strike Against the Wage Freeze!

For socialists to call today for impeachment of Nixon can only mean a desire to have another *bourgeois* ruler, whether Agnew or a liberal Democrat. Bourgeois rule will not disappear by crumbling to dust under the weight of its own contradictions. It must be smashed by a massive, organized and conscious movement of the working class. Today such a movement is only beginning to be built. To pretend otherwise, to believe that "after Nixon—us" can only have the practical result of falling in behind the liberals in their desperate effort to shore up the moral authority of a bankrupt and rotting regime. To call for impeachment at a time when a real alternative to the discredited government of the bosses is rule by the working class organized in its own class institutions and using its own means—that is "quite another" story. But to pretend today that the arch-reactionary Meany bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO could offer a meaningful alternative to the rule of its capitalist masters in the absence of a mass labor upsurge is to totally gut the Trotskyist labor party slogan of any semblance of revolutionary content.

The only real answer to the corruption and murder of bourgeois politics is to build a workers party that offers a real alternative, one which fights for a workers government that would destroy the capitalist system itself. The most concrete way that this can be done today is through building the Spartacist League and constructing caucuses in the trade unions which will fight the labor bureaucracy down the line with a class-struggle program of transitional demands pointing the way toward socialist revolution.

The mass of the working class is not yet won to communist consciousness, but is nonetheless faced immediately with the current wave of inflation, the wage-control legislation, the threatened recession, etc. As a first step in fighting back against capitalist exploitation, a determined struggle to smash the wage freeze through political strikes directed explicitly against government wage controls is a burning issue in every union. With contracts due among Teamsters, electrical workers, auto workers and others, and with the current disorganization of a government discredited by Watergate, the failure to take up this absolutely necessary struggle can only mean guaranteeing a defeat for the working class in a context where victory would be not only possible but highly likely.

The present leadership of the unions opposes this perspective for a clear reason: such a perspective opens the road to a direct political confrontation between the working class and the capitalist government and thereby threatens the very existence of the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Thus the fight to smash the wage controls must be part of a broader struggle to construct a new leadership of the working class. ■

Bridges sought merger with the ILA, the WL opportunistically tailed after: "affiliation of the two unions is absolutely required" *(Bulletin*, 10 January 1972). When that merger fell through and Bridges went to the Teamsters, the WL obediently tagged along *(Bulletin*, 22 January 1973).

The CP-backed *Transport Worker*, a newsletter claiming to speak for seamen, longshoremen, teamsters, airline, railroad, warehouse and allied workers, likewise offers no alternative. It simply proposes joint contract bargaining between all these unions, backing down before the hostility of the ILWU ranks to merger with the ILA and Teamsters, saying these proposals "did not serve unity" *(Transport Worker*, 2 April 1973).

In order to be supportable, any proposal for merger must include *at least:* 1) a guarantee of no losses of jobs, conditions or other gains by any of the workers involved, and the extension of these gains, through parity proposals, to the other workers in the unity move; 2) a guarantee of full union democracy within the combined union; and 3) a specific repudiation of union-busting as in the Teamster attempt to destroy the UFW, coupled with a *real* drive by the combined strength of transport workers to help organize the unorganized through "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) struck goods. Such a proposal must be accompanied as well by specific demands that the leaders of the unions involved immediately cease all cooperation with government wage-freezing boards and other agencies: Fitzsimmons off the "Advisory Committee" and "Labor Peace" commission, and Bridges off the San Francisco Port Commission! Such a merger proposal would expose the Bridges leadership (as well as the Fitzsimmons and Gleason groups) by insisting on a complete reversal of ILWU policy.

Establish Militant Caucuses

Such gains cannot be achieved, however, without the establishment of a revolutionary leadership to fight consistently for them and for similar policies to meet the needs of longshore, warehouse and other transport workers. These questions are not limited to the immediate trade-union issues, but are posed in a broader context. Thus the question of jobs and automation requires a consistent struggle for shorter hours at no loss in pay together with elimination of steady men and of second-class status for "B" men, and full restoration of the hiring hall. But these gains will never be secure without a commitment to struggle for the same gains for East and Gulf Coast, Mexican and Canadian longshoremen, and for transport workers throughout the world.

Similarly, the question of companies "running away" to take advantage of low-paid foreign labor poses a clear class choice: either patriotic pressure on the bourgeoisie to institute severe protectionist measures, leading inevitably to higher prices, trade war and eventual third world war in which the world's workers slaughter each other for the profits of "their" exploiters; *or* an internationalist commitment to organizing and raising the living standards of foreign workers. Longshoremen are in a key position to stop the flow of scab products, aid international organizing drives and to lead political strikes against acts of imperialist aggression and war. If capitalists such as Hawaiian pineapple growers say they can no longer produce at a profit and must therefore shut down production, thereby wasting vast productive capacity and destroying jobs, the demand for expropriation of the industry under workers control must be raised.

Inflation, wage controls, anti-labor legal measures and other attacks on labor mounted jointly by the two capitalist parties also pose a class choice: either pressure the bourgeoisie for a few crumbs by supporting Democrats, sitting on wage-freeze boards, etc., all of which means a complete surrendering of militant strike struggles; *or* fighting back by using the strike weapon, including general strikes against particular abuses. This means not only refusing to support capitalist politicians or sit on government agencies, but struggling to oust the bureaucrats who base themselves on such betrayals; it means building a workers party to abolish capitalism and establish a workers republic.

A caucus to fight for the leadership of the ILWU must be built on the basis of the *working-class* answers to all these problems and choices, i.e., on the interests of the international proletariat. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

"Progressive" Bridges Announces No-Strike Agreement

Ranks Restive as ILWU Contracts Expire

OAKLAND, Calif.—Having lost its absolute dominance of the world capitalist market, the U.S. ruling class is seeking to improve its competitive position by intensifying the exploitation of American workers. This requires enlisting the aid of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy to ensure a narrow, nationalist response and labor peace. The "socialist" bureaucracy of Harry Bridges and Co. of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the West Coast docks is no exception.

Following the lead of I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, who recently negotiated a special four-year no-strike pact in the steel industry (see *WV* No. 20, 11 May 1973), on 11 May Bridges announced a tentative agreement with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) on a plan to avoid a repeat of the 134-day 1971-72 longshore strike when ILWU contracts expire on 1 June (warehouse) and 1 July (longshore). The stated purpose of the agreement is to assure shippers and their clients that they could continue to route goods through West Coast ports, since some companies have already laid plans to divert cargo to East and Gulf Coast ports in anticipation of a possible longshore strike. This gesture of class-collaboration came less than three months after the 500 delegates to the February convention of the warehouse section of the union had overwhelmingly rejected the no-strike provisions of the contract and in other ways indicated their militancy and dissatisfaction with the international leadership.

Bridges Prepares Defeat

The four-point "preliminary" settlement proposal grants a meager 25 cent per hour raise and vague promises of "no layoffs" and guaranteed pay. With the PMA and the union predicting another 50 percent decline in the port of San Francisco in the next five years, however, a "no layoff" promise is meaningless, particularly in light of Bridges' past "achievements." These include the 1961 and 1966 "modernization and mechanization" agreements, two *five-year no-strike* contracts which laid the basis for the present crisis by giving away jobs through speed-up and containerization, and undermining of the union hiring hall by introducing "steady men" (Section 9.43 of the contract). Steady men work regularly for one employer, rather than being assigned to jobs through the regular union hiring hall, the major achievement of the 1934 San Francisco general strike (see *WV* No. 6, March 1972).

The PMA saved $900 million in labor costs for the companies over the past decade through these advantages under Bridges' contracts. In the past six years, 1,500 men left the docks, mostly because they could no longer live on two to four days of work per week. The crisis extends to the warehouse division, which comprises over half of the 65,000 union members. Runaway shops have moved to non-union areas in California, Nevada and the South.

Furthermore, the union's Hawaii sugar and pineapple local of 23,000 is being undermined by such international U.S. giants as Dole, Libby and Del Monte moving operations to Taiwan, the Philippines and Kenya. Already unemployment on Molokai is 21 percent. By 1975, pineapple production in Hawaii will be virtually eliminated, on the basis of exploitation of workers making 10 to 17 cents per hour! While carefully avoiding patriotic- or chauvinist-sounding remarks, the "leftist" ILWU bureaucrats nevertheless put forth the same protectionist proposals supported by the AFL-CIO and all other sections of the trade-union bureaucracy: keep low-grade pineapple out by enforcing FDA standards, establish quotas and "realistic duties" on foreign products and make runaways grant adequate pensions and severance pay, with transfer rights for the workers on the few remaining plantations. Instead only a militant program of immediate strikes against layoffs and a truly internationalist commitment to organizing the unorganized and raising living standards of foreign workers is sufficient to actually solve this problem.

Bridges Betrays Vietnamese Workers and Peasants

The 1971-72 strike only made matters worse for the ILWU. Bridges, along with Gleason of the ILA, did everything possible to avoid a nationwide docks shutdown. Despite being directed by the delegated Coast-Wise Caucus of the Longshore Division to negotiate the issue of steady men as a coast-wide issue, Bridges designated it a port issue. This left members of Local 10 (Bay Area) completely isolated in their fight against the "steady men" provision (Section 9.43) in an area which has the second most containerized port in the world, and consequently a large percentage of steady men.

Furthermore, Bridges continued the shipment of military goods for the Vietnam war throughout the strike, demonstrating the total hypocrisy of his "anti-war" position and his contempt for the union's demand of "immediate withdrawal." In one blow longshoremen could have seriously impaired U.S. imperialism's ability to conduct the war; the bureaucracy instead played on demoralization and didn't even consider embargoing war materiel. Bridges also failed to close Canadian and Mexican ports during the strike, except briefly when the strike was almost over.

The final contract accepted the loss of longshore jobs by calling for a tax on containers not stuffed by longshoremen and a "guaranteed pay" system which provided much less for the second-class "B" men than for "A" men (full book members), thereby sharpening this destructive division among longshoremen. The "guaranteed pay" proved virtually impossible to collect anyway under the complicated provisions! The sellout contract was made even worse when the Pay Board slashed 30 cents from the settlement.

Hypocrisy has been the only difference between Bridges' role and that of his brother bureaucrats Meany, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, etc., who joined Nixon's Pay Board and now grace his "Advisory Committee" to the Cost-of-Living Council. Rather than call on them to resign from the Pay Board, the "militant" Bridges spread rumors that they had promised strike action if the Board reduced his settlement. When the Pay Board announced the cut, he meekly accepted it with hardly a murmur of protest.

Furthermore, the container tax settlement was ruled illegal by a federal judge in an NLRB suit in May 1972. Bridges accepted this also. To top it off, when Nixon "removed" wage controls in January 1973, the ILWU reapplied for the 30 cents, only to be rejected by the Cost-of-Living Council. Again Bridges did nothing!

Despite past betrayals, Bridges is still able to lend a left cover of sorts to the current no-strike offensive. Tried and almost deported five times in 21 years for "communism," Bridges heads one of only two major CIO unions that refused to expel communists in the late 1940's and survived (the other, the UE, was badly split). When the president of the Hawaii sugar and pineapple local was convicted under the Smith Act in 1952, the ILWU responded with a three-day Hawaii-wide general strike. Bridges spends a great deal of effort scraping the tarnish from his "militant" image. Thus after the 1972 strike sellout, he and other longshore leaders personally marched on public employee picket lines at the University of California, mobilized 1,100 people to stage a brief sit-in in support of striking

Harry Bridges, February 1957.

department-store workers, conspicuously opposed the anti-farmworker Proposition 22 and condemned the murder of black students in Louisiana. With these gestures of militancy and "socialist" rhetoric, the Bridges leadership tries to mask its real intent: to continue tying the workers to the needs of capitalism.

Warehouse Convention Dumps No-strike Provisions

At the February convention of warehouse Locals 6 and 17, the leadership continued its policies of containing rank-and-file militancy, but the membership demonstrated its resistance by electing a relatively youthful, racially representative and militant delegate body. The delegates moved to eliminate Sections 3.1, 3.3 and 19.3, which prohibit strikes over speed-up, compulsory overtime, safety conditions, etc., and require that such grievances be arbitrated. The leadership vigorously opposed this dumping of the no-strike provisions in the contract. (This was simply a continuation of the betrayals of the past year, during which warehouse business agents in Oakland have sought to dissipate militant job actions at locations such as Thrifty's, Bell Brand and Associated Foods.)

This vote was an important blow against the reformist trade-union bureaucracy, which is key to the capitalists' strategy, particularly in a year in which contracts for over five million workers expire. The ruling class is fearful that under the pressure of runaway inflation, deteriorating working conditions and the decline in real wages, the militancy of individual strikes could lead to an all-out assault on wage controls, possibly culminating in the demand for a general strike to smash the freeze, as happened in Britain. Relying largely on rank-and-file demoralization over the previous round of strike encounters, which resulted in little or no real gains, the bureaucrats are using every stratagem this year to impress the workers with the necessity for a no-strike policy to save American capitalism from itself.

As soon as the vote against the no-strike provisions was taken, the bureaucracy began to counterattack in an attempt to defeat the vote surreptitiously. As currently formulated by McLain, Local 6 president, the warehouse locals are demanding a speed-up in the arbitration of grievances with the right to strike if the employer violates the grievance *procedure* (i.e., not over the grievances themselves). Equally revealing was the convention report in the ILWU paper, the *Dispatcher*, which *completely omitted* any mention of the dumping of the no-strike provisions. The *Dispatcher* was openly defeatist about the convention decisions:

> "When it was all over, the delegates had worked out a fairly tall order—demanding a two-year contract with substantial increases in wages (50¢ each year), and big improvements in pensions, health and welfare, holidays and contract language."
>
> —*Dispatcher*, 9 March 1973

Bridges might as well have called up the PMA and told them to simply forget about the "tall order" warehouse demands!

The Role of the Communist Party

The response of the supporters of the supposedly revolutionary organizations in the ILWU served to bolster the pro-capitalist arguments of the leadership. While initially supporting the elimination of the no-strike clause, a move clearly popular with the membership, most of them lapsed into silence when the leadership counterattacked, and a few actively aided the bureaucracy. Contradicting his younger, more militant CP-influenced brothers, one supporter of the reformist Communist Party opposed eliminating the mandatory arbitration clause, saying, "The day we abolish mandatory arbitration is the day we tell the boss to get out of his seat." International Secretary-Treasurer Goldblatt took the cue, saying, "That's right. We can't win this fight now. When socialism is on the agenda, count me in. But you can't win socialism in one warehouse," he continued with a smirk, "You can't even win socialism in one industry." Therefore...you can't fight compulsory arbitration!

Historically Bridges has been the foremost spokesman for the CP position in labor officialdom. It was Bridges who ordered the moving of struck goods during the Montgomery Ward strike of 1944, in line with the CP's super-patriotic, pro-war position during World War II. This act did not distinguish him or the CP from the rest of the reactionary labor bureaucracy, but it was Bridges who was the chief spokesman for the *extension* of the no-strike pledge *after* the war.

Despite a recent falling out of old friends, expressed by some public crit-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 23 22 June 1973

AP

Nixon-Brezhnev-Mao Push "Peaceful Coexistence" Fraud

As Russian party head Leonid Brezhnev does his best to convince Nixon to trade American technology for Siberian natural gas, and Nixon in turn attempts to divert public attention as far away from Watergate as possible, the workers movement must evaluate the real significance of the current U.S./USSR talks. Some 42 out of the total of 101 agreements between the U.S. and the Soviet Union since 1933 have been negotiated by the Nixon administration. Does this perhaps signal the cementing of a "superpower" bloc? With all the talk of massive foreign investment in the Soviet economy, are the achievements of the October revolution endangered? What is the meaning of the SALT and European Security Conference bargaining?

The Brezhnev visit is unlikely to produce anything of great importance, just as Nixon's visit to Moscow last May resulted only in a meaningless statement of "Basic Principles of Relations" filled with platitudes about peaceful coexistence. But both the Russian bureaucracy and the American ruling class face powerful pressures forcing a sharp change from their international policies of recent years. While the Communist Party declares that "humanity can achieve a lasting peace" and Brezhnev speaks with honeyed words of a new period of "relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and West" (*Daily World*, 16 June 1973), Marxists must recognize that the present unstable situation of great-power politics leads in quite the opposite direction, *toward a new imperialist world war.*

While Brezhnev and Mao, by their policies of seeking to form diplomatic blocs with the various imperialist powers, only promote this trend, there does exist the objective basis for a real alternative, one which offers a possibility of survival for the human race—the revolutionary unity of the international working class, directed against *all* the predatory bourgeoisies. Achievement of revolutionary class unity internationally will necessarily entail as well *political revolutions* in the degenerated and deformed workers states (USSR, China, Eastern Europe, North Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba) as an integral part of the international socialist revolution.

Decaying Capitalism and Moribund Bureaucracy

On the American side, Nixon is faced with the precipitous decline of the dollar in recent months, a reflection of that loss of U.S. economic hegemony in the capitalist world which was made official by the 15 August 1971 devaluation/wage-freeze measures. At the same time, the balance of payments situation remains precarious, a sharp recession threatens to materialize in the near future and inflation is raging at near-record levels. More generally, the capitalists of all the major Western powers face intensified international competition and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. The immediate consequences are rapidly sharpening trade war as well as efforts to increase the rate of exploitation at home, through driving down the real wages of the working class, speed-up, etc. The bourgeoisie is certainly interested in exploiting Siberian oil and gas deposits, but its ability to do so at this time is limited. And in any case, the purpose of this "benevolent" attention is not the development of natural resources production in the Soviet Union, but ultimately the appetite for the reconquest of the deformed workers states and the reopening of their markets to exploitation by Western capital, a goal which can be accomplished only by violent counterrevolution entailing incredible suffering for the working class.

The bureaucracies administering the deformed workers states are, on the other hand, faced with a tremendous need for the capital goods and advanced technology available only from the capitalists. The necessary trade, credits, concessions, etc., pose an eventual danger to the workers' conquests, given the failure to extend the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. But with the accumulated rigidities of 45 years of bureaucratically planned economic growth, the Soviet Union is in desperate need of new stimulus. For this parasitic caste, the rapid development which would be achieved by freeing the productive forces from their bureaucratic fetters and

continued on page 3

Militant/Howard Petrick

Chavez' Class-Collaboration Prepares the Way

Teamsters, Growers Conspire to Smash Farm Workers' Union

The United Farm Workers union faces death in California after eight years of organizing drives based on social-pacifism, religion and direct appeals to the capitalist class. The UFW aimed to give farm workers union protection after decades of the most brutal exploitation, but the Chavez leadership's conscious suppression of working-class methods of struggle threatens to reverse all gains made by the farm workers.

The Teamster bureaucracy under Fitzsimmons, Nixon's best friend in labor, is the chosen instrument of California agribusiness to give the knife to the "radical" UFW. At the Los Angeles convention of the American Farm Bureau Association last December, Fitzsimmons clearly stated that he favored a Teamster-grower alliance. In 1970 special sweetheart contracts were signed with Salinas Valley lettuce growers to prevent the impending victory of the UFW throughout California agriculture. Now, as each of the hard-won contracts of the five-year grape strike expires, the Teamster bureaucracy signs a sweetheart contract with the grower. In the Coachella Valley, the Teamsters signed contracts with 15 growers on 15 April, the day after UFW contracts expired, without consulting a single farm worker. Preparations for similar treachery are under way in the San Joaquin Valley, the heart of grape production. To the UFW, which is still based primarily on grape workers, this constitutes a clear death threat.

Chavez' response to the Teamsters' attack is not addressed to the labor movement and rank-and-file Teamsters, but to church leaders, liberal Democrats and the capitalist business partners of the growers themselves. UFW strikes against Teamster-raided growers have been 90 percent effective, but Chavez is relying on his characteristic tactics of passive protest and consumer boycott, together with handouts from the AFL-CIO.

The futile policies of Chavez are revealed in all their class-collaborationist wretchedness in a three-page letter, mimeographed for distribution to trade-union bureaucrats and liberals, over his signature. The letter is addressed to Quentin Reynolds, chairman of the board of Safeway Stores, the California-based supermarket chain and major agribusiness marketer which is currently under UFW boycott for handling scab lettuce:

> "Mr. Reynolds, you must be blind to what is at stake here or you would surely be using your influence with the growers and Teamsters to resolve this conflict in the lettuce and grapes....
>
> "The Teamsters say they represent the workers. How is that possible? The grape workers have been members of our union for years. Mr. Reynolds, do you and other Safeway officials really believe that farmworkers want the Teamsters union? Why don't we find out once and for all! *Why don't you join me in a public appeal for elections....*"

continued on page 8

Defend Chilean Miners' Strike

As the Unidad Popular (UP) government of Chile is increasingly isolated by the rise of labor militancy on the one hand, and the mounting forces of counterrevolution on the other, President Salvador Allende has decided to take a class stand with the bourgeoisie. In response to a two-month-old strike at the El Teniente copper mines, Allende used the national police force (Carabineros) against the strikers, asked the heads of the armed forces to re-enter the cabinet of the popular-front government and moved to "restore order" in two mining provinces by placing them under military control.

The strike began on 10 April with the 13,000 miners of the nationalized El Teniente mine, the largest underground mine in the world, in Rancagua. It spread in early June to Chuquicamata, the world's largest open pit mine, where workers held a 48-hour support strike which may expand into a strike of indefinite duration and nationwide scope.

The strikes have already forced the Chilean government to suspend shipments of copper, its major export, to Europe, causing losses of $50 million per day in foreign exchange. In a situation where Chile is heavily in debt and forced to import food. The government claims that the "national interest" is higher than that of the "privileged" miners.

The miners, on the other hand, are striking to defend the sliding scale of wages (automatic cost-of-living adjustment) won years ago from the former American owners of the mines through hard-fought struggles. They are demanding a 41 percent pay raise to keep up with the soaring cost of living (up 240 percent in the last year alone). Food is already rationed and the black market is booming. The government claims that the existing cost-of-living adjustment must be dropped and replaced with a "re-adjustment law" which would raise wages only of workers in the lowest categories. If successful, this would break the back of working-class resistance to the wave of inflation and lower real wages, exactly as happened during the previous popular-front governments after World War II.

On 14 June, riot police attacked a demonstration of 4,000 miners, who had marched on Santiago from the northern mining districts, using water guns, armored personnel carriers and tear-gas grenades. At the mine itself more than 500 Carabineros have laid siege, firing machine guns into the air to gain access to the installations. Strikers erected barricades at the entrances to the mines and hurled dynamite at the police. More than 30 miners have already been injured in the conflict.

The Communist Party and the UP are trying to smash the strike, arguing

MARCELO MONTEALEGRE

El Teniente

End the Witchhunt in Peru!

The Peruvian military dictatorship of Lieutenant-General Juan Velasco has in recent months resorted to brutal repressive tactics against that country's ostensible Trotskyists. Hugo Blanco, deported in September 1971, is but one of many political exiles and victims of the "revolutionary" policies of the generals who took power in a bloodless coup in 1968.

Recently arrested and facing an uncertain future are Ricardo Napurí, leader of the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR—affiliated with the French OCI), and Sergio Barrios and José Carlos Ballon of the Liga Comunista (affiliated with the British SLL). The Liga Comunista has been outlawed, its publication *Comunismo* suppressed, and its printing press seized. The military is pursuing other leaders of the organization. According to first-hand reports the political prisoners are being tortured to force them to reveal names and addresses, to identify other prisoners and to sign false confessions.

The Stalinists of the Peruvian Communist Party, major force in the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), support the Velasco dictatorship as a "progressive government." According to a veteran miner and union local delegate quoted in the 27 March 1970 *Daily World*: "This is not exactly the moment for arguing about whether or not the government is revolutionary. The important thing is that it has been furthering revolutionary acts and that is what's basic. We have to support and radicalize it."

Though the CP cadres have themselves been the object of brutal repression at the hands of the Velasco government, the Stalinists capitulate to the bourgeoisie and military at every opportunity. The very existence of the CP-led unions is threatened as the government attempts to incorporate the trade unions into the state through SINAMOS (Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social) and a government trade-union federation, the CTRP.

The Stalinists are sowing the seeds of their own destruction as they play the treasonous role of police informers and guardians of internal labor discipline for the military dictatorship. They have cooperated directly and indirectly with the government in the arrest of Trotskyists and other militants. As the bourgeoisie's attacks escalate, the very survival of the Peruvian workers movement is at stake; class collaboration becomes literally suicide. The release of political prisoners and the repatriation of the exiles must be secured by a united-front defense by all workers' and peasants' organizations. End the persecution! Free the Peruvian political prisoners!

Protests should be addressed to:

Peruvian Embassy
1320 16 Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Telegram

Peruvian Embassy
Washington, D.C.

We demand immediate release of political prisoners held in Peru's jails, victims of your government's savage rightist repression. These include workers, peasants and students arrested in the course of recent strikes and demonstrations in Arequipa, Puno, Moquegua, Cuzco, Tacna and Piura. The brutality, provocation, systematic jailing of socialists, strikers and other militants expose the "progressive" pretensions of the Velasco government as blatant hypocrisy—a cover for direct attacks on the working class and its organizations. This is an offense against working people internationally. Free Ricardo Napurí, Sergio Barrios, José Carlos Ballon and other supporters of the Liga Comunista and the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario! Repatriate Hugo Blanco! Stop the persecution!

Spartacist League
USA

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Statement of Resignation from the Class Struggle League

Comrades:

Fusion with Vanguard Newsletter means that once again you must bury the Communist program. But you comrades claim (or hope) that the CSL-VNL position on democratic centralism will allow you to maintain "it" surreptitiously. In this fusion you will not be building an organization in your own image. After two years of struggle (the formation of the Leninist Faction, breaking out of the SWP and independent existence) the Class Struggle League has been captured by the centrists of the VNL. What will emerge from this VNL-dominated fusion will be far from the political perspectives outlined at the first convention of the LF/CSL. At that time despite the dispute with the D.C. and Oakland comrades, no one had given serious programmatic consideration to any organization but the Spartacist League. Fusion with the SL seemed a logical outcome of our struggle in the SWP. When VNL was considered it was stated we would have to choose sides on the split from which VNL evolved i.e. the Ellens-Turner fight in the SL. Yet, many comrades have maintained a "know nothing" silence. But, comrades, if we are serious in agreeing with Trotsky that the crisis the proletariat faces is one of leadership, then it is criminal to engage in un-principled factionalism. And, comrades, can you honestly solidarize yourselves with Turner's role in that fight? I, for one, condemn Turner's role of lightning rod for an underground faction. You cannot have a principled fusion with an un-principled factionalist!!!

In "Against Fusion with VNL" I have outlined my differences with VNL's CRFC [Committee for Rank-and-File Caucuses] strategy and counterposed SL's work. The CRFC is exactly what the CSL leadership mistakenly accuse SL of desiring, i.e. a catch-basin for burnt-out ORO's. It's simply another version of the SWP's two-stage theory of politics. First the mass agitational slogans devoid of politics are put out, then the real stuff. As far as industrial concentration, the VNL is no more interested in your plans for colonization than the ex-POT.

Comrades, although originally you maintained you had programmatic agreement with the SL, your motion towards fusion with VNL proves that not to be the case. The LF/CSL was not a homogeneous grouping. To a large fraction of the members it was part of a motion towards an organization that has maintained the communist continuity of Trotskyism, the Spartacist League. Apparently to the leaders of the LF/CSL, the fused group was to be "their" organization. (Unfortunately for them even this dream has fallen and instead the organization is now Turner's.) Along with this movement away from the SL the CSL hardened on a Menshevist conception of the vanguard party that is characterized by the formula that "the disputes of the party are the disputes of the class." This is a pre-Communist International conception that leads to the type of heterogeneity that characterized the parties of the 2nd International. As the Bolsheviks and Trotsky washed their hands of that swamp, so must we.

For the reasons outlined in "Against Fusion with VNL" I reject fusion with VNL, solidarize myself with the Spartacist League and resign from the CSL. I urge other comrades to re-study and re-examine the only organization that has maintained the Trotskyist program in the U.S., the Spartacist League.

Enrique Ayala
19 April 1973

that labor unrest is threatening to bring the country to the brink of civil war and making it impossible for Allende to govern. This, they say, opens the door to the right wing. But it is clear that the program Allende is unable to enforce is precisely the program of the bourgeoisie—make the workers pay for inflation.

Meanwhile, on 13 June Allende asked the army, navy and air force to enter the cabinet in order to stem the unrest. In a similar move last November, the head of the armed forces became Minister of the Interior while the UP government dropped plans for nationalizing part of the transport system in an attempt to appease the opposition Christian Democrats. While Christian Democratic business associations were leading a nationwide lockout, the Communist Party was calling for the widening of the UP coalition to include these counterrevolutionary plotters!

Now the Stalinists claim that the strike is being fomented by a bloc between anti-communist trade unions and the fascist Patria y Libertad group. The Christian Democrats won control of the copper unions in elections last February after the government had forced the miners into a similar strike and Cuban leader Fidel Castro unsuccessfully appealed to the workers to "sacrifice more" for the fatherland.

(In the 13 June *Guardian*, "independent radical" apologist for Stalinist reformism, the strikers are referred to as a "privileged" sector, and the strike is written off as a "testimony ... to the survival of capitalist mentality at all levels in the mines." A "survival of capitalist mentality" is hardly surprising in a capitalist state which, moreover, is just now machinegunning striking workers! What would the *Guardian* recommend instead, penance for the sin of trying to feed their children?)

It is not the responsibility of the workers that right-wing forces are using the issue of the strike against the government. A revolutionary leadership of the unions would rapidly extend the strike and demand the formation of a government of the workers parties alone, which would expropriate the key sectors of the economy. This would immediately eliminate any demagogic attempts by the right to capitalize on the strike, as well as unify the class for the inevitable clash with the bourgeoisie. The ability of the Christian Democrats to win control of the miners' unions is due solely to the complete failure of the left parties to put forward such a program in the labor movement.

As the hysterical attacks by the social democrats and Stalinists against the copper strike mount, revolutionaries must call for: Unconditional Defense of the Chilean Miners' Strike! For the Formation of Workers' Militia! Smash the Pop Front; For a Workers Government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Continued from page 1

...Coexistence

relying on the initiative and capabilities of the working class is not an alternative. Thus the bureaucracy must, in order to preserve the basis of its existence (the nationalized means of production, state control of foreign trade), seek to attract massive infusions of Western capital while at the same time placing severe restrictions on the conditions of its introduction (e.g., no direct foreign investment). These divergent interests of the capitalists and the bureaucrats of the Soviet bloc make substantial, long-term economic agreements highly problematical and fundamentally unstable.

The other major discussions of the last two years have focused on the German question and arms limitation. Though obviously overlapping, these questions are distinct and separate. The Spartacist League is absolutely in favor of the normalization of diplomatic relations between East Germany and other nations. This is a concrete act which can lead to increased trade for East Germany as well as placing a temporary tactical obstacle to attack from the West. Disarmament, however, is a petty-bourgeois illusion. Wars can be eliminated only by destroying the imperialist (capitalist) system which generates them. No matter how many treaties prohibit bombs, bombs will be produced if the bourgeoisie requires them. Unlike the Stalinists, who piously promote utopian pacifist illusions, we as Trotskyists unconditionally support the military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism (while calling for political revolution to replace the bureaucracy which is hindering that defense); we therefore oppose mutual disarmament schemes, call for unilateral disarmament of the capitalist states and support the "workers' bomb." Down with the SALT negotiations!

"Peaceful Coexistence"

Since Stalin, rejecting fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism, first conceived of his "theory" of "socialism in one country," Russian foreign policy has been based on "peaceful coexistence" with one or another sector of the bourgeoisie. (Right now, Brezhnev's line seems to be to convince the *whole* of the capitalist class of the merits of peaceful coexistence.) Coupled with this was Stalin's cowardly and philistine statement that "the idea of exporting a revolution is nonsense." But it was precisely in order to "export revolution" that Lenin and Trotsky founded the Communist International in 1919. Trotsky raised only tactical objections to the Red Army invasion of Poland in 1920; indeed, Trotsky supported even the bureaucratic and half-hearted revolutionary measures undertaken by Stalin's invasion of eastern Poland in 1939.

The underlying presupposition for a policy of "peaceful coexistence" is that workers states and capitalist states can exist together peacefully over a long period, a proposition contrary to Marxism and *never* supported by Lenin. To buttress their position the Stalinists quote Lenin on such issues as the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, trade relations with and recognition of capitalist states, etc. But these issues constitute another question, namely whether it is permissible for a workers state to enter into practical, limited agreements with capitalist states. Just as we may be compelled to sign a temporary truce in the economic class struggle, in the form of a labor contract, so we may likewise be forced to sign similar truces at a political level. Thus the SL has criticized the Vietnamese Stalinists not for *negotiating* with the American imperialists but rather for the *terms* of the settlement (e.g., ignoring the political prisoners) and for their goal of a *coalition government*, which is based on the presumption that the bourgeois and Stalinist armed forces can "peacefully coexist" in the same state!

Until recently, the slogan of peaceful coexistence with the U.S. had been the exclusive property of the pro-Moscow CPs. But with the Nixon-Mao détente of 1972 we see vivid confirmation of the Spartacist League's characterization of Maoism as "reformism under the gun." Mao, it turns out, had never rejected "peaceful coexistence" but only the "misapplication" of this policy by Khruschev:

> "As for the imperialist countries, we should unite with their peoples and strive to coexist peacefully with those countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbor any unrealistic notions about them."
>
> —Mao Tse-tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"

Consequently, as the Communist League, a U.S. Maoist group, wrote, China must "force a policy of peaceful coexistence on the U.S. imperialists at this time" (*People's Tribune*, April 1972).

Ye Shall Know Them By Their Acts

While Trotskyism is not opposed to military agreements with capitalist states (after all, Germany trained the Red Army during the early 1920's!), the particular agreements entered into by the Stalinists reflect their policies of capitulation before the bourgeoisie (theoretically justified by the slogans of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence"), and thus inevitably undermine the defense of the workers states.

One of the prime examples of peaceful coexistence cited by the *People's Tribune* article mentioned above was the "non-agression pact" between Stalin and Hitler, signed on 23 August 1939. It is a fact written indelibly in the pages of history that one week later Hitler invaded Poland, in preparation for his later assault on Russia itself! More recently, last year, less than two weeks before Nixon was to go to Moscow to meet with Brezhnev, the U.S. began mining Haiphong harbor and bombing North Vietnam. Aside from a mild pro-forma protest, the Soviet leaders did *nothing*, so eager were they to go forward with Nixon's visit, during which they signed with this butcher a joint declaration that they would "proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence." As for the "militant" Mao, today the Chinese diplomats are campaigning to encourage the maintenance of NATO in Europe and the remilitarization of Japan in Asia—peaceful coexistence with the capitalists and war with the USSR!

These policies are explicitly directed against proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries. This, of course, is no accident. Several years ago, during a bitter Spanish miners' strike, the Franco government was able to replenish its dwindling coal stocks by an agreement with Poland to cover the deficit caused by the strike. The bureaucrats are *literally* "strikebreakers of the revolution." And right now, as the American CP is trying to put on an appearance of militancy by calling for the impeachment of Nixon, Brezhnev is doing everything possible to shore up the Nixon government during the Watergate crisis, and the Russian press is treating the liberal outcry over Watergate as the product of anti-Soviet reactionaries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence cripples the defense of the deformed workers states themselves. Concretely, this defense today urgently requires the elimination of the bureaucratic-nationalist Sino-Soviet conflict which already ties up more than half the armed forces of the two principal deformed workers states (in addition to hindering the transport of supplies to Vietnam). Throughout the Vietnam war the Spartacist League has called on Moscow and Peking to supply the Vietnamese with sufficient quantities of the most modern weapons—something they have never done, preferring instead to seek to advance their own narrow interests by secret negotiations with Nixon. Although the policies of "peaceful coexistence" ultimately endanger the very existence of the deformed workers states, the bureaucrats cannot mount a revolutionary defense, for to do so would require mobilizing the working class, which would pose a direct threat to their own parasitic rule.

For the immediate release of political prisoners in the deformed workers states, victims of anti-socialist repression! Down with Brezhnev-Mao! For Sino-Soviet Unity Against Imperialism! For the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Letter

Dear Editor,

The series "Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam," while an important contribution to the history of this little-known chapter of world Trotskyism, nonetheless contains certain significant omissions. Part 1 of the series in *WV*, 27 April 1973, leaves open to question whether the 1933 electoral bloc between the Indochinese Stalinists and the Trotskyist group led by Ta Thu Thau (the "Struggle" group) "was simply a no-contest pact or involved joint propaganda around a lowest common denominator program." I. Milton Sacks, in his article "Marxism in Vietnam" (in F. Trager, ed., *Marxism in Southeast Asia*, Stanford, 1959) states that the Ta Thu Thau group and Indochinese Communist Party ran on a common electoral program which "stressed mainly a series of democratic demands (right to strike, right to form unions, voting rights, etc.) and a number of welfare measures designed to alleviate the condition of the Vietnamese workers (lighter taxes, housing, recreational facilities, etc.)."

Part 2 of your series (*WV*, 11 May 1973) states that "Seeking to avoid any appearance of revolution, the Viet Minh asked for and received the abdication of Bao Dai..." The Viet Minh were so anxious to avoid "any appearance of revolution" that they actually *did not* ask for the abdication of Bao Dai and were anticipating working within the framework of the monarchy. The Stalinist "two-stage revolution" which divides the democratic and national tasks in the colonial countries from the socialist revolution, and proscribes a prior "democratic-national revolution" which is supposed to be carried out in alliance with the colonial bourgeoisie, is converted in practice into a "three-stage revolution" with a prior "progressive aristocratic-comprador bourgeois" stage! The Stalinists in inverted fashion are aware of the dynamic of the permanent revolution outlined by Trotsky, i.e., that to carry through the tasks of the democratic and national revolution the tasks of the socialist revolution are necessarily placed on the agenda. Thus, the Stalinists, in order to delay the socialist revolution, must also prevent the tasks of the national and democratic revolution from being carried through. So it was in Spain where the Stalinists prevented the expropriation and redistribution of land; so it was in Vietnam; and so it is today in Chile. Ho Chi Minh's futile attempt to recrown the "progressive monarch" Bao Dai, puppet of French and Japanese imperialism, anticipated Mao Tse-tung's courtship of that cast-off puppet-Prince of U.S. and French imperialism, Sihanouk, by 25 years. Bao Dai's actual abdication was the result of a telegram sent on 21 August 1945 by a mass meeting of the Hanoi General Association of Students, in response to a motion raised by Ho Huu Tuong, leader of the Trotskyist Indochinese Communist League.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels
18 May 1973

AS CLASS STRUGGLE RAGES IN ARGENTINA

Guevarism vs. Social Democracy in the USec

Next to Chile, Argentina is today the politically most volatile nation in Latin America. Strategic and even tactical questions are posed with razor sharpness. Guerilla warfare, terrorism, electoral and trade-union policies—a correct revolutionary approach to these issues is crucial even to provide any leadership in day-to-day struggles of the masses. The urgency and instability of the Argentine situation sharply highlight the crisis of revolutionary leadership and expose the political bankruptcy of both wings of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International."

The key question is how to break the working class from Peronism, and from the syndicalism which arises as a spontaneous response to the sellouts by the Peronist labor bureaucracy. For three decades Peronism—a nationalist bourgeois populist movement—has been the dominant force in Argentina's political life. Although it represents an important sector of the capitalist class, Peronism is based primarily upon support from the working class (Argentina is over 80 percent urban and has a large industrial proletariat). Since the military *gorilas* (reactionary officers) overthrew Perón in September 1955, they have never been able to achieve a stable government (either by themselves or in combinations with the bourgeois liberal and conservative parties) against the opposition of the pro-Peronist masses. In response to the waves of working-class unrest throughout the country since the 1969 uprising in Córdoba, the generals finally decided to negotiate with Perón in hopes of achieving a military-Peronist co-government. With Perón worried about losing support to the left, an agreement was reached between these former bitter enemies in order to preserve the bourgeois order at all costs. In the recent March elections Hector Cámpora, presidential candidate of the Peronist FREJULI (Justicialista Liberation Front), gained an overwhelming victory and the generals finally stepped down. Shortly afterward, Cámpora announced that he would crush the guerilla movement (*New York Times*, 5 May 1973). Eager to show his reasonableness, the "jefe máximo" of Latin American guerillaism, Fidel Castro, sent his greetings to the new government.

There is, however, growing opposition to Peronism within the workers movement. The reformist Communist Party has rapidly increased its membership from 10,000 in 1966 to more than 100,000 today, making it the second largest CP on the continent. In addition, there are at least three parties which claim to support Trotskyism. Yet in different ways each of these "Trotskyist" parties capitulates before the pressure of the bourgeoisie, failing to provide a clear proletarian alternative to the bourgeois populism of Peronism and the popular-front reformism of the CP.

Two of these groups—the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party) and the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Party)—both support the same self-styled "International," the so-called "United Secretariat." But (as recent internal USec documents clearly reveal) there is very little "unity" these days in the USec—and in fact the two Argentine "sections" pursue diametrically counterposed policies!—exposing the USec as an opportunist federated rotten bloc. The two Argentine groups supporting the schizophrenic USec epitomize the two political lines in a conflict which is threatening to blow the USec apart: the PST is a consummate expression in practice of the social-democratic appetites of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, while the PRT has put into practice the guerillaist line of the USec European majority of Mandel-Maitan-Frank, drawing the logical political conclusions of support for Castroism and Maoism.

(The third major ostensibly Trotskyist group, Política Obrera [Workers Politics], is allied with the French OCI and defends the popular-front policy of an "anti-imperialist" front with bourgeois nationalists, as do Política Obrera's co-thinkers of the Bolivian POR.)

Guerillaism vs. Marxism

In the past three years there have been more than 250 kidnappings by guerilla groups in Argentina, many of them occurring in the last three months since the presidential elections. The first group to be formed was the FAR (Revolutionary Armed Forces), organized in 1966 to link up with Guevara's Bolivian guerilla group and subsequently contained by the military. Two Peronist groups, the FAP (Peronist Armed Forces) and the Montoneros, are much more mixed politically, including ex-right-wingers and directing their actions exclusively at the military rather than capitalism. The FAR, FAP and the Montoneros have been considering fusion for some time.

The more spectacular actions have been largely the work of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—the Revolutionary People's Army) which is the armed wing of the PRT, the official Argentine section of the "United Secretariat." Among other things the ERP has been responsible for the recent kidnapping of the high Navy officials responsible for the massacre of guerillas last summer at Trelew. The character of ERP actions varies from simple expropriations (such as the $1 million confiscated from the National Development Bank) to the disarming of the guards at the Fiat Concord plant and direct participation in the March 1971 uprising in Córdoba. In May 1971 ERP members kidnapped an executive of the Swift Packing Company, demanding as ransom the reinstatement of suspended workers, better wages and working conditions and the distribution of food to slum areas. Last year they assassinated a hated official of the Fiat plant.

Joseph Hansen

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

Many ERP operations have won wide sympathy from the working masses. However, sympathy and active support are two very different propositions. Most ERP actions are simply classical individual terrorism, acts directed against particularly hated symbols of capitalist despotism and exploitation. They are qualitatively the same as the tactics of the Russian Narodniks who sought to destroy czarist rule by assassinating czarist officials. The Russian Marxists first formed as a group in *rejecting* such impotent tactics as a strategy for revolution, counterposing instead the insurrectionary mobilization of the entire working class:

> "In principle we have not rejected, and cannot reject, terror. Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable or even essential at a definite juncture in the battle.... Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows, but it is our duty to sound a rigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the chief and basic means of struggle.... Terror can never be a regular military operation...."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "Where to Begin," 1901

Concerning guerilla warfare, Lenin took the same position:

> "...a Marxist cannot regard civil war, or guerrilla warfare, which is one of its forms, as abnormal and demoralising *in general*....[but] the party of the proletariat can never regard guerrilla warfare as the only, or even as the chief, method of struggle;...this method must be subordinated to other methods...it must be commensurate with the chief methods of warfare, and must be ennobled by the enlightening and organising influence of socialism."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "Guerrilla Warfare," 1906

As a strategy guerilla warfare ultimately amounts to *peasant* war. Trotsky pointed out in his theory of permanent revolution that in the backward countries even the "democratic" tasks of the revolution can only be successfully fulfilled under the dictatorship of the *proletariat*, leaning on the peasantry. Peasant-based guerilla warfare runs against this strategic perspective. Writing on Mao Tse-tung's peasant armies, Trotsky commented:

> "The peasant movement is a mighty revolutionary factor, insofar as it is directed against the large landowners, militarists, feudalists and usurers. But in the peasant movement itself are very powerful proprietary and reactionary tendencies.... He who forgets about the dual nature of the peasantry is not a Marxist....
>
> "The Russian Narodniki ('Populists') used to accuse the Russian Marxists of 'ignoring' the peasantry, of not carrying on work in the villages, etc. To this the Marxists replied: 'We will arouse and organize the advanced workers and through the workers we shall arouse the peasants.' Such in general is the only conceivable road for the proletarian party."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Peasant War in China," 1932

The "Trotskyists" I: The PRT and Guerillaism Run Amok

The official Argentine section of the "Trotskyist" USec, however, has a quite different point of view. According to documents of the PRT:

> "For all these reasons, for a period of several years our strategy [is] for creating a revolutionary army in the countryside and to form hundreds of armed detachments of the workers and people to operate in the cities...."
>
> —Carlos Ramirez, et al., "The Only Road to Workers' Power and Socialism," 1968

It is only natural that in embracing this guerillaist strategy the PRT has found it necessary to break with orthodox Trotskyism:

> "It was not only Trotsky and Trotskyism which preserved and elaborated revolutionary Marxism in the face of Stalinist degeneration, as has been traditionally affirmed in our party and in our international. A similar role was played by Mao Tse-tung and Maoism....
>
> "Mao and Maoism creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in the revolutionary people's war theory....
>
> "Today the principal theoretical task of revolutionary Marxists is to fuse the main contributions of Trotskyism and Maoism into a higher unity which would prove to be a real return to Leninism....
>
> "We believe that our party should clearly pronounce itself in favor of the world strategy formulated by Castroism...."
>
> —Carlos Ramirez, et al., "The Only Road to Workers' Power and Socialism," 1968

Even more clarity is provided by an interview of Roberto Santucho (a PRT leader) published in the Chilean Castroist magazine *Punto Final* of 29 August 1972:

> "...the Revolutionary Workers Party [PRT] defines itself ideologically as Marxist-Leninist and welcomes the contributions of various revolutionists from other nations, including those of our main Comandante, Che Guevara. It also welcomes the contributions that Trotsky, Kim Il Sung, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh and General Giap have made for the revolution. We believe that it is inadequate and inappropriate to ideologically define the given organization as Trotskyist."
>
> —quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 27 November 1972

As for the Fourth International, according to a "Memorandum on the International" of the PRT, it "has great limitations and a scarcely redeemable tradition": Thus the PRT calls for "the formation of a new international revolu-

Ernest Mandel

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

GUARDIAN

MILITANT

Left: Che Guevara with Cuban guerilla fighters in 1958. Upper right: Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate of the social-democratic PST in recent Argentine elections. Lower right: Nahuel Moreno, PST theoretician.

tionary party based on the Chinese, Cuban, Korean, Vietnamese and Albanian parties" (*Resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the PRT*, 1970).

Maoism and Castroism (or Albanian Hoxhaism for that matter) are fundamentally no more than national variants of Stalinism, with its "theories" of "socialism in one country" and the "bloc of four classes." Thus all of these leaders concur in proclaiming that the revolution in the backward countries must be *national* rather than socialist, led by the peasantry and perhaps sections of the bourgeoisie (the "good" bourgeoisie, of course) rather than the proletariat. This is simply the old Menshevik theory of revolution in stages, first the "democratic" stage, and later (never) for socialism. It is the explicit denial of the Marxist theory of permanent revolution and a repudiation of Lenin's April Theses. This two-stage theory is taken up by the ERP in its strategy of "anti-imperialist guerilla war." In an interview in 1971, a leader of the PRT responded to the question, "What are the politics of the PRT-ERP?" by saying:

> "The ERP is a national liberation organization that struggles for the people. The PRT is based on the working class and fights for socialism. There is a difference in emphasis."
>
> —James Petras, "Building a Popular Army in Argentina," *New Left Review* No. 71, January-February 1972

The program of the ERP makes this "difference in emphasis" more explicit by not mentioning the word socialism (much less Marxism or Trotskyism), and calling for a "system of social democracy, a revolutionary people's government led by the working class," a classic exposition of the Maoist slogan of "new democracy." The classless call for a "people's government" is the repudiation of the slogan of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky—"Workers of the World Unite!"—and the result is unadulterated bourgeois patriotism:

> "*Argentinians:* The Revolutionary People's Army calls on all patriots to fulfill their responsibilities, to take their poste in our revolutionary war of the People, in this second War of Independence. General San Martín and Comandante Guevara are our finest examples. The task of the hour is to follow and emulate their thought and action and that of our past and present heroes and martyrs. WIN OR DIE FOR ARGENTINA!" [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Program of the Revolutionary Army of the People," *Resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the PRT*, 1970

Like Mao and Castro, the PRT/ERP does not draw a sharp line against coalitions with sectors of the bourgeoisie. In general, it calls for alliances with "sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and progressive bourgeois sectors" which "can have an interest in the revolution, but not with sufficient consistency to be able to lead it forward" (*Intercontinental Press*, 31 July 1972). In particular, the PRT/ERP has supported the line of the MIR in Chile, which gives "critical support" to the popular-front government of Allende, and the line of the Tupamaros in Uruguay, who supported the bourgeois candidate of the "Broad Front" in last year's elections. In Argentina, a section of the ERP broke away at the time of the March elections to form the ERP/22 August which called for votes for the Peronist FREJULI candidates. While the PRT correctly refers to the Peronist movement as bourgeois and refused to give it open support in the elections, it has nevertheless made a sharp (and false) distinction between the Cámpora government and the armed forces. According to a recent interview with a leader of the ERP, since the

> "Cámpora government represents the popular will... our organization will not attack the new government as long as it does not attack the people or the guerilla movement. Our organization will continue to struggle militarily against the large, exploitative companies, imperialist ones for the most part, and the counterrevolutionary armed forces.... As for the police... the ERP will suspend its attacks against it as long as it does not cooperate with the army in hunting down the guerilla movement and in repressing popular demonstrations."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 28 May 1973

And this after Cámpora has already declared in advance that he will "crush" the guerillas mercilessly!

Thus the PRT/ERP politically capitulates to the Stalinist policy of two-stage revolution and support for the "progressive bourgeois sectors." Guerillaism itself fundamentally disorients the advanced workers by pointing toward isolated heroic acts instead of the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat. According to the PRT, the "classical" or "Russian" "model" of armed insurrection of the working class is syndicalist, and instead the "only road" is preparation for a "prolonged guerilla war." While turning from peasant guerilla war to urban guerillaism, the PRT/ERP substitutes a utopian military tactic for the need to construct a revolutionary leadership through intervention in the struggles of the working class:

> "In addition, the entire party recognizes the clear distinction made between urban guerillas and self-defense of the masses, aware that the guerilla units in the cities were following a tactic relatively independent of the daily shifts in the class struggle. That is, they work out tactical plans independent of the immediate struggle of the masses."
>
> —"The Class Struggle Inside the Party," *Resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the PRT*, 1970

A "revolutionary" strategy "independent of the daily shifts of the class struggle" means military adventurism by petty-bourgeois forces relying upon individual heroics rather than upon the organization and consciousness of the proletariat. Even if the guerillaist organization and its cadres are not simply physically liquidated, they can in no case establish a healthy workers state governed by the working class. In those rare cases when such formations have succeeded in seizing state power, they have established only bonapartist forms of rule, either bourgeois nationalist or—in the best case—deformed workers states which must undergo proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucratic strata which block the road to socialism and the extension of the revolution internationally.

The "Trotskyists" II: The PST and the Social-Democratic Swamp

Thus the "Trotskyist-Castroite" theories of the PRT/ERP guerillaists have nothing in common with authentic Trotskyism. In the USec faction fight, the opposition to the PRT radical terrorists and their European USec supporters is led by the reformist U.S. SWP, which is backing the Argentine PST of Nahuel Moreno, pseudo-Trotskyist cafe revolutionary *sui generis*, and until 1969 the leading spokesman of the USec in Latin America. Although the SWP-Moreno wing now seeks to pose as principled defenders of orthodox Trotskyism against Castroite guerillaism, the basis of their opposition to the Mandel-Frank-Maitan tendency epitomized by the PRT/ERP is *from the right*, proceeding from an appetite for direct reformist collaboration with their own bourgeoisies.

This can be illustrated by examining Moreno's own history and his current positions on Argentina. In 1961 Moreno wrote:

> "Of course, life has brought out the gaps, omissions and errors of the program of Permanent Revolution.... The dogma that only the working class can accomplish the democratic tasks is false. Sectors of the urban middle class and the peasantry are, on occasion, the revolutionary leadership.... History... has rejected the theory that the proletariat, in the backward countries, is the revolutionary leadership.... Mao Tse-tungism, or the theory of guerilla war, is the particular reflection in the field of theory of the actual stage of world revolution.... [It is necessary to] synthesize the correct general theory and program (Trotskyist) with the correct particular theory and program (Mao Tse-tungist or Castroist).... [The state] conserves relative autonomy and can maneuver between distinct social classes.... There are revolutionary democratic dictatorships (based on the peasantry, the people and the proletariat)."
>
> —N. Moreno, *La revolución latinoamericana*, 1961

This is simply an earlier incarnation of the ideology of the PRT/ERP: the revolutionary role of the peasantry, the bankruptcy of the program of permanent revolution, the theory of new democracy—it is all there, perhaps even a bit more crudely worded. It was on the basis of these theories that the Moreno group, which until then had been deeply buried in the Peronist movement—issuing its magazine *Palabra Obrera* "under the discipline of General Perón and of the Peronist Supreme Command"—fused with a petty-bourgeois Castroite group (the FRIP), which had been active among Tucuman sugar workers, in 1964 to form the PRT, official section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International."

During the period 1964-68 the PRT continued to follow these guerillaist policies, and without a single word of protest from USec leaders. It would doubtless still be doing so today if some of the well-meaning but naive militants of the PRT had not decided to put Moreno's words into practice, calling for the transition to armed struggle in the north. For a time Moreno went along with the drift, going so far as to announce that "today OLAS [Castro's guerilla "International"], with its national combat organizations for armed struggle, is the only organizational vehicle for power" (N. Moreno, "La revolución latinoamericana, Argentina y nuestras tareas," *Estrategia* No. 7, September 1968).

But "armed struggle" has a way of becoming dangerous, so when it was clear that a sizeable portion of the PRT was actually headed toward the formation of a "guerilla army," Moreno split the party (1968). Until late 1971 the Moreno group retained the name of the PRT and of its newspaper (*La Verdad*), while the guerillaists led by Carlos Ramirez became known by the title of their organ (*Combatiente*). However, having already exhausted the policies of deep immersion in Peronism and Castroism, Moreno, sensing a possibility of participating in the elections as a respectable left party (all communist parties are banned in Argentina, and have been both under Perón and the military), began sniffing around for a new swamp in which to bury the PRT (Verdad). This was promptly found in the shape of a wing of the old Partido Socialista Argentino (PSA—Argentine Socialist Party, affiliated with the Second International) led by Juan Carlos Coral. The formalities of a common program were tidily dealt with in the form of "Basis of Unification" which has been described by Joseph Hansen and his co-thinkers as "consisting essentially of a summary of Trotskyist positions based on the theory of permanent revolution" (*Argentina and Bolivia—The Balance Sheet*, 1973).

Let us see what the permanent revolution sounds like in the mouths of these social democrats. In the first place, it seems that the party must "tirelessly struggle to bring about a workers and people's government that will assure national liberation and the revolutionary construction of socialism." This is simple enough: if Trotskyism calls for a workers government to achieve socialism, and Stalinism calls for a people's government to achieve national liberation—then just combine the two for the best of all possible worlds! Sixty years of struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism,

continued on page 10

MILITANT

ERP guerillas at Trelew after attempted escape from prison in 1972. One week later guards shot them in cold blood, killing all but three.

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

1/ THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

In their tireless efforts to betray the struggles of the workers and peasants, the Stalinists must continue to maintain a pretense of revolutionism. Yet their doctrines stand counterposed to the line of Marxism. This presents them with a dilemma, which they can only resolve by resorting to systematic lies about the Trotskyists. This goes from distortions of the political positions of Trotsky (as well as Marx and Lenin), to denying Trotsky's leading role as the military organizer of the October Revolution and accusing him of carrying out espionage for the Mikado! While many of the specific charges leveled against Zinoviev, Bukharin and other leading Bolsheviks accused of Trotskyism during the Moscow Trials were admitted by Khrushchev in 1956 to be total fabrications, the method remains. Today we are witnessing a widespread revival of the "Stalin School of Falsification" especially on the part of the various Maoist groups. Just as Stalin in his day needed a cover to justify his crimes against the working class, so today must the Maoists resort to vicious slander in order to cover for their counterrevolutionary policies in Bangladesh, Indonesia and elsewhere. This series is intended as a reply to these lies and an introduction to some of the basic concepts of Trotskyism, as they have developed in the struggle against Stalinist reformism during the past fifty years.

The struggle between the reformist line of Stalinism and the revolutionary policies of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky is no academic matter of interest only to historians. The counterrevolutionary policies of the "Great Organizer of Defeats" (Stalin) led not only to the assassination of Trotsky by an agent of Stalin's GPU and the murder of tens of thousands of Russian Left Oppositionists in the Siberian concentration camps, but also to the strangulation of the Chinese (1927), German (1933), French (1936), Spanish (1937), Indonesian (1965) and French (1968) revolutions as well as the sellout "peace agreements" of the Vietnamese Stalinists in 1946 and 1954. The struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism is literally a matter of life and death for the revolutionary movement and must be given the closest attention by militants who are seeking the road to Marxism.

What is the Permanent Revolution?

At the heart of this conflict is the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution. This theory, first advanced at the time of the 1905 Russian revolution, was summarized by Trotsky in his article "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution," written in 1939:

> "...the complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitably place on the order of the day not only the democratic but socialistic tasks as well, would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West could protect Russia from bourgeois restoration and assure it the possibility of rounding out the establishment of socialism."

It is this theory which Davidson and the Stalinists reject when they say that "Trotsky's views on the course of the Russian revolution, like those of the Mensheviks, were refuted by history" (*Guardian*, 4 April 1973). In fact, only because the uprising never reached the seizure of power was Trotsky's theory not confirmed in practice in 1905. The course of the Russian revolution of 1917 fully verified this theory. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, embodied in soviet power, could solve the questions of land and peace, as well as liberating oppressed nations from czarist rule. Moreover, a careful analysis of Lenin's views in 1905 and 1917 shows that he came over to agreement with all the essential aspects of Trotsky's formulation, and abandoned his own earlier slogan of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

The Stalinist claim that Lenin still stood for a "democratic" revolution in 1917 and called for "socialism in one country" is pure fabrication. Likewise, their accusation that Trotsky's slogan was "Down with the Czar, For a Workers Government," supposedly ignoring the peasantry, was repeatedly denied by Trotsky. The slogan of permanent revolution was, rather, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry.

In Trotsky's view, because of the uneven and combined development of the world economy, the bourgeoisie of the backward countries is tightly bound to the feudal and imperialist interests, thereby preventing it from carrying out the fundamental tasks of the bourgeois revolution—democracy, agrarian revolution and national emancipation. In the presence of an aroused peasantry and a combative working class, each of these goals would directly threaten the political and economic dominance of the capitalist class. The tasks of the *bourgeois* revolution can be solved only by the alliance of the peasantry and the proletariat.

Marxism holds that there can only be one dominant class in the state. Since, as the *Communist Manifesto* states, the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class, this alliance must take the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry. In carrying out the democratic tasks of the revolution, the proletarian state must inevitably make "despotic inroads into the rights of bourgeois property" (e.g., expropriation of landlords), and thus the revolution directly passes over to socialist tasks, without pausing at any arbitrary "stages" or, as Lenin put it, without a "Chinese wall" being erected between the bourgeois and proletarian phases. Thus the revolution becomes permanent, eventually leading to the complete abolition of classes (socialism).

But socialism is the product of the liberation of the productive forces at the highest level of capitalist development: classes can be abolished only by eliminating want, that is, scarcity. Thus, while the dictatorship of the proletariat may be established in an isolated and backward country, socialism must be the joint achievement of at least several advanced countries. For these complementary reasons the revolution must extend and deepen itself—or else perish. Thus the opposition between Trotsky's "permanent revolution" and Stalin's "socialism in one country" is in reality the opposition between socialism on a world scale and the most brutal regime of bourgeois-feudal reaction (barbarism); there is no middle road.

Leon Trotsky arriving in Petrograd, May 1917. PENGUIN

While the theory of permanent revolution was the achievement of Leon Trotsky, the concept was first introduced by Karl Marx in 1850. Davidson, in his effort to cloak Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" with the mantle of Marxism, maintains that Marx's use of the phrase "permanent revolution" was simply a general observation about class struggle continuing until socialism:

> "Thus the revolution is 'permanent' in two ways. First in looking toward the future, its course is one of uninterrupted class struggle until classes themselves are abolished. Second, looking back historically once classes are abolished, the revolution is permanent in the sense that there is no longer class struggle and the seizure of power and domination of one class by another."
>
> —*Guardian*, 4 April 1973

At this level of abstraction, it is no wonder that Davidson concludes that differences arise only "in the particularity of the question." But let us take a look first at what Marx actually said:

> "While the democratic petty-bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one."
>
> —Karl Marx, "Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League," 1850

This is in fact a powerful polemic, 75 years in advance, against Stalin's sophistry about "socialism in one country." Trotsky's theory is a further development of these fundamental propositions in the epoch of imperialism, when capitalism has penetrated throughout the backward regions and the objective prerequisites for socialism on a world scale already exist (thereby endangering even the young

bourgeoisies of the ex-colonial countries).

Revolution by Stages: Germany 1848

According to the Stalinists the chief error of Trotskyism is the failure to recognize the necessity of "stages" of the revolution, in particular the democratic stage as *opposed to* the socialist stage. One of Davidson's more illustrious predecessors wrote (a few years before Stalin murdered him as a "Trotskyite"!):

> "Comrade Trotsky put the dictatorship of the working class at the beginning of the process, but did not see the steps and transitions that led to this dictatorship; he ignored the concrete relation of forces...he did not see the stages of the revolution...."
>
> —N. Bukharin, "On the Theory of Permanent Revolution," 1925

Let us consider this "theory" of two-stage revolution, the "particularity" of the permanent revolution. Did Marx, perhaps, have such a theory? Marx, of course, rigorously distinguished the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions as to their social content, since they represent different epochs of historical development. But even in the mid-19th century it was becoming clear that the bourgeoisie was too weak and the proletariat too powerful for there to exist a "Chinese wall" between the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions. Distinct in social content, they would be closely linked historically. The German revolution of 1848 made this link particularly clear. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels wrote:

> "Communists pay special attention to Germany. There are two reasons for this. First of all, Germany is upon the eve of a bourgeois revolution. Secondly, this revolution will take place under comparatively advanced conditions as far as the general civilisation of Europe is concerned, and when the German proletariat is much more highly developed than was the English proletariat in the seventeenth century or the French proletariat in the eighteenth. Consequently, in nineteenth-century Germany, the bourgeois revolution can only be the immediate precursor of a proletarian revolution."

Marx did not believe that the working class could directly achieve victory in 1848, but that it would be forced to support the liberal bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie insofar as they fought against feudal-absolutist reaction. But even in this pre-imperialist period, when the proletariat was quite weak and politically dominated by the artisan and democratic petty-bourgeois interests, he counseled the workers to "simultaneously erect their own revolutionary workers' government hard by the new official government" in order to oppose their previous ally, as well as bring about "the arming of the whole proletariat."

Marx's prediction that proletarian revolution would closely follow the bourgeois revolutions of 1848 was not borne out. But neither were there successful bourgeois revolutions, precisely because the fear that proletarian revolution would break out if the least step were taken to rouse the masses drove the liberals into the arms of Prussian and Austrian reaction. Tied to the feudalists by a common dread of social revolution, the liberals strove not to overthrow the monarchy (as did the French bourgeoisie in 1789), but to *share* power with the feudalists. The German bourgeoisie could not rise above the level of a "shopocracy," as Engels put it.

Revolution by Stages: Russia 1905

The Russian revolution of 1905 again raised the question of permanent revolution, but in much sharper form. The Russian bourgeoisie was far weaker even than the German. For centuries the main characteristic of Russian development was its primitiveness and slowness, resulting from Russia's unfavorable geographical location and sparse population. Capitalist development in the northern empire was primarily imported from the West by the autocratic state, simply grafted on to the existing feudal economy. Thus while a modern industrial proletariat was forming in the main cities, concentrated in large factories which utilized the most advanced techniques, the town handicrafts and early forms of manufacture which had formed the economic base for the bourgeoisie in the West, never had time to develop. With large industry primarily in the hands of European capital and state banks, the Russian capitalist class remained small in number, isolated, half-foreign and without historical traditions. Moreover, it remained tied by a thousand strands to the feudalist-absolutist state and the landed aristocracy. A bourgeois-led revolution which could solve the tasks of democracy, agrarian revolution and national emancipation, was utterly out of the question. And yet the tasks of the bourgeois revolution remained.

Faced with this reality the two wings of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party took sharply opposed positions. The Mensheviks with scholastic formalism and utter spineless deduced from the democratic character of the initial tasks of the revolution the "strategy" of an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. In a speech at the "Unification Congress" of the RSDLP (1906), Axelrod, a leading Menshevik, remarked:

> "The social relations of Russia have ripened only for a bourgeois revolution. ... While this general political lawlessness persists, we must not even so much as mention the direct fight of the proletariat against other classes for political power....it is fighting for the conditions of bourgeois development. Objective historical conditions doom our proletariat to an inevitable collaboration with the bourgeoisie against our common enemy."

PATHFINDER

Illustration of Stalinist doctoring of history: Top photo shows Lenin speaking while Trotsky and Kamenev wait. Lower picture, taken a few seconds later, has been retouched to eliminate Trotsky and Kamenev.

This conclusion was derived by simply mechanically pasting the classical scheme of European (and more particularly French) development onto Russian conditions, with the implications that proletarian revolution could only come after many decades of capitalist development. The kernel of the Menshevik position was captured by Plekhanov's remark that "we must prize the support of the non-proletarian parties and not drive them away from us by tactless behavior." To this Lenin responded: "...the liberals among the landed gentry will forgive you millions of 'tactless' acts, but they will never forgive incitements to take away their land."

As against Plekhanov's coalition with the bourgeoisie, Lenin called for a bloc with the peasantry to carry out the agrarian revolution. This was codified in his formula of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry":

> "We must be perfectly certain in our minds as to what real social forces are opposed to 'tsarism.'... The big bourgeoisie, the landlords, the factory owners, and 'society,' which follows the *Osvobozhdeniye* [the liberals'] lead, cannot be such a force.... We know that owing to their class position they are incapable of waging a decisive struggle against tsarism; they are too heavily fettered by private property, by capital and land to enter into a decisive struggle. They stand in too great need of tsarism, with its bureaucratic, police, and military forces for use against the proletariat and the peasantry, to want it to be destroyed. No, the only force capable of gaining 'a decisive victory over tsarism' means the establishment of the *revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.*" [emphasis in original]
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," 1905

This policy was irreconcilably opposed to the insipid liberalism of the Mensheviks, instead fanning the flames of peasant revolt and leading the proletariat in a "tactless" assault on the czarist autocracy. But at the same time he insisted on the characterization of the revolution as bourgeois, with power to be placed in the hands of the peasantry and the future opened to a flowering of *capitalist* development:

> "Marxists are absolutely convinced of the bourgeois character of the Russian revolution. What does that mean? It means that the democratic reforms in the political system, and the social and economic reforms that have become a necessity for Russia, do not in themselves imply the undermining of bourgeois rule; on the contrary, they will, for the first time, really clear the ground for a wide and rapid, European and not Asiatic, development of capitalism; they will, for the first time, make it possible for the bourgeoisie to rule as a class."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Trotsky's view, quoted at the beginning of this article, was distinct from those of the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, though immeasurably closer to the latter. As he later wrote:

> "The theory of the permanent revolution, which originated in 1905... pointed out that the democratic tasks of the backward bourgeois nations lead directly, in our epoch, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the dictatorship of the proletariat puts socialist tasks on the order of the day."
>
> —"Permanent Revolution," 1929

According to Davidson, Lenin "insisted that the revolution would develop in stages" while Trotsky supposedly completely ignored the bourgeois-democratic stage. This is simply a smokescreen. Trotsky never denied the bourgeois character of the initial phases of the revolution in the sense of its immediate historical tasks, but only in the sense of its driving forces and perspectives:

> "Already in 1905, the Petersburg workers called their soviet a proletarian government. This designation passed into the everyday language of that time and was completely embodied in the program of the struggle of the working class for power. At the same time, *we set up against Tsarism an elaborated program of political democracy* (universal suffrage, republic, militia, etc.). We could act in no other way. *Political democracy is a necessary stage in the development of the working masses*—with the highly important reservation that in one case this stage lasts for decades, while in another, the revolutionary situation permits the masses to emancipate themselves from the prejudices of political democracy even before its institutions have been converted into reality." [emphasis in original]
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Introduction" to *The Year 1905*, 1922

Davidson again tries to cloud the issues by claiming that Trotsky was "hostile to the peasantry" while "Lenin's view is directly opposite." This is pure fabrication. It is true that Trotsky dismissed out of hand the idea that the peasantry as a whole could be a "socialist ally" of the working class:

> "From the very first moment after its taking power, the proletariat will have to find support in the antagonisms between the village poor and the village rich, between the agricultural proletariat and the agricultural bourgeoisie."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Results and Prospects," 1905

But in this respect, Lenin's view was identical:

> "The struggle against the bureaucrat and the landlord can and must be waged together with all the peasants, even the well-to-do and the middle peasants. On the other hand, it is only together with the rural proletariat that the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and therefore against the well-to-do peasants too, can be properly waged."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, "Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism," 1905

The dispute between Lenin and Trotsky was not over whether or not the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution could be skipped or whether an alliance between the workers and peasants was necessary, but concerned the political mechanics of the collaboration of the proletariat and peasantry, the *degree* of independence of the latter. Trotsky pointed out (as had been shown by all past revolutionary experience, as well as the writings of Marx and Engels) that because of its intermediate position and heterogeneity of its social composition, the peasantry as a class was incapable of taking an independent role or forming its own independent party. It was compelled to follow the lead of either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

Revolution in Stages: 1917

It is no accident that Davidson's articles hardly mention the 1917 October Revolution, going instead from the disputes in 1905 over the role of the peasantry straight to the question of "socialism in one country." Indeed, had Davidson reproduced Lenin's writings from this period he would have had to print statements radically different from Lenin's views of the 1905-1907 period. Before Lenin's arrival from Europe on 4 April the majority of the Bolshevik party called for "critical support" to the bourgeois Provisional Government of Prince Lvov, which had taken power after the February revolution overthrew the czar. Stalin was the chief spokesman for this viewpoint at the March 1917 Bolshevik Party Conference. In his report on the attitude to the Provisional Government, he said:

> "...the Provisional Government has in fact taken the role of fortifier of the conquests of the revolutionary people. ...It is not to our advantage at present to force events, hastening the process of repelling the bourgeois layers, who

continued on page 10

Continued from page 1

...Farm Workers

After cataloging the crimes of the Teamsters in the fields and pointing out that "Safeway promotes Teamster lettuce as 'union' lettuce," Chavez goes on:

> "Doesn't your conscience require you to support the desire of farmworkers to build an honest and democratic union that they can believe in? Mr. Reynolds, *we ask you in this time of crisis to stand for justice by selling only those grapes and only that lettuce that bears the UFW label.*" [emphasis in original]

Instead of denouncing the Teamster leadership directly to rank-and-file teamsters, Chavez seeks to prod the capitalist anti-labor witchhunters into a new attempt to destroy the truck drivers' union: His letter to Reynolds denounces Teamster "corruption" and cites possible pretexts for state investigation. Chavez appeared at a press conference in Washington, D.C. with Democrat Edward Royball of Los Angeles to call for a congressional probe of Teamster-grower collusion. In January, Chavez sued the Teamsters in San Francisco federal court, citing violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and conspiracy, and charging over $200 million in damages.

Like the "progressive" bureaucrats Arnold Miller of the UMW, James Morrissey of the NMU, etc., Chavez invites the bourgeois state to protect the workers and settle disputes within the labor movement. Such an expression of confidence in the "fairness" of the state not only creates the illusion of the state as a "neutral arbiter," somehow standing above classes, but lays the basis for further governmental interference and ultimately control of the trade unions. While Teamster operations in California fields are simply company unionism (often without any members at all), the rest of the Teamsters' union is real. "Calling the cops" on the Teamsters through court suits and state investigations is potentially as serious as the Teamster-grower assault on farm workers.

Teamsters Out of the Fields!

The conflict in the fields in California is not a "jurisdictional dispute," but a conscious attempt by the Teamster bureaucracy to provide the growers with a company union to smash the UFW. This treachery is laced with the most blatant racism. In an interview Einar Mohn, West Coast Teamster official, made his feelings clear on farm-worker participation in the Teamsters union:

> "I'm not sure how effective a union can be when it is composed of Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals with temporary visas. Maybe as agriculture becomes more sophisticated, more mechanized, with fewer transients, fewer green carders [aliens], and as jobs become more attractive to whites, then we can build a union that can have structure... and have membership participation."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 28 April 1973

This was not an idle insult, since the growers hope to use the protection afforded them by the Teamster alliance to increase mechanization and force farm workers out of their jobs over the next few years.

Teamster bureaucrats are using hired professional thugs largely recruited from motorcycle gangs, paid $67 a day and armed with clubs and chains to beat pickets and force workers to stay in the fields. They have accepted thousands of dollars in illegal cash payments from lettuce growers to do their dirty work, and no doubt unknown thousands more from other growers. Teamster contracts restore the hated labor contractor system in place of the union hiring hall system of the UFW. In an industry which has been notorious for dividing the workers by playing off ethnic and national groups against one another, union control of hiring is a key demand.

The meager but legitimate contracts won by the UFW for grape and lettuce workers do represent a step forward for one of the most oppressed sectors of the American proletariat. Despite the Chavez misleadership, these gains must be defended against the joint attack of the Teamster bureaucracy and the growers. The first demand of all militants can only be "Defend the UFW! Teamsters out of the fields!"

EL MALCRIADO

Sheriff's deputies arrest UFW strikers near Bakersfield, Calif., in May.

This demand must be accompanied by demands for a vigorous organizing drive; mass picketing; well-prepared, armed self-defense of picket lines; and a drive throughout labor to prevent the handling, moving and processing of struck products. The Teamsters are key to this strategy, with their control of canneries, shed workers and truck drivers. Rank-and-file teamsters in California have denounced the betrayals of Fitzsimmons, and some notable successes have been achieved in the past in getting teamsters and longshoremen to "hot cargo" scab products. Yet at every turn, Chavez has moved to substitute boycotts for hot cargoing and spreading the strikes, and impotent pacifism in place of militant mass picketing. This has opened the door to the Teamster union-busting which now threatens to throw farm workers back to abysmal, pre-union conditions.

The Question of Immigration

Successive waves of immigrants were used for intensive labor in the fields after Chinese immigration was ended in 1882—Japanese, Filipinos, "Okies," etc. When the creation of World War II-related jobs robbed the fields of labor, the "bracero" program was instituted to import Mexicans as contract labor, subject to terms of employment set unilaterally by growers and enforced by the threat of deportation. The growers were thus supplied with a docile work force, desperate and totally at the mercy of the employer.

At the end of World War II, the growers claimed a continued "labor shortage," and obtained extension of the "bracero" program. In the first major farm strike in the post-war period, against DiGiorgio in 1947, braceros were used as strikebreakers against the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU-AFL). The braceros working for DiGiorgio at first left the fields in support of the union, but returned to work when threatened with deportation. The NFLU, an outgrowth of the Socialist Party-backed Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, showed that it had no intention of fighting for the rights of braceros. Instead of denouncing deportation and seeking to organize the braceros, the NFLU leadership appealed to Congress to stop the use of braceros as strikebreakers, which was formally illegal under the master bracero contract. By the time the NFLU's liberal friends could provide assistance and transfer the strikebreakers to another grower, the braceros had already harvested and irrigated during the crucial period, undercutting the impact of the strike. After two and a half years of unsuccessful picketing, the strike was ended and the AFL dropped the NFLU by shutting off financial support.

The labor aristocracy in the U.S. has consistently called for and defended immigration restrictions, exclusion and deportation in a distorted attempt to defend the jobs of American workers. The bureaucrats "guard" the wages and conditions of American workers by lining up with the capitalists and their imperialist government against foreign workers. Unless the labor movement combats imperialist protectionism, including discriminatory immigration quotas and the "illegal" status of foreign workers, with an internationalist commitment to the organized struggle of all workers, it will continue to fall victim to capitalist maneuvers based on super-exploited layers.

When the bracero program was ended under the preeeure of the AFL-CIO in 1963, the flow of Mexicans deeperate for jobs continued on the basis of illegal maneuvers by the Naturalization and Immigration Service. The workers, illegally residing in the U.S., were deprived of all righte and eubject to deportation. As a reeult of liberal exposuree of the Immigration Service, maselve roundups and inetant deportations of "illegal" aliens are now being conducted.

Until March 1973, the UFW eupported the Rodino-Kennedy Bill wbich would provide fines for employers who knowingly hire aliens, on the grounds that allens drive down wagee and provide recrulting grounds for ecab-herders! By this incredible support for discriminatory nationalist legislation, directed primarily at the same Mexican workers wbo make up the backbone of the UFW as well as providing a justification for building the union on Mexican nationalism, Chavez reveals his appetite for joining the labor arietocracy by creating a miniature version of the Meany and Fitzsimmons machines which for yeare have tried to eabotage the farm workers' etruggles. Chavez' change of heart came only because the death threat to the union happens to coincide with the deporation of thousands of Mexicans in the Los Angeles area. Public support for the union would have dwindled rapidly had it maintained its earlier position.

Origins of the UFW

Chavez began organizing farm workers as a member of the Community Service Organization, a middle-class community protest group for Spanish-speaking workers set up by Saul Alinsky. Chavez broke with the group when it balked at serious trade-union organizing, but he carried its conceptions of middle-clase protest with bim. During the 1965 Delano grape strike, which was begun not by Chavez but by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC, AFL-CIO), Chavez sought to impose "non-violence" on the strike through his National Farm Workers' Association (NFWA), substituting appeals to priests for the organization of picket defense. Thie resulted in physical attacks and arreste as harassment of the etrike mounted.

Schenley industries was ehut down by mass picketing during the 1965 strike, and traveling pickets managed to prevent the loading of scab grapes on a ship bound for Hong Kong from San Francisco. These actione etopped the importation of ecabe at Schenley and inspired enthusiastic eupport from longshoremen and teameters to etop the flow of scab grapes. Chavez, however, worked to curtail such militant, clase-etruggle methods, replacing them with a grape boycott based on appeals to liberals and eham labor eolidarity. Action by other workers was limited to supporting the boycott.

Scbenley became tbe first major grower to eign a contract with Cbavez, in April 1966. Though Schenley had been shut down since October 1965 through mase picketing, Chavez laid reeponsibility for the victory on the boycott. He then proceeded to organize a struggle against DiGiorgio based on similar boycott tactics and a mass march to

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appeal to liberal Democrats. Culminating in a rally of 10,000 in Sacramento, the march showed the readiness of farm workers to organize. The repeatedly asserted purpose of the march, however, was not even a protest but a "penance for the sins of the strikers"! The response of Democratic Governor Brown to this impotent display was, "Growers have problems too."

But Brown was running for re-election and needed votes. He arranged for union elections to be held at DiGiorgio ranches. This did not stop the growers from attempting to defeat the union through bringing in the Teamsters as a company union. Though the Teamsters had a strong base in the canneries, and rank-and-file teamsters had been eager to refuse to handle struck products, the Teamster bureaucracy's response from the beginning was to keep the canneries working and sabotage all efforts at solidarity. DiGiorgio's campaign to force the workers to vote Teamster was defeated, a major victory for the NFWA. However, Chavez' policies of reliance on liberals, state aid and trade-union bureaucrats were solidified. It was on this basis that the NFWA and AWOC were merged into the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO.

Successful labor boycotts are quite rare, since they rely on hitting the boss where labor is weakest, at the widely dispersed market places, rather than in production, where labor power is strongest. The boycott of table grapes which followed the victories over wine growers lasted for five years, partly because of the ease with which the Pentagon was able to buy up vast quantities of scab grapes to prop up the growers. Only mass picketing and refusal to handle scab grapes could have achieved a quick settlement. Nevertheless, notable gains were made by the consumer boycott in many cities, and table-grape growers were forced to sign with Chavez in 1970.

This victory posed the threat of union organization of all California agriculture. Once again, the growers turned to the Teamsters, who provided sweetheart contracts for Salinas Valley lettuce growers. As farm workers struck against the rotten contracts, the Teamster bureaucrats admitted the hollowness of their position by signing a jurisdictional agreement which surrendered the fields to the UFW. The contracts, however, were still in force as long as the growers stuck to them, so the strike was on. The growers brought in court injunctions against picketing backed up by mass arrests to defend their Teamster contracts. Chavez called off the strike and fell back on another boycott.

The failure of the lettuce boycott to stop the grower-Teamster alliance is responsible for the present attack on the UFW's base. Chavez is uncritical of the AFL-CIO because of Meany's financial grant to the UFW, yet it was the AFL-CIO which sabotaged the lettuce boycott through failure to provide any real support, just as during the grape boycott. The UFW leadership continues its pacifist policies, allowing pickets to be arrested, kneeling in protest, etc., instead of attempting to mobilize the ranks of labor behind the strike through direct, working-class action. "We are willing to pay any price to have a union," lectures Chavez.

GEORGE BALLIS

Helen Chavez, Senator Robert Kennedy and Cesor Chavez praying in Delano after Chavez' 1968 fast to rededicate himself to principle of nonviolence. Chavez' rejection of working-class methods of struggle in favor of pacifism, religion, and middle-class protest in alliance with liberal capitalist politicians, has aided the forces seeking to destroy the Farm Workers union.

In order to establish its base in an uphill fight, the Chavez leadership is forced to appear very militant, close to the ranks, and to lead strikes. All the elements are present, however, for the establishment of a conservative union bureaucracy if the base is secured.

In a special *Workers' Power* supplement, the International Socialists hail the United Farm Workers as objectively progressive: "Despite many shortcomings and weaknesses, the UFW in practice points in the direction of fighting militant unionism in the interests of the rank and file." If by this is meant that the victory of the UFW over the Teamster-grower alliance is essential to the interests of all workers, there can be no quarrel. But the IS retrospectively endorses the past policies of the UFW leadership which led to the present situation:

> "The boycott is the strategy that won for the farm workers in the past. Strikes, while hurting production, have been difficult to sustain....
> "The boycott is no longer sufficient, and the time for the non-violent tactics of the civil rights' movement is past if the union is to stay alive....
> "It has been the United Farm Workers Union that has led great strikes and marches, that rallied millions in support of La Causa and La Huelga, and that improved the conditions of hundreds of thousands of farmworkers.
> "It was the willingness of the UFW to abandon the tired methods of the labor bureaucrats for new methods of organizing that has enabled it to do this."
> —*Workers' Power*, June 1973

While it criticizes the UFW for supporting Democrats, the IS simply suggests a switch in support to La Raza Unida Party, without even mentioning the need for a *workers* party based on the trade unions, which the IS claims to support. La Raza Unida Party represents precisely the same kind of community protest, multi-class reformist approach to politics that Chavez represents in trade unionism. The ultimate purpose of the IS' opportunist grovellings is to promote the careers of a new layer of "militant" trade-union bureaucrats based on social-democratic demagogy.

EL MALCRIADO

International Brotherhood of Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons speaking to the American Farm Bureau Federation this year. Recent newspaper accounts accuse the IBT of receiving money from growers to hire thugs to attack UFW supporters. A California paper reported Nazi party spokesmen saying the Nazis were paid by the Teamsters to send troopers to Coachella Valley to attack the Farm Workers union.

The policies of Chavez and Co. are a betrayal of farm workers which must be exposed as part of a general campaign to replace the reformist trade-union bureaucracy, left, right and center, with revolutionary leadership of the working class. As it stands now, the UFW does not *in practice* point to "fighting militant unionism in the interests of the rank and file." Its policies have allowed what began as a potentially militant, working-class alliance with longshoremen, for instance, to completely degenerate. The Bridges leadership of the ILWU was able to dump a proposed invitation to Chavez to address the union's recent convention, and to completely eliminate all direct criticism of the Teamsters from the convention resolutions, in order to avoid alienating the Teamsters (see *WV* No. 22, 8 June 1973). Similarly, the AFL-CIO leaders of the "United Labor Action" rally in San Francisco against Phase 3 were able to eliminate all mention of the UFW from the program, despite Meany's protestations of "support." If the United Farm Workers had consistently fought for and organized the spreading of its strikes and "hot cargoing" of struck products by other unions, these incidents would have been inconceivable. Such a policy would have pointed the way to militant unionism in the interests of the rank and file by mobilizing the ranks into struggle and weakening the bureaucracy. Instead, UFW policies have only served to keep farm workers isolated and strengthen bureaucracy, including that of the Teamsters!

The impotent do-goodism of Chavez is simply another version of the class collaborationism of Fitzsimmons: the reliance on favors from sections of the capitalist class at the expense of other workers, instead of a fight for labor solidarity to wrest real gains at the capitalists' expense. While Fitzsimmons was forging his alliance with the growers at the expense of the farm workers, Chavez made his alliance with the Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party, backers of the Rodino Bill, at the expense of Mexican workers in the U.S. Chavez seeks to use the power of whatever section of the capitalist class and state he can to crush the Teamsters, including its ranks. His leadership must be replaced by a caucus organized on the basis of an internationalist, class-struggle program, including destruction of all discrimination against immigrants, mass picketing, spreading the strikes, self-defense against attack, international organizing, a sliding scale of wages and hours to eliminate competition over jobs, smashing the two capitalist parties and building a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government, expropriation of industry, etc. Instead of limiting the struggle to the framework of the capitalist system, within which any gains achieved can at best be only transitory and minimal, it is necessary to raise demands which link current struggles to the need for socialist revolution. The key to achieving revolution is to build a new, proletarian revolutionary leadership to replace the present reactionary leadership of the labor movement. ■

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Contribution

Continued from page 7

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

will in the future inevitably withdraw from us. It is necessary for us to gain time by putting a brake on the splitting away of the middle-bourgeois layers. ...Insofar as the Provisional Government fortifies the steps of the revolution, to that extent we must support it; but insofar as it is counter-revolutionary, support to the Provisional Government is not permissible."

—"Draft Protocol of the March 1917 All-Russian Conference of Party Workers"

While the bulk of the party leadership called for "completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution," Lenin insisted that the only revolutionary policy was calling for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In taking this position he came over to Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, and was accused of Trotskyism by the right wing. This required an ideological rearming of the party and at one point Lenin threatened to resign from the Central Committee in order to take the struggle to the ranks when his "April Theses" were initially voted down by the leadership. The key passage in these theses stated:

"The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants."

—V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution," 1917

In direct opposition to Stalin's position of less than a week earlier, Lenin demanded "No Support for the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear..." (*ibid.*). The opposition to Lenin was led by Y. Kamenev who claimed that "the bourgeois-democratic revolution is not completed.... As for Comrade Lenin's general scheme, it appears to us unacceptable, inasmuch as it proceeds from the assumption that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is *completed*, and builds on the immediate transformation of this revolution into a socialist revolution." In his "Letters on Tactics" Lenin replied to this charge:

"After the revolution [of February-March 1917], the power is in the hands of a *different* class, a new class, namely, the *bourgeoisie*....

"To this extent, the bourgeois, or the bourgeois-democratic revolution is *completed*.

"But at this point we hear a clamor of protest from people who readily call themselves 'old Bolsheviks.' Didn't we always maintain, they say, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is completed only by the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry'?...My answer is: The Bolshevik slogans and ideas *on the whole* have been confirmed by history; but *concretely* things have worked out *differently*....

"'The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies'—there you have the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' already accomplished in reality.

"This formula is already antiquated....

"A new and different task now faces us: to effect a split *within* this dictatorship between the proletarian elements (the anti-defensist, inter-nationalist, 'Communist' elements, who stand for a transition to the commune) and the *small-proprietor* or *petty-bourgeois* elements....

"The person who *now* speaks only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect *gone over* to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques....

"Comrade Kamenev...has repeated the bourgeois prejudice about the Paris Commune having wanted to introduce socialism 'immediately.' This is not so. The Commune, unfortunately, was too slow in introducing socialism. The real essence of the Commune is...in the creation of a *state* of a special type. Such a state has *already* arisen in Russia, it is the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies!"

—V.I. Lenin, "Letters on Tactics," April 1917

And the Paris Commune, Brother Davidson, was the dictatorship of the proletariat. In an article for *Pravda* at about this time, Lenin formulated the question in a manner identical to that of Trotsky:

"We are for a strong revolutionary government.... The question is —*what class* is making this revolution? A revolution *against whom?*

"Against tsarism? In that sense most of Russia's landowners and capitalists today are revolutionaries....

"Against the landowners? In this sense most of the peasants, even most of the well-to-do peasants, that is, probably nine-tenths of the population in Russia, are revolutionaries. Very likely, some of the capitalists, too are prepared to become revolutionaries on the grounds that the landowners cannot be saved anyway....

"Against the capitalists? Now that is the real issue. That is the crux of the matter, because without a revolution against the capitalists, all that prattle about 'peace without annexations' and the speedy termination of the war by such a peace is either naivete and ignorance, or stupidity and deception....

"The leaders of the petty bourgeoisie—the intellectuals, the prosperous peasants, the present parties of the Narodniks...and the Mensheviks—are *not* at present in favor of a revolution against the capitalists....

"The conclusion is obvious: only assumption of power by the proletariat, backed by the semi-proletarians, can give the country a really strong and really revolutionary government."

—V.I. Lenin, "A Strong Revolutionary Government," May 1917

It is true that Lenin both at this time and later occasionally referred to the soviets in the period February-October 1917 as an expression of the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," but those soviets did not hold state power. The struggle for "All Power to the Soviets" was, as Lenin put it, the struggle against the petty bourgeoisie, which did not wish to struggle against capitalism. And the state which resulted from the October revolution was the dictatorship of the working class, supported by the peasantry. From 1917 on Lenin never implied that there could be such a creature as a state of two classes, such as envisioned by Stalin and Mao. As he put it in his polemic against Kautsky, "The Soviets are the Russian form of the proletarian dictatorship" ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," 1918).

Slogans and programs of revolutionary parties have a real meaning in the class struggle: they call for certain courses of action and oppose others. Kamenev who in April led the fight to retain the slogan of the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" in October opposed the revolutionary insurrection, and after the successful uprising actually resigned from the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars in protest. In this behavior there was at least a semblance of consistency.

But Davidson and Stalinists everywhere would have us believe that the "Old Bolshevik" program was confirmed by the October Revolution! Behind this deception lies a purpose, namely to justify the anti-revolutionary policies of Stalinism. It is always "too soon" for socialist demands, we must always go through a "democratic stage" before the peasants can seize the land and the proletariat can expropriate the expropriators. As a true proletarian revolutionary, Lenin learned from the experience of the 1917 revolution, advancing a new program when the inadequacy of the old one had been clearly revealed. But what can one say of people who not only refuse to assimilate these lessons but insist on proclaiming ing that black is white? In the mouth of Stalin in 1927 the slogan of a "democratic dictatorship" was a justification for ordering the Chinese Communist Party to give up its arms just as Chiang Kai-shek prepared to massacre thousands of Communists and militant workers. Today, when the same slogan is used to justify support for "anti-imperialists" such as Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, it will have the same result—annihilation of the revolutionaries and strangulation of the revolution. The choice is posed world-wide: Either socialism or barbarism, there is no middle ground! ■

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...USec

the murder of tens of thousands of Left Oppositionists, the strangling of the Chinese, German, French, Spanish and Vietnamese revolutions—these are but mere trifles when respectability can be achieved through painless fusion with social democracy!

And what about internationalism? What of the Fourth International, in particular? It seems that "while recognizing the need for an International," the PSA will not "yield [its] inalienable right to determine strategy and tactics to any leadership or tendency that is not rooted in the proletariat and the Argentine people." And what about the program? As good reformists, the PSA has two: the minimum and maximum programs, which appear in one set of "demands for immediate struggle" and another set for "struggle on a permanent basis" (i.e., socialism). One of the more interesting immediate demands is "for an end to the repressive role of the armed forces and their use in the service of capital.... For the constitutional right of soldiers *and officers* to take part in politics" [our emphasis]. The PSA envisions reforming the very essence of the capitalist state, thereby avoiding mentioning touchy subjects like armed struggle, workers militias, etc.

Moreno elsewhere referred to this opportunist swamp as "95 percent Trotskyist." Perhaps he can help us to find the five percent. Is it in the "workers and people's government"? In the refusal to recognize the authority of any International which is "not rooted in...the Argentine people"? Or perhaps it is the maximum-minimum program, a hallmark of reformism? Is it the "end to the repressive role of the armed forces" under capitalism? Or the refusal to say *one word* about armed struggle in a country which has been in a pre-revolutionary situation for four years?

Having achieved the necessary respectable cover, the "revitalized" "95 percent Trotskyist" PSA (now renamed the PST) proceeded to throw its total energies into the election campaign. At a time when even the PST characterized the situation as "pre-revolutionary," this exclusively electoral approach can only be called classical parliamentary cretinism. Moreover, instead of running on its own program the PST devised a new tactic, the "workers pole." "Take advantage of our legal status," it declared, offering to put any bona fide worker on its slate. Are you left-Peronist, pro-CP, syndicalist? Never mind, we can all get together in a single slate and, who knows, perhaps one day we can all be part of one great *party of the whole class*, the kind Kautsky built, the social democracy.

Unfortunately, this is still very "small potatoes" and it still leaves the mass of the working class under the control of Peronism. Instead of calling on the workers to break from Peronism (how crude and sectarian!), the PSA offered to vote for the Justicialista candidates if the FREJULI ticket was made up of at least 80 percent workers, instead of just 25 percent (*Avanzada Socialista*, 22 November 1972)! In response to Perón's return last November, the PST newspaper's front page banner headline read: "Why is Perón Coming? Hopefully it will be to impose fighting workers candidates and not to make deals with the oligarchy" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 8 November 1972)!

To believe the words of Moreno and his group, one could only conclude that Trotskyism and the whole science of Marxism simply amount to the method of finding the highest bidder to sell out to. In a country where Peronism, a *bourgeois* movement, is dominant in the working class, it is necessary to pose a sharp class alternative to populism, not offer to vote for it if 80 percent of its candidates are labor bureaucrats! To break the workers from Perón, revolutionary communists can propose a class united front, even to the traitorous leadership of the CGT; we can demand the formation of a labor party with a class-struggle program; we can demand general strikes to impose the urgent demands of the workers. But a working-class united front against the bourgeoisie can never be achieved by making a bloc (open or secret, it makes no difference) with the leading bourgeois politician, General Perón!

The Struggle in the USec: Both Wings vs. Trotskyism

In preparation for the Fourth Congress of the "United Secretariat" the reformist SWP and the centrist European majority are finding themselves sharply counterposed in one country after another. Splits have already taken place in Argentina, Australia, Spain and French Canada, while pro-European tendencies exist in the U.S. and English Canada. Both sides have written thick documents which show in great detail how the other side rejects Leninism and embraces reformist policies. Meanwhile, the SWP bombastically proclaims itself the "Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency" while the main document of the European majority is Mandel's "In Defense of Leninism"! As far as we can tell, most of the accusations on *both* sides are quite correct. The cover of orthodoxy and/or militancy, however, is completely bogus. We warn honest militants in the USec who are seeking a road to Trotskyism: you will not find it on either side in this dispute between tweedledum and tweedledee.

To comrades who may be taken in by Hansen's pretense of opposing "the turn at the Ninth Congress (1969) toward guerillaism" we offer the key section of the founding document of the USec, *written by the SWP itself in 1963*:

"Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipating the downfall of a colonial and semi-colonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the Second World War. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."

—"For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," March 1963

The "turn" was made a decade ago when the SWP rejoined the European revisionists on the basis of the acceptance of the fundamental Pabloist proposition that non-proletarian, non-Trotskyist leaderships could carry out the socialist revolution.

In contrast to this is the statement issued by the Spartacist tendency at that time:

"Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary

Coming Next Issue:
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PERONISM

Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive revolutionary significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the *proletarian* leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism...."

—"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," June 1963

The SWP wing's new-found "orthodoxy" is thoroughly fraudulent; in renouncing the guerillaist line in which it formerly wallowed, the SWP has not rediscovered authentic Trotskyism; it has merely passed beyond centrism to consistent reformism, using "orthodox" arguments to protect its cherished respectability against the adventurism of its USec allies.

But the left rhetoric of the Mandel-Frank-Maitan wing is equally qualitatively separated from Trotskyism. In the heat of the USec faction fight, the European majority is now attempting to separate itself from the more grossly capitulationist consequences of the PRT/ERP policy. Accordingly, we find them innocently asking:

"Why, despite the favorable objective conditions and the prestige won by the actions of the ERP, have the ties between the party and the masses remained extremely weak? Why, especially after the Sylvester action, has the urban guerrilla war been marked by a setback in political content, inasmuch as the actions have generally been dictated much more by the needs of defending and freeing militants than by logistic requirements or by a more political overall plan?"

For this there is a simple answer: because this is the inevitable result of the strategy of guerilla warfare (called for by the Latin American resolution at the 1969 USec congress) which is necessarily "independent of the daily shifts of the class struggle." It is only in late 1972 that the USec majority suddenly begins to insist that:

"The PRT must confirm—eliminating any possibility for misunderstanding—its appreciation of the anticapitalist socialist dynamic of the revolution in Argentina, ruling out any notion of revolution in stages....It must define more precisely its conception of the alliances the working class must enter into....All these precedents [from 1957 and 1961] must be recalled inasmuch as they indicate the origin of a whole series of positions expressed by the PRT, even after the 1968 split (the evaluation of Maoism, and especially Mao's conception of people's war; the estimate of Castroism; the conception of building the International; the conception of the struggle against the bureaucracy in the degenerated workers states). These positions mean that the Argentine comrades have very clear and serious differences with the conceptions of the International. It is an urgent task for the section to develop an in-depth discussion with the International on these questions."

—"The Political Crisis and Perspectives for Revolutionary Struggle in Argentina," December 1972

Comrades, if this discussion is so urgent today, why was it not relevant at any other time in the last ten years? These positions were developed (most of them) by Moreno in 1961-62, not yesterday; yet until December 1972 the USec said nothing! As recently as mid-1971 Livio Maitan, a top leader of the European majority, wrote uncritically:

"The strategic perspective the Argentine comrades are following is the one laid down by the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International [1969]—elaborated and made more precise by the last two national congresses of the PRT..."

—*Intercontinental Press*, 26 April 1971

It still is—for the Latin American line of the USec today is unadulterated Castroism. The USec majority says this slyly, in "Trotskyist" terminology; the PRT/ERP says the same thing out loud, so the disgusting betrayal of the principles of Marxism can be savored in all its glory. Meanwhile the SWP/PST issues one press release after another making clear that its smug social-democratic reformism has nothing to do with this guerilla adventurism. Nor with Trotskyism, we might add. ■

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NMU...

to other liberal trade-union bureaucrats, such as Woodcock and the recently-elected Arnold Miller of the Mineworkers, though not so competent. Like them he relies on government support, but as an out-bureaucrat he must do so in slightly more militant tones. (His answer to the job problems was to promise to "jump up and down on the White House lawn"!) By his constant use of the capitalist courts, he actually represents a threat to the interests of the membership, since his victory would provide the bosses' government with additional opportunities to intervene in and control the unions, such as has occurred as the result of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts and Bobby Kennedy's attempt to break the Teamsters union.

Those that voted for Morrissey (approximately 5,300 compared to 14,400 for Wall) did so largely because he appeared to be the one oppositionist with a chance of winning. This was not due to any base in the union (he has no caucus and issues his newspaper only very rarely) but due to the well-orchestrated publicity build-up in the liberal press. These efforts were coordinated in Morrissey's current campaign by Joseph Rauh, a liberal lawyer (former chairman of Americans for Democratic Action) with connections to big money, and his publicity outlet James Wechsler of the *New York Post*. Through this network he has received the support of establishment social democrats, the same forces which have supported Walter Reuther in the UAW, César Chavez in the Farm Workers and U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. At election time, Morrissey slaps together a temporary "slate" of running mates who have nothing in common save an unquenchable thirst for the assets, preferably liquid, of power. (One of Morrissey's "friends" during this last campaign, Peter Charles, had only a few short months earlier been placed on a committee assigned to physically throw Morrissey out of the NMU convention by Curran!)

Another "oppositionist" (the quotation marks definitely indicate uncertainty) was Andy Dinko, who received about 572 votes. While it would be extremely difficult to prove or disprove the widespread speculation that he was put up by the current administration to draw off votes from Morrissey as a spoiler, it is certain that the bureaucracy avidly pushed his literature in ports where there was noticeable opposition sentiment. Dinko was supposedly shot in the hand under extremely dubious circumstances during the campaign (he happened to be right outside his doctor's office at the time), and focused his campaign around publicity stunts such as mariachi bands and free whiskey from his trailer which was conveniently parked outside the New York port hall for much of the campaign period.

Birds of a Feather: Left Social Democrats Flock to Morrissey

In an amazingly blatant article in the equally disgusting June issue of the International Socialists' *Workers' Power*, the IS left social democrats amplified on their supposedly "critical" support to Morrissey. It says the Militant-Solidarity Caucus should dissolve into the Morrissey campaign without (somehow!) dropping its program. While criticizing Morrissey (the fig leaf), they fail to explain how his campaign was supportable in any way, instead claiming that he "represents" the desire of the ranks for democracy, and is "waging a fight" (where? how?) around job issues, although his job program "while better than Curran's open reactionary protectionism, is no more viable in reality."

WV PHOTO

James Morrissey (right) and lawyer-friend Joseph Rauh in press conference. Morrissey relies on bourgeois press and bosses' courts instead of mobilizing ranks on a class-struggle program.

To critically support a candidate in union elections there must be some element of the socialist program around which there can be unity, however limited. If the candidate sells out once in office, at least he will have helped to build a movement whose thrust is directed against the sellout bureaucracy and out of which a new leadership can be forged. But Morrissey doesn't have to sell out his program once in office in order to rule in the same manner as Curran! It would certainly be instructive to NMU seamen (and perhaps to the ranks of the IS as well) if the editors of *Workers' Power* could explain just why they support Morrissey now, but would (presumably) cease supporting him if he were elected and started implementing his "democratic" program (court suits, government interference, bureaucratic control of the NMU paper).

The May issue of *Class Struggle*, the organ of the associated factions of the recently consummated federation of the former Vanguard Newsletter group with the remnants of the ex-Leninist Faction of the SWP, calls for giving "critical support" to the Herson candidacy, but also makes it clear that it has no fundamental differences with Morrissey's operation, and would support it if Herson hadn't been running. Their criticism centers on the claim that "nowhere in the article [referring to a recent *WV* article about the M-SC] does it describe the attitude M-SC took toward the *workers* that support Morrissey...." The CS chooses to ignore, in its opportunist haste, the fact that Morrissey has neither a movement nor a caucus behind him. What he does have is a reputation as *the* oppositionist in the NMU, a reputation he has been assiduously building through court cases, interviews in the liberal press and almost total inactivity in the unions save once every five years at election time.

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus, which, in contrast, is a membership organization with a full political program for the union, joins Morrissey and his supporters in defense of democracy in the union on specific issues, as well as seeking to influence those who say they will vote for Morrissey, according to M-SC spokesmen. The M-SC, however, grew out of an earlier formation which *was* in the Morrissey "caucus," which at the time called itself the "Committee for NMU Democracy" (since abandoned by Morrissey). This "committee" had no democracy. Herson and others were unilaterally expelled from it by Morrissey personally for arguing that the Committee should adopt political demands vital to seamen, such as opposing de facto racism in the union, calling for working-class action to oppose the Vietnam war, raising the demand for a labor party, etc. Morrissey preferred to limit his campaign exclusively to "democracy" and immediate complaints, such as the lack of jobs.

Morrissey's "democracy" program is simply a statement that he, Morrissey, wants a chance to get into office, and for this he needs a little democracy. Morrissey's *real* program is that a new generation of bureaucrats should come into power in the unions through an alliance with liberal capitalists, lawyers and politicians, backed up by the bosses' state and their newspapers. This new leadership could then do what the old, discredited leaders are no longer capable of doing—discipline the working class for the current needs of U.S. imperialism in the new period of increasing inter-imperialist rivalries.

The solid support for the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the ranks of the NMU is still quite limited, but it is a pledge to the future. It must be expanded, consolidated and forged into the core of an alternative leadership committed to the struggle for international *workers* democracy. The cynical posturing of IS and the Class Struggle League is simply a competition to determine which of their respective brands of adaptation to the bureaucracy can "produce" quickest—they offer nothing to the membership of the NMU, nor to the rest of the working class. ■

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- The historical struggle to build the Fourth International and the American Trotskyist movement. (Key issues in Trotsky's time.)
- Decisive issues for revolutionary Marxists in the labor movement.

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For further information and reservations: Contact your SL or RCY Local (see local directory), or write Spartacist: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001.

Curran Flunky Wins NMU Election

M-SC Continues Struggle, Morrissey Appeals to Courts

A continufng loss of jobs to automation and the persistent efforts of the dictatorial Joe Curran regime to run the National Maritime Union onto the rocks by shamesless looting, systematic suppression of opposition and patriotic class collaboration with the companies, have led to widespread demoralizatlon of NMU seamen in recent years. This was expressed in the drop in opposition votes during the recent April-May union elections (compared with the previous 1969 vote), permitting Shannon Wall, Curran's handpicked successor, to ride into offlce with a more than two-to-one victory over his nearest rival.

After presiding over the virtual demise of the union during the past ten years, founding president Curran demonstrated his "confidence" in the future of the NMU by getting out while the getting was good. Claimlng $1 million in severance pay, pension and miscellaneous extras (finally settllng on $250,000 in severance pay and $53,000 a year for life), he retired before the election so that Secretary-Treasurer Wall could run as the incumbent.

While world shipping flourishes as never before, the union has lost almost three-quarters of its deep-sea jobs since 1963—down from 26,000 to roughly 7,000 at present—through the flight of U.S.-owned bottoms to foreign registration in Liberia, Panama and other countries where they enjoy low taxes and low-paid labor. The decline in the number of NMU seamen has been precipitous, with unlon membership below 55,000 by 1967. It is primarily among the newer, younger members, who are victimized by the discriminatory "group system," that the loss has been greatest. The end of the Vietnam war shipplng boom has taken the greatest recent toll of these predominantly young "Group 2" (second-class hiring status) members. However, older members suffer as well, as they are unable to obtain sufficient sea-tlme to qualify for the pension.

All factions in the union are, of course, united on the need for jobs: the question is how to get them. There are only two answers, and only one is real.

Class Struggle or Patriotic "Pressure"

The most obvious answer is, unfortunately, the hardest to initiate: the union must commit itself to organizing all seamen throughout the world, and raise their standards at least to the level of American seamen. This alone would remove the motive for "runaway flag" shipping. It is also an immediate, objective need of all seamen. Most Importantly, it could advance the cause of labor throughout the world, building international workers' solidarity against the "multi-national" corporations, combat racism and nationalism, and help prevent imperialist war through working-class action.

WV PHOTO

M-SC picket in 1971, candidate Herson on right.

This program has been raised in the NMU by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, which begins with the ultimate need to revolutionize the entire world labor movement as the only answer to the immediate, objective needs of seamen. It explains and elaborates the meaning of its program as an integral part of its intervention into immediate struggles as they arise. Thus when the last U.S.-flag passenger ships were laid up (while foreign-flag cruise shipping continued to boom), and the "respectable" opposition called for nationalization of the ships—simply a bigger subsidy for the companies—the M-SC called for nationalization *with no compensation, under workers control,* insisting on the full retention of trade-union rights by the seamen. The M-SC also calls for maritime unity, international labor solidarity, an end to all discriminatory divisions and bureaucratic privileges within the union, defense of the left and a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government.

During the recent elections, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus ran a candidate for NMU president, Gene Herson, who received a total of 358 votes. This was, of course, many times less than the total received by Wall, or even the liberal oppositionist James Morrissey. Nevertheless, this vote represented important development for the caucus. For the first time it has become known nationally (as well as in Panama and Puerto Rico) through tours by caucus members, establishing itself as a legitimate and serious tendency within the union. An indication that votes for the M-SC candidate were a reflection of the past work of the Caucus (though not necessarily indicating full agreement with the program) is the fact that the vast majority were cast in the ports where it has been active (New York, San Fraocisco, Philadelphia) and where rank-and-file discontent is seething (Panama). Throughout the campaign, the M-SC continued to attempt to raise the level of class struggle, as shown by its efforts to get the NMU to refuse to carry products of the Shell Oil Company, whose U.S. refineries were on strike at the time.

The broader significance of the campaign is that for the first time since the McCarthy period a real class-struggle opposition was able to wage a hard-hitting political campaign and win a sympathetic hearing for its program from broad sectors of the ranks, in a union which conducted one of the most vicious and brutal red purges in the U.S. Given the constant red-baiting by the bureaucracy, the bureaucratic restraints which prevent the Caucus from reaching most of the membership and the big play given by the bourgeois press to the liberal Morrissey opposition, the votes for Herson can be interpreted as a base of support (limited but real) for the M-SC. Spokesmen for the Caucus emphasize the need for a realistic propagandistic role of the M-SC at this time, attempting to win adherents to its program. Thus the next task must be the crystallization of a hard core of committed Caucus members, capable of providing a class-conscious alternative to the present bureaucracy and the opportunist fake-militants who promise no more than new faces for the same old shell game with the bosses. This goal will be pursued by a national conference of the M-SC, to be held during the summer or early fall.

The only alternative "answer" to the NMU's dilemma seems much easier but is really no answer at all. This is the policy of calling on the U.S. government to bail out the union with bribes to the shipping companies to induce them to base themselves in U.S. ports (through tax subsidies), by taxing "runaway" lines or other similar snake-oil cures. This perspective depends on a heavy dose of flag-waving and assumes that the fate of American seamen is dependent on the profitability of their exploiters. It ignores the fact, however, that the companies are natuarally more successful when exploiting unorganized workers at lower wages. This policy of relying on Uncle Sam has been the cornerstone of the Curran regime, and the results have been catastrophic for seamen (though not for Curran who has, as he put it, "already got his"). Despite Curran's best efforts to make shipping more profitable in the U.S. by allowing companies to slash manning scales, keep down wages and benefits, and commit innumerable other atrocities against the membership, the government has no interest in heeding his pleas. To save jobs, Curran/Wall try to promote profits; but since it is much easier to promote profits by cutting jobs and hiring low-paid unorganized workers, this policy is *doomed to defeat.* Following its old policies of begging from the government, which Curran learned from his one-time friends in the Communist Party and their popular-front policies of enthusing over Roosevelt in the 1930's and World War II, the NMU bureaucracy has no answers except more of the same.

THE PILOT

Joe Curran (second from left), handpicked successor Shannon Wall (third from left) and company executives in 1970.

The Excluded Middle

Somewhere in between Herson and Curran/Wall stands (or rather, lies) the pathetic James Morrissey, whose politics consist of a futile attempt to locate the non-existent middle ground between class struggle and class collaboration, between internationalism and American chauvinism. Morrissey's vote declined sharply from the 1969 elections where he won the port of New York and 48 percent of the seamen's vote nationally. This time he lost New York decisively and polled less than one-third of the national total. This decline is particularly important since Morrissey does practically nothing between elections except ply his endless series of court cases against the union. His poor showing reflects his lack of a real alternative, in addition to the demoralization in the ranks which makes even throw-away protest votes seem a waste of effort.

In fact, as an ex-member of the Curran machine, who was quite active during the vicious red-baiting campaign of the late 1940's, Morrissey is similar

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Pre-Strike Purge in Auto

Mahwah Ranks Demand Defense Fight as Bureaucrats Retreat

A pre-strike purge of militants at the Mahwah, N.J. Ford Assembly plant recently escalated into full-scale company provocation when two workers, including UAW Local 906 Vice President Dave Gardner, were fired for participation in walkouts over excessive heat in the plant on 11 and 12 June. The heat reached 115 degrees in some areas of the plant on those days. An unofficial rank-and-file meeting on Friday of that week heard of the firing of Gardner and decided to shut down the plant on the second shift, which was done. A second meeting was then held, which resolved to strike to defend the current victims, as well as those of the previous wave of firings a month earlier (see *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973). The "militant" Gardner was the hero of the hour.

Though the second meeting on Friday was also unofficial, it was attended by 300 to 400 members with mixed racial composition and representation from both day and night shifts. It had, therefore, an excellent chance to force the local leadership under Joseph Reilly to declare an official strike. This is important, since a wildcat strike led by black workers on the second shift in 1969 was unable, in spite of its militancy, to achieve lasting benefits because it failed to win the active support of the whole union. Wilbur Haddock, recently-fired leader of the United Black Workers, was the last remaining leader of that strike.

A subsequent meeting to plan the strike on the following day, however, ran straight into the roadblock of the union bureaucracy. The UAW leadership would like to siphon off the anger of the ranks by useless minor sabotage or, if this is not sufficient to do the job, by slyly giving backhanded support to an isolated and ill-prepared wildcat which would simply lead to greater demoralization. Thus Local President Reilly attended the meeting but did not chair and refused to declare the meeting official. Reilly presented a telegram from the international headquarters in Detroit which commiserated with the local over the firing of one of its officials, claimed the International would bargain for his reinstatement and demanded that the Local take no "unauthorized actions." The telegram completely ignored the other victimized workers, of course.

Reilly then warned that the UAW international leadership would put the Local in receivership if a strike were undertaken and insisted that the workers must do as they are told by the bureaucracy. The "militant" Gardner agreed.

The bureaucracy, although formally "representing" the membership, actually defends the interests of the companies by enforcing labor peace through the medium of the contract which it negotiates in return for a few minor concessions from the management. This same bureaucracy constantly renews itself by sucking in individuals who seek to be militant representatives of the rank and file, but who have no alternative to the current regime. So it is that Gardner, though he would like to appear as a militant alternative to Reilly, must tone down his acts if he wishes to advance his career in the UAW "team."

The membership at Saturday's meeting (16 June) repeatedly demanded that the "leaders" lead instead of kowtowing to the company and the International. But without building a revolutionary leadership based not simply on militancy but on thoroughgoing opposition to capitalist rule, the ranks can only continue to suffer from repeated betrayals by these labor aristocrats. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 24 6 July 1973

U.S./USSR Detente Doomed

In recent weeks we have been subjected to a barrage of propaganda heralding the new spirit of détente and international cooperation: Brezhnev proclaims the end of the cold war, Kissinger heralds a new Atlantic Charter, Chinese diplomats praise Western European unity. The deeds, however, fall far behind the words. They cannot do otherwise. In the epoch of decaying capitalism, a lasting democratic peace between the imperialist powers is impossible. The period since World War II has been marked by the cold war and absolute dominance of the U.S. in the capitalist camp. As this dominance ceased to be absolute, a new round of class struggle opened up which can lead either to the victory of the proletariat or to a third world war, fought with nuclear weapons. Whether the Trotskyist vanguard succeeds in winning the leadership of the workers movement on the program of proletarian internationalism will decide which of these alternatives triumphs.

The most succinct comment on the several agreements signed by the U.S. and USSR during Brezhnev's recent visit was *New York Times* editor James Reston's remark that "there is less in these documents than meets the eye." While the chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was clinking glasses with the president of the United States and pretending to guarantee peace by obtaining Nixon's signature on a piece of paper, the latter continued to rain bombs on Cambodia at record intensity.

Whether in the case of a new inter-imperialist conflict or a resurgence of cold war hostilities between the deformed workers states and the capitalist powers, these agreements will not stop a desperate bourgeoisie from unleashing a nuclear war. Hitler did not stop his *Drang nach Osten* at Poland's eastern frontiers simply because of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939. Neither will Nixon and his class abandon their interests peacefully.

The "Year of Europe" Fails

The American bourgeoisie has for some time been of the dominant opinion that foreign policy priorities should be reoriented toward Europe and the Middle East. The Vietnam "peace" settlement earlier this year was therefore the signal for the announcement of a new "Year of Europe" round of summit diplomacy, to be highlighted by far-reaching trade negotiations, Nixon's planned trip to the Continent this fall and a "New Atlantic Charter." Henry Kissinger's Europe speech this spring was favorably received even by those sectors of the U.S. capitalist class which have no love for Mr. Nixon. The *New York Times* (25 April 1973) commented:

> "On the whole, Mr. Kissinger gave this country's European partners the kind of message most of them have been anxious to have from the Nixon administration. He restated the common goals and interests underpinning the Atlantic-Europe connection, reaffirmed the enduring character of the United States commitment to the Atlantic Alliance, and reiterated Washington's dedication to the cause of Western European integration and unity 'as a component of a larger Atlantic partnership.'"

The various European bourgeoisies, however, were not eager in their reception of this challenge, not even the traditionally pro-American West Germans. Some commented that the original Atlantic Charter was a prelude to Yalta, which confirmed American hegemony in Western Europe. This kind of Atlantic Alliance was no longer acceptable. The Atlantic Charter was a relic of a bygone age, the "American Century" (1946-1971).

Moreover, at the same time that Kissinger was speaking of a "spirit of reciprocity" on trade from the Common Market countries, U.S. Treasury Secretary George Shultz was telling Congress that the trade negotiations probably should not be "reciprocal" since "there may have to be more giving than taking as far as other people are concerned" and "we don't think present arrangements are quite fair" (*New York Times*, 10 May 1973).

Likewise, the actual practical steps toward cooperation among the European bourgeoisies were faltering. In a period of heightening inter-imperialist rivalries, even the most minimal cooperation between rival imperialist powers ultimately proves impossible. In response to popular protest against rising prices caused by Britain's entry into the European Economic Community (Common Market), the Labour Party has been making noises again about pulling out of the EEC if it is not "democratized." An attempted first step toward a common European monetary policy was taken last February when the six core countries of the EEC decided to float their currencies in common against the dollar. Washington was understandably upset, since a common float of European currencies could seriously challenge the position of the dollar as a key reserve currency and send the market crashing down as European (and American) investors rush from the dollar into a stronger reserve. But on 29 June this utopian attempt was scuttled by the Germans who revalued the mark upwards by more than five percent against the other five currencies.

A Period of Sparring

While the present period is marked by the resurgence of inter-imperialist rivalry, this is at present only in the sparring stage. No power envisions an immediate sharp break from the current patterns. A principal reason for this is that the West Europeans and Japanese are only beginning to emerge from under the protective wing of the American eagle. Some years ago De Gaulle led a French offensive for the return of the gold standard. His chief economic adviser, Jacques Rueff, held that all the ills of the international monetary system were due to the deliberate undervaluation of gold and the permanent inflation of the American economy. With the gold exchange standard and the dollar the chief reserve currency, this inflation was simply exported, being put to such use as

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> "The quarter-century period of the cold war is now giving way to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and West."
>
> —Leonid Brezhnev, 1973

> "...the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for an extended period is unthinkable. In the end either one or the other will conquer."
>
> —Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, 1918

Protest French Government Ban on Ligue Communiste

On 28 June the French government ordered the dissolution of the "Trotskyist" Ligue Communiste and of a fascist organization, Ordre Nouveau (New Order). Faced with the mounting struggles of workers and students, the regime resorts to savage anti-democratic methods of maintaining "law and order"—in this case outlawing left organizations. The current ban followed a violent confrontation between demonstrators and police as the latter defended a meeting of Ordre Nouveau, the organization which is responsible for several recent violent attacks on student strikers. The purpose of the dissolution order is to smash the "far left," and the ritual inclusion of Ordre Nouveau is simply an attempt to posture in sham impartiality. Despite our numerous disagreements with the Ligue Communiste, which in no way represents the politics of Trotskyism, we vigorously protest this reactionary move, an attack on the entire workers movement. *Rescind the ban! Defend democratic liberties! For a united defense of the workers movement against Fascist attack—Towards the formation of workers militias!*

French leftists march against fascists.

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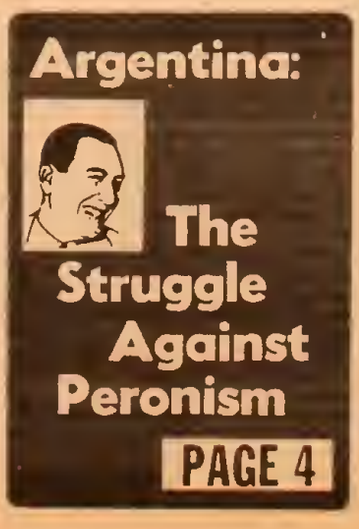

ERA and the Struggle for Women's Equality

The proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution has produced an incongruous factional lineup. Opposed are the John Birch Society, the Communist Party, the Right-to-Life anti-abortionists, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, the National Council of Catholic Women, the left social democrats of the International Socialists (IS) who occasionally make pretensions to Trotskyism, assorted southern swamp-alligator reactionaries and the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU).

Arrayed on the other side, supporting the ERA, are George Wallace, the Democratic Party, Richard Nixon, the National Organization of Women (NOW), Spiro Agnew, the UAW and CWA bureaucracies, a myriad of petty-bourgeois feminist organizations, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which would like to become the social-democratic party of the U.S., and the Maoist October League (OL).

How can we explain such striking divisions within the ruling class, the labor bureaucracy and the ostensibly revolutionary movement on what is apparently a simple statement of legal equality between the sexes?

The amendment is quite short. Its key section reads: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." The wording is similar to the Fourteenth Amendment, which called for equal protection under the law for all citizens and was directed against racial discrimination. But these simple statements of bourgeois rights are to be implemented under a social system to which racial and sexual discrimination—key means of maintaining divisions within the working class—are inherent. Thus in practice the 14th Amendment is implemented in a purely tokenistic manner, and so will be the ERA if it is adopted. Why the workers movement should bother to support it becomes, then, a logical question.

The Spartacist League has in the past called for the extension of protective legislation to men without taking a clear stand on the ERA itself. The basic principle is simple: we are in favor of equality between the sexes and races, but at the level attained through the struggles of the most advanced sections of the class: we oppose the "equality" of sweatshop exploitation. Partial gains must be extended, thereby aiding in the unification of the class. However, the ERA as it stands makes no provision for extending protective legislation. In this situation we must give support to the Amendment and continue the struggle to protect and extend gains already won rather than eliminate them. To oppose the ERA on the grounds that there is a danger of some beneficial protective legislation being nullified by the courts is to reject the fight for democracy, to deny that the principle of equality is important and hence to abandon the struggle for its implementation, thereby capitulating before the status quo. To simply ignore the question of protective legislation is to deny the need to preserve partial gains.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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What is the ERA?

Recent years have seen a concerted attempt on the part of the U.S. ruling class to obscure the most blatant manifestations of sexual and racial discrimination, without of course eliminating the real substance of oppression of minorities and women, which is necessary for capitalism. Though the politics of the petty-bourgeois women's liberation groups guaranteed their harmlessness, the bosses, the 1960's wave of black protest in their minds, were concerned lest the movement spread to the masses of women workers. Consequently various laws were passed formally enacting equal pay for equal work, equal employment opportunity, etc. While the reality of women's oppression has not been fundamentally altered, some small (and easily reversible) concessions have been made; for example, token numbers of women are now being hired in heavy industry, including auto and steel, for the first time since World War II.

Company managers and union bureaucrats are clearly hoping that these newly-industrialized women will, from economic necessity and social training, be more docile and submissive than male workers. The bourgeoisie is also uneasy that the relative egalitarianism of the assembly line, economic self-sufficiency and the practical demands of industrial labor will undermine the family and women's traditional role as a passive mainstay of the status quo.

Some trade-union bureaucrats are quite explicit about their reactionary position. They object to the elimination of legislation limiting the hours of labor for women because it will undermine women's role in the home (why isn't this true for men?). And of course many "business unionists" oppose economic equality for women because, they claim, it will eliminate jobs and income for men.

Objections to the ERA

Disregarding the right-wingers' obsessive fears that legal equality of the sexes will result in the fall of woman from her pedestal into the mire of original sin (dragging man along with her), as well as the scaremongering about legalization of rape and coeducational rest rooms, opposition to the ERA focuses on the questions of alimony, the draft and protective legislation.

The ERA would make the payment of alimony less arbitrary and discriminatory by providing that it be awarded to either partner or dispensed with according to the partners' relative incomes and ability to support themselves. The Spartacist League opposes the very concept of alimony, which is a substitute for providing access to training in marketable skills and jobs for women, instead limiting their domain to home and children. Society as a whole must bear responsibility for the welfare of its members, and the costs of childrearing should be borne by the state. Domestic labor must be socialized, since women will never gain equality, much less liberation, as long as they are imprisoned in the home: thus the need for state-provided free 24-hour childcare, laundry services and dining rooms at the workplace and in residential areas.

The SL's policy on the draft can be capsulized by Karl Liebknecht's famous slogan, "For this state not one penny and not one man!" While opposing draft resistance, the SL calls for the abolition of the draft and of the bourgeois army, and "replacing" them with a workers militia. We do not favor the grossly sexually discriminatory draft exemption for women (nor student exemptions), since this perpetuates sexual divisions in the class and is generally socially conservatizing.

The primary argument advanced against the ERA by its opponents in the workers movement is that it will bring about the invalidation of existing state protective legislation aimed at eliminating "excessive" overtime, heavy lifting, night work, etc., for women. Though a legitimate concern, the effect of the ERA on protective legislation is greatly exaggerated. Labor Department and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) guidelines indicate that the Amendment will be interpreted to extend minimum wage laws, rest and lunch period laws to cover men, while laws limiting hours and weights which may be lifted will be invalidated. Moreover, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has already been interpreted in numerous court decisions to invalidate state hours and weightlifting laws; by 1971 only 10 states still retained such laws intact. It is interesting to note that none of the ERA's vehement opponents on the left fought against the adoption of the Civil Rights Act, which has for the most part already accomplished the evils which they claim will result from the ERA!

Many of the protective laws are real victories, won by militant strike action and with the gains soon extended to men. The fight for a shorter work day beginning in the 1820's was spearheaded by the early strikes for the 10-hour day in New England cotton mills. Led by the women textile workers, it resulted in the passage of state laws limiting the hours of employment, the first of which was enacted in New Hampshire in 1847, limiting the length of the working day for women.

Marx pointed out that the capitalists were only too conscious of the consequences of such legislation, as shown in "the dogged resistance which the English factory owners put up to the Ten Hours' Bill. They knew only too well that a two-hours' reduction of labour granted to women and children would carry with it an equal reduction of working hours for adult men. It is in the nature of large-scale industry that working hours should be equal for all" (K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847). In the absence of any attempt to organize the women workers into trade unions, they directed their energies toward the formation of groups such as the Female Labor Reform Associations of the 1840's, whose program aimed at gaining legislation for the 10-hour day for both men and women.

Title VII does not apply to employers of less than 25 workers, and thus there is a possibility that courts could interpret the ERA to eliminate the special protective legislation which applies in the small sweatshop establishments. Communists do not ignore the detrimental possibilities of the ERA—unlike the feminists and middle-class proponents of the ERA, such as NOW, who are concerned not with the plight of low-paid women workers, but primarily with the cause of the woman doctor, lawyer or stock broker. But rejection of the ERA would not help these poorest-paid, hardest-worked women—most of the protective legislation is systematically ignored in such establishments.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT:

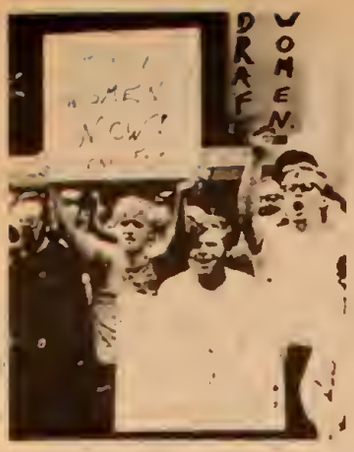
"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

Labor opponents of the ERA, such as Myra Wolfgang of the Hotel, Motel and Restaurant Employees' Union, commiserate profusely with the plight of these most-exploited workers, but their position basically amounts to a refusal to mobilize the *labor movement* to fight these evils, relying on the paternalism of the capitalist state as an excuse to avoid struggle. Yes, there are dangers that the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the ERA or any other piece of legislation can be used to take gains from labor. The answer is to protect these gains and extend them by organizing the unorganized, by using the workers' own methods (for instance the strike) to win benefits for male and female workers alike.

The 1970 position paper of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy opposing the ERA reflects the same policies of betrayal of the workers' interests: "most working women do not have the protection afforded by trade union membership and must therefore rely on safeguards provided by law." The laws do not determine the outcome of the struggle between capital and labor; they are the product of the class struggle. Most women are not protected by trade unions primarily because the bureaucracy does not fight to build union organizations among the most oppressed sectors of the class. For the same reason, what beneficial protective legislation exists is inadequately enforced.

The Reality of Protective Legislation

It has been in fact the labor bureaucracy's policy of deliberate neglect of the most oppressed layers of the proletariat which has fostered the emergence of bourgeois-led reformist movements for the protection of women workers through paternalistic laws. Moreover, the legislation itself is usually as much restrictive as protective. Thus weight-lifting standards are frequently used arbitrarily in job classifications in order to exclude women from better paying crafts.



Women workers have on several occasions organized *against* this "protective" legislation. One notable instance is the determined fight of female mine workers in England in the 1820's: collusion between the enlightened section of the bourgeoisie and aspiring job-trusting unions forced the female workers out of the mines. Despite the grueling conditions of their work, the women miners fought bitterly against the loss of their independence as wage-earners. (They were joined, of course, by the mine owners, who sought to keep the female workers as a source of cheap labor.) The real answer would have been the organization of all miners in a single union to fight the bosses, rather than divisive attempts to raise wages by restricting jobs to males.

Similarly, women printers of New York agitated for exemption from the 1913 law prohibiting night work for women, since they lost seniority rights and the higher wages of night work. Their struggle pitted them against the state AFL apparatus, which forced the leadership of the women's printers' union, together with women reporters and newspaper writers, to found an independent organization, the Women's League for Equal Opportunity, before they could achieve exemption from the night-work laws.

The craft unions supporting the early protective laws were motivated by impulses of dubious "generosity" toward the women workers, who were consistently excluded from these unions and the trades they dominated, or occasionally restricted to the lower-paying crafts (such as binding in the printing trade) and organized into separate unions. Of the 30 national unions existing between 1860 and 1875, only two admitted women into membership! In many cases "protective" laws, such as the prohibitions against women in the core rooms of foundries, in brass polishing and other more highly-paid occupations, were designed exclusively to maintain narrow craft privileges. This forced relegation to lower-paid, "feminine" occupations is a "protection" few working women appreciate.

Marxism and Democratic Rights

Fundamentally the social and economic oppression of women is based on their subjugation to domestic slavery in the family. But the family, like classes and the state, is the product of the division of labor and can be superseded only through the elimination of scarcity and the socialist organization of society. Thus poor and working women, and, in a less clear-cut way, petty-bourgeois women as well, have a direct interest in proletarian revolution. But this does not mean there are no gains which can be won along the way.

The ERA by itself is a simple democratic demand and one that should be supported by all socialists who, as Marx remarked, fight for the most consistent democracy as an aid in smoothing the road to the workers revolution. Even relative equality between sexes and among races would eliminate innumerable frictions which work against *class* consciousness and solidarity. However, as long as the capi-

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U. Cal. Drive Against AFSCME

Local Leadership Won't Fight

The repercussions of the defeat of building trades workers in strikes against wage cuts at the University of California at Berkeley and the San Francisco Medical Center in 1972 are still being felt. In an obvious union-busting move similar to the attack which sparked the Berkeley and San Francisco strikes, the administration at UCLA has instituted outside contract labor in campus custodial departments in order to break United Workers Local 2070, AFSCME, which is based primarily on the janitors. The betrayals of the AFSCME bureaucracy of Jerry Wurf and Co. in smashing District Council 99, which represented UC campus organizing, and in orienting toward amalgamation with company-union formations such as California State Employees Association (CSEA), have played no small part in setting up state employees for these attacks.

The attack on AFSCME at UCLA is still in an "experimental," beginning stage, but it has ominous implications for all California public employees as well as for the local itself, which faces possible extinction. Destroying the base of unionism in the sprawling UC system has been an important goal of the Reagan administration.

The contract laborers, working in four departments, are members of the AFSCME rival, Service Employees International Union (SEIU). They are being given more work at less pay by the administration as a "test." If extended to the rest of the campus, the measure would break AFSCME, thereby removing a potential threat to organize the entire campus.

Teaching assistants in the American Federation of Teachers at UCLA and Berkeley are threatened by another union-busting move promised by the UC administration, the substitution of unpaid teaching assistants (students working in exchange for credits) for the present, paid union members. This poses the possibility of a university-wide strike against union busting by all campus employees (if janitors and teaching assistants could unite, why not everyone else?) which would in turn serve to organize the remaining unorganized campus workers. The administration, however, can rely on the conservative, business-unionist bureaucratic leaders of AFSCME and the other unions to keep it thoroughly out of danger of such an "unfortunate" fate.

The leadership of Local 2070, despite a high component of "radicals" in the leadership, has developed tactics for opposing contract labor that can only be described as a plan for defeat. On May 1st a reasonably successful rally was held, sponsored by the AFSCME and AFT locals, against contract labor and volunteer teaching assistants, but this was not followed up. Instead, after a month of virtual inactivity, the most the local leaderships could come up with was: a one-day boycott of the school bookstore and cafeteria! This "militant" action was supposed to aid an organizing drive in the student services (ASUC), yet unlike the rally, it attracted no support from the workers. Since the boycott, the Local 2070 leadership has moved on to an even more "drastic" step: a class action lawsuit seeking to use the courts to drive the contract laborers from the campus.

While the local leadership claims that it can successfully use the courts, and that serious action such as a strike is too dangerous for a "weak" local union, the real motivation for its go-slow policy lies elsewhere. The 2070 leaders have no program for uniting and bringing the masses of workers into action to settle their own accounts with the employers. Instead, like Wurf and the other trade-union tops, they see the trade unions as an impotent agency for mediation between the workers and employers.

Wurf's strategy is to expand the basis for this mediation role by seeking amalgamation with the big company-union associations in order to control ever-larger bargaining units. To do this, he seeks to tame the militancy of the ranks, which has been spurred on by state cutbacks and other attacks, and channel it into a structured bargaining relationship with the state, thereby preserving the status quo. Thus Wurf supports the Moretti bill, which would grant collective bargaining for state employees while hamstringing the right to strike with fatal restrictions and compulsory arbitration. To Wurf, this is preferable to militant drives to organize UC workers and win for public employees the legal right to strike.

Wurf uses his base to wheel and deal with the capitalist politicians, hoping to receive a few small favors in return for passivity and endorsements. This policy is the same as that of the Communist Party, which supports Wurf's bureaucracy as "progressive" and enjoys some influence on the 2070 executive board. Like Wurf, the CP pushed McGovern in the last election and propounds a policy of passive reformism in order to secure minor advances through pressure on liberals.

At the June meeting of Local 2070, the Militant Caucus put forward a systematic, programmatic alternative for the local which points the way for all California public workers. The Militant Caucus is an oppositional grouping in the local, formed by some of its earliest organizers and founded on the basis of the need of the labor movement as a whole for a full class-struggle program—a sliding scale of wages and hours, strikes against imperialist war and the wage freeze, an end to government interference in the labor movement, workers control of industry and a workers party to fight for a workers government, among other demands (see *WV* No. 14, December 1972).

The Militant Caucus proposed immediate preparations for a strike not just to oppose contract labor and voluntary teaching assistants but in favor of a single employees' union, 30 for 40, no layoffs and parity with the best wages and conditions for all those currently employed. These points would mean fighting for more jobs, at union conditions, rather than simply driving the contract laborers (who also need work) off the campus through legal or other measures. The Caucus also proposed that the strike be extended statewide, specifically, linking up with AFT and AFSCME locals in Berkeley and San Francisco.

In addition to calling on all campus unions and the Teamsters to honor picket lines, the Caucus' proposed strike preparations included the essential element of an approach to the SEIU ranks for a united front against the employers, on the basis of one public employees' union and jobs for all at the best union conditions available. While this means defense of AFSCME at UCLA, it does not predicate war between AFSCME and SEIU ranks or a loss of jobs by any of those currently working. It does mean unity of AFSCME and SEIU ranks state-wide for one union with a union contract, a closed shop system and a union hiring hall. The present leadership of Local 2070, in contrast, simply treats the contract janitors as scabs.

Instead of implementing these proposals, the petty would-be bureaucrats of Local 2070 responded by seeking to impose a gag rule on the Militant Caucus in the form of a three-minute speaking limit at local meetings and a requirement that the Caucus print a disclaimer clause—"The views presented in this publication are not necessarily official union positions"—on all its literature. This was simply petty maliciousness, since Caucus members never attempted to take more than their share of speaking time at meetings nor represent their views as official.

The pattern of petty harassment continued. When Caucus members circulated a petition to the local executive board to call a special meeting to consider strike action, the bureaucrats responded with a counter-petition, the sole purpose of which was to invalidate signatures on the earlier petition! The local leadership is feeling the pressure of the Militant Caucus proposals, however, as shown by its more frequent executive board meetings and a recent leaflet "What's Happening," which hints vaguely at the possibility of a strike and of calling a conference of Council 99, which still exists, though in a powerless form, thanks to Wurf.

The attacks on AFT and AFSCME, and the bureaucratic harassment of the Militant Caucus have coincided with administration attacks on the right of student groups to distribute literature on campus and the purge of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League, from Fanshen, a campus "anti-imperialist" organization influenced by the CP and Revolutionary Union (RU). RCY had participated with Fanshen and other groups in solidarity against administration attempts to prevent literature tables from operating in Royce Quad, an "unauthorized area." The RCY, however, criticized Fanshen's tailing after the impotent boycott policies of the trade-union bureaucrats (Shell boycott, Farah pants and Farmworkers, as well as UCLA AFSCME's boycott of the campus bookstore and cafeteria). A Stalinist Fanshen supporter tore up an RCY member's sign at the ASUC boycott action, despite the fact that the SL and RCY were critically supporting the action in solidarity with campus workers, and SL/RCY members were summarily expelled from Fanshen meetings. The expulsion was accomplished with the aid of Progressive Labor supporters as well as those of the CP and RU, and with the passive acquiescence of the ex-Trotskyist YSA. Thus Fanshen and the pseudo-left solidarized with the trade-union bureaucracy which is actively working within the unions to derail militancy and prevent the expression of a program of consistent class struggle against capitalism.

The historically-evolved leadership of the unions, the trade-union bureaucracy, is the agent of the capitalist class in the labor movement. From right to "left," Meany, Abel, Woodcock and Wurf are all united on the need to maintain capitalism and exploitation of labor for profit. A revolutionary leadership is needed to oust these parasites who loot the unions, invite the capitalist state to intervene in internal union affairs so as to restrain working-class struggle and who act as recruiters for every new capitalist politician and imperialist scheme.

Caucuses such as the Militant Caucus pose the only answer: a program based on the objective needs of labor and thus completely counterposed to the policies of the bureaucracy. Only under revolutionary leadership will the unions break from their present subservient capitulation to the capitalists and become what they should be—the fighting organs of the workers against the bosses and their state. ■

Argentina: The Struggle Against Peronism

When General Juan Domingo Perón returned to Argentina last November for the first time since a military coup overthrew his government in 1955, thousands of workers walked for miles in a rainstorm to catch a glimpse of the "legendary leader." After an election campaign around the slogan of "Cámpora to the government, Perón to power," the FREJULI (Justicialista Liberation Front, the Peronist party) candidate won a resounding victory in the March 1973 elections. Cámpora's inauguration drew a crowd of more than one million participants and Perón's second return late last month brought out more than three million, the largest demonstration in Argentine history. The wide support for Peronism among the Argentine working class is evident. But the hopes of the workers who see in the Justicialista government a victory for their struggles during the past 18 years will be brutally shattered. The Cámpora regime is an answer to those struggles, but it is the answer of a temporarily united *bourgeoisie* (including the military), and its main task is to break the back of the independent workers movement and the guerilla groups.

In his "Message to the Argentine People" last November General Perón praised the bourgeois parties with which he had been negotiating the terms of a future Justicialista government, saying that they "have assumed before history the responsibility of establishing the bases of pacification and reconstruction of the country" (*Política Obrera*, 19 December 1972). Since the elections the president-elect Cámpora made clear that this "labor of pacification" included isolating and "crushing" the guerillas, both Peronist and non-Peronist (*New York Times*, 5 May 1973). While the leaders of the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth) were calling for a "socialist fatherland," the nationalization of the key sectors of the economy and a popular militia, Perón himself sacked the head of the JP (Galimberti), surrounded himself with conservative advisers and made strong law-and-order speeches appealing for reconciliation with the armed forces. The General's first command after Cámpora was installed as president on 25 May was "get the Trotskyists" (*Le Monde*, 6 June 1973).

Only those who willfully blind themselves to reality can claim, as do the supposedly "Trotskyist" groups in Argentina, that the Cámpora regime is a "victory for the working class," that there is any fundamental distinction between the "progressive" government and police on the one hand and the reactionary armed forces on the other, or that a working-class program can be forced onto the new government, since the workers voted it into office.

The Perón government of the 1940's and 1950's did carry out certain measures (wage increases, unionization, social security, nationalizations) which benefitted the working class, while at the same time outlawing the Communist Party and smashing every attempt at independent activity by the workers, even simple economic strikes. But the current Peronist regime will be a government of reaction—an instrument to carry out the job the military has been unable to do, namely to put an end to the workers' militancy which has been raging through the country since 1969. The regime will employ any means necessary to firmly establish bourgeois "law and order" even if this means outlawing all "communist" organizations, government "intervention" into militant unions and massacres of striking students and workers. To call for critical support, tolerance, negotiations for a workers program or any policy other than intransigent opposition to the Cámpora government is to abandon the path of proletarian revolution and prepare the way for the massacres.

Origins of Peronism

Peronism is a bourgeois-nationalist populist movement which is based primarily on support from the working class. This rather unusual phenomenon (most populist movements are based on the petty bourgeoisie) is the product of Perón's government policies during the 1943-1955 period. Through a combination of paternalistic welfare measures and outlawing every left-wing opposition, Perón achieved wide popularity in the working class. His government was what Trotsky referred to as bonapartism *sui generis*:

> "In the industrially backward countries foreign capital plays a decisive role. Hence the relative weakness of the *national* bourgeoisie in relation to the *national* proletariat. This creates special conditions of state power. The government veers between foreign and domestic capital, between the weak national bourgeoisie and the relatively powerful proletariat. This gives the government a bonapartist character *sui generis* of a distinctive character. It raises itself, so to speak, above classes. Actually it can govern either by making itself the instrument of foreign capitalism and holding the proletariat in the chains of a police dictatorship, or by maneuvering with the proletariat and even going so far as to make concessions to it and thus gaining the possibility of a certain freedom toward the foreign capitalists. The present policy [of the Mexican government] is in the second stage; its greatest conquests are the expropriations of the railroads and the oil industries.
>
> "These measures are entirely within the domain of state capitalism. However, in a semi-colonial country state capitalism finds itself under the heavy pressure of private foreign capital and of its governments, and cannot maintain itself without the active support of the workers."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Nationalized Industry and Workers' Management," 1938

Similar regimes were those of Getulio Vargas in Brazil, Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico and Nasser in Egypt. Unlike bonapartist regimes in the advanced countries, such regimes usually build mass movements of workers, such as the Mexican PRI and the Egyptian Arab Socialist Union, which are often connected with the (state-controlled) union movement. But in spite of their leftist pretensions and working-class base, such parties are *bourgeois* and not *workers* parties, for they are in no sensed based on the *independent* mobilization of the working class. Even the British Labour Party, with its purely bourgeois politics, is based on the unions, which despite increasing ties to the state remain independent workers' organizations. The unions under the Peronist regime, however, were controlled by the state and the party rather than vice versa.

Perón came to power as the result of a military coup in June 1943 which dislodged the conservative government of Ramón Castillo. The younger officers, many of whom were trained in Germany and Italy, were strongly nationalist and pro-Nazi. Perón himself had been in Italy for two years and later helped found a military lodge, the Grupo de Oficiales Unidos (GOU—Group of United Officers) which staged the coup.

At that time the labor movement was quite small (around 350,000 members) and sharply divided between two major national federations, both calling themselves the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT—General Confederation of Labor). CGT No. 1 was based on the conservative railroad unions (the largest in the country), while CGT No. 2 was led by the Stalinist Communist Party and Socialist Party dissidents. These unions had been built in the course of bitter strikes and faced uniform hostility from the succeeding conservative, military and Radical regimes. The new government of the GOU promised to be more of the same. One of its first acts was to dissolve the CGT No. 2 as a "Communist-controlled organization" and to "intervene" (appoint government administrators and expel the elected officials) in the leading unions.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

Demonstration at inauguration of President Cámpora, Buenos Aires, 25 May.

Colonel Perón, however, saw much more clearly the need to win popular support for the regime. His social program was summed up by a speech to the Bolsa de Comercio (Chamber of Commerce) in 1944, in which he declared that the major threat to Argentina was that of "a revolutionary general strike." To counter this he proposed "a rational organization of unions in accordance with state directives." But at the same time, "the defense of the interests of businessmen, of industrialists, of merchants, is the defense of the state itself." Perón took charge of the Secretariat of Labor and Social Welfare and set about building a personal machine among workers and union leaders by setting up a national social security system, supporting some strikes, raising wages and aiding the organizing of unions. During a 1944 earthquake, he and Eva Duarte (later his wife) achieved publicity by distributing emergency relief and visiting disaster areas. At the same time, he did everything possible to break strikes which did not recognize his leadership.

Peron's ability to smash independent unionism was greatly aided by the treacherous policies of the Communist Party during the war, when CP policy was "everything for the allies." The CP supported the "democratic" imperialists instead of taking a Bolshevik policy of revolutionary defeatism in the inter-imperialist war (while defending the Soviet Union). During the 1943 packinghouse strike, one of the demands was for the return of José Peter, CP leader of the meat union who had been arrested and sent to a southern concentration camp. Perón personally sent an airplane to bring Peter back, but on his arrival Peter called on the workers to abandon the strike because it was hurting the Allied war effort! The packinghouse workers switched allegiance and continued the strike under the leadership of Cipriano Reyes, a Perón supporter.

During the campaign for the February 1946 elections the CP further consolidated Perón's position by denouncing the CGT unions as "Peronazis" and joining with the bourgeois radicals and conservatives in a "Unión Democrática" which had the open support of U.S. Ambassador Spruille Braden. Perón's campaign, around the slogan "Braden or Perón," centered on denouncing the Communist-oligarchic-imperialist alliance and resulted in a landslide victory.

During the elections the main Peronist party was the Partido Laborista ("Labor Party"), which has been compared to its British namesake. According to the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), which is allied to the U.S. SWP:

> "The importance of the Partido Laborista is the that it was the best possibility the working class had to organize itself politically in a form independent of the bourgeoisie. Its leaders, although reformists, were workers' leaders.... Peronism, in contrast, although supported by the workers, always had bosses' leaders."
>
> —*Avanzada Socialista*, 11 April 1973

In reality, the PL was simply an electoral vehicle for Perón, with little structure or real existence. The presence of a few labor leaders did not make it a workers party. When Perón decided to unify all the Peronist groups into a single Partido Peronista, the PL simply disappeared, despite resistance

from meatpackers' leader Reyes.

Before the elections the Communist Party had consistently called for "bring[ing] together all democratic forces opposed to the dictatorship under a single command" (Victor Codovilla, "Carta abierta a los patriotas antifascistas," 1944). However, faced with Perón's overwhelming popularity and two days after the USSR's decision to recognize the government, the July 1946 CP convention announced it would "support the Perón government with reservations." The CP-led unions were promptly liquidated into the Peronist federation.

At precisely this time, Perón stepped up his drive to bring the entire labor movement under government control. Using his 1945 "Professional Associations Law," which required that unions receive governmental recognition, he proceeded to outlaw the shoemakers' union, the taxi drivers' union and others, and to intervene in the bank workers' federation, the graphics union and even the sugar workers' union he himself helped set up. By late 1946 one third of the members of the CGT council were either congressional deputies, delegates of intervened unions or government employees. Every strike from then on was brutally repressed and the union leadership arrested.

But at the same time, workers' real wages rose dramatically (80 percent between 1943 and 1948) to a level they have never reached since. Perón's economic policies centered on industrialization and nationalization, with takeovers of packinghouses and communications and power monopolies in foreign hands. The state bureaucracy increased more than fourfold during his regime while union membership quintupled. The improved welfare, higher wages and state investments depended, however, on the accumulation of $1.7 billion in foreign exchange reserves during the war and the continued high meat and grain prices in the late 1940's. But exhaustion of the reserves and a drop in international agricultural prices led to a decline of domestic production and more conservative economic policies on Perón's part. In 1954 he began negotiating a contract with an American oil company to increase domestic production.

The Gorilas Against Peronism

Increasing dissatisfaction with Perón's arbitrary practices (he closed the principal capitalist paper, *La Prensa*, in 1951) and the growing radicalization of the working class led the bourgeoisie to give almost unanimous support to the military coup which overthrew the regime on 16 September 1955. Perón himself, however, was also afraid of mobilizing the working class even in his own support, and resigned rather than arm his supporters who had gathered in the Plaza del Mayo. His slogan during the summer of 1955 was "del trabajo a casa y de casa al trabajo" (from work to home and from home to work), i.e., don't mobilize!

The military coup led immediately to the banning of the Partido Peronista and the intervention of the major unions by the government; more than 62,000 labor leaders and activists were proscribed from union office. The immediate response of the Peronist leaders was one of the most widespread well-organized terrorist campaigns in history. The results: nothing. Gradually, in spite of military opposition, they were able to consolidate Peronist control over most of the unions, which were loosely grouped in the "62 organizations" led by Augusto Vandor of the metalworkers.

During the 1968 elections, the "developmentalist" (industrial-bourgeois) wing of the Radicals nominated Frondizi for president and received the support of the CP. Frondizi had won a leftist reputation for his opposition to Perón's oil deal (together with left-Peronist John William Cook). Now Perón decided to back Frondizi and sent his instructions by way of Cook. But within a matter of months the "leftist" Frondizi established free convertibility of the peso, asked for hundreds of millions of dollars in loans from the International Monetary Fund (most of which was used to prop up the peso!), instituted a major austerity program which drove unemployment to record levels and cut wages by 40 percent (1958-62), and gave out a series of multi-million-dollar contracts to American oil companies!

As working-class discontent continued to rise, the military annulled the 1962 elections in which the Peronists won a plurality and ten governorships, including Buenos Aires. The Peronist labor leaders did nothing. After the Justicialista vote continued to increase in the 1965 elections, the military decided it was time to return to direct rule, installing the dictatorship of General Juan Carlos Onganía in June 1966. This time the CGT bureaucracy led by Vandor actually supported the coup. The Onganía regime proceeded to smash university autonomy, to put down strikes by army intervention, to place rebellious local unions in receivership and to fire thousands of trade-union militants. Strikes by petrochemical workers at La Plata and by railroad and port workers in Buenos Aires (October 1966-January 1967) were crushed. U.S. corporations began investing heavily in Argentina, numerous state-owned industries set up in the Perón era were "denationalized" and unprofitable industries (such as Tucumán sugar mills) were shut down, throwing thousands out of work. While several times threatening general strikes, the CGT central leadership under Vandor always ended up working out a last-minute deal with the military.

The Cordobazo and its Aftermath

The chain of betrayals by the labor bureaucracy in the face of the government's harsh anti-labor measures began to crystallize a broad opposition force in the unions. This was expressed in the mass protests by the FOTIA sugar workers' union in Tucumán, under the leadership of left-Peronists, in 1965-68. The unrest reached a flashpoint in mid-1969, beginning with a metal workers' and transport strike in the interior industrial center of Córdoba and student protests in nearby Rosario. Due to brutal police repression, what began as a localized conflict escalated into a three-day general strike and workers' uprising. Despite foot-dragging by the local CGT, the major plants of Córdoba were closed down completely on 30 May and a massive workers' demonstration resulted in a head-on collision with the police. Only after two days of fighting, during which several police stations were burned, was the army able to re-establish control. In response to stiff sentences given to leaders of the *Cordobazo*, nationwide general strikes followed in June and August, and by the end of the year the government was forced to release the prisoners.

The workers did not become discouraged by repression, but instead continued the general strikes and mass uprisings. Three general strikes in October and November 1970 were completely effective nation-wide. In the first five months of 1971 there were 11 general strikes in Córdoba alone. After the killing of a young worker by the police, the city exploded in a second *Cordobazo* in March 1971.

Simultaneously there arose a series of oppositions to the hitherto firmly entrenched Peronist labor bureaucracy. In some cases these crystallized around popular local leftist leaders. While leading militant local actions, these leaders have never waged a frontal battle against the CGT bureaucracy.

In Córdoba, the heart of the industrial militancy, rank-and-file opposition led to a wave of syndicalism and the breakaway of two left-wing unions in the Fiat plants of Concord (SITRAC) and Materfer (SITRAM) from the CGT. In January 1971 the firing of seven workers by Fiat led to the occupation of the plants by SITRAC-SITRAM and capitulation by the management. Under the leadership of independent syndicalists—and with strong influence from the Maoist Vanguardia Comunista and the Partido Comunista Revolucionario, a left split-off from the CP—these "sindicatos clasistas" (class-struggle unions) became a real threat to the government, reaching a high point in the national conference of "class-struggle unionism" called by SITRAC-SITRAM in August 1971. However, because of disagreements with unions

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Perón and wife with picture of Eva (Perón's first wife). During 1946-1955 the Eva Perón Foundation gave millions in alms to the poor.

led by moderate "left"-Peronists nothing came of the meetings. As labor militancy ebbed, the government was able to withdraw legal recognition of the Fiat-unions in November 1971.

The Gorilas With Peronism

In response to the continued labor militancy, the *gorilas* (reactionary military officers) decided to depose the hard-line Onganía (June 1970), eventually installing General Alejandro Lanusse (March 1971) whose job was to arrange a political pact with the major bourgeois parties in order to return to a parliamentary regime. This agreement, the Gran Acuerdo Nacional (GAN), could succeed only if it included the Peronists. Perón, however, refused to be sucked into the plans for an overt military/Justicialista co-government, instead forming his own popular-front group, La Hora del Pueblo (The Hour of the People), with the participation of prominent Radicals (bourgeois liberals), the CGE (General Economic Confederation, a group of light industrialists and commercial interests) and the CGT bureaucracy.

The Peronist economic program was represented by an accord between the CGT and CGE which contains no working-class or even anti-imperialist demands, instead simply calling for credit and tax subsidies and state investment to encourage industrial development. The core of the program is the "Social-Economic Council" (CONES), made up of the CGT and CGE and the government, a classical corporatist mechanism for integrating the trade unions into the bonapartist state. In foreign policy it seeks to attract European capital on more favorable terms than those available from the Yankees, and perhaps nationalizes a few firms like ITT (no doubt with compensation).

Lanusse gave his stamp of approval to this program and termed Perón's visit to Buenos Aires last November (Perón called for social peace, refused to attend mass rallies and met only with bourgeois leaders and Peronist bureaucrats) an unqualified success (*New York Times*, 23 November 1972). After the elections the military achieved an agreement with Cámpora to limit the number of forced retirements of officers and to crush the guerillas.

The Moreno Group and "Left"-Peronism

The largest group in Argentina claiming to support Trotskyism is the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) led by Nahuel Moreno. Moreno's tendency has existed since the late 1940's, and at least since 1952 has exhibited the fundamental characteristics of Pablo's in a classic form. Pablo abandoned the struggle for the creation of independent Trotskyist parties: in the early 1950's he concocted the objectivist theory that Stalinism would be "forced" to take revolutionary measures and thus revolutionaries should bury themselves in the dominant workers parties. In LatinAmerica this revisionism was carried to a "higher" level when Pablo ordered the Bolivian POR into the petty-bourgeois nationalist MNR, which was in no way a workers party.

In Argentina the Moreno group had opposed Peronism until 1952 but then rejected this position as "sectarian." After that "we considered ourselves a 'de facto' party of the anti-Yankee front of Peronism" (quote of an "apologist for Moreno" in *Workers Press*, 14 April 1972). According to the same source, "our innovation was that for the first time a Marxist group entered a bourgeois party." Immersion in this bourgeois party lasted for the next twelve years!

After the "Liberating Revolution" of 1955 Moreno formed the Movimiento de Agrupaciones Obreras (MAO—Movement of Workers Groupings) and put out the magazine *Palabra Obrera*, which referred to itself as the "organ of revolutionary workers' Peronism" issued "under the discipline of General Perón and the Peronist Supreme Council"!

In the 1958 elections *Palabra Obrera*, while initially opposing a vote for the bourgeois Radical Frondizi, eventually decided to "save the activist unity" by calling for a "vote for the *gorila* Frondizi" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 9 May 1973). During this same period the Moreno group was particularly associated with a group of left-Peronist leaders of the "62 organizations" (the most prominent being Loholaberry) who had won influence during the resistance following the 1955 coup. A few years later the same Loholaberry was directly collaborating with the brutal anti-labor Onganía dictatorship.

After 1964, when *Palabra Obrera* fused with the Castroite FRIP group, Moreno switched allegiances and took on guerillaist feathers (see "Guevarism vs. Social Democracy in the USec," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973). While achieving some influence as a result of mass work with Tucumán sugar workers, again in alliance with the "peronistas combativos" of the FOTIA leadership, the Moreno group did not itself undertake guerilla warfare. When some of the members began pushing to implement the program, Moreno split.

The trade-union work of the Moreno group has had a consistent syndicalist character, refusing to politicize the spontaneous struggles of the class. In the general strikes of late 1970 it called for an unlimited general strike for an immediate pay increase, end to the state of siege and recognition of all political parties, and for the formation of factory assemblies to lead the strike (*La Verdad*, 10 November 1970). It did not call for a workers government nor did it advocate the formation of a national strike committee to lead the mobilization. Similarly, the PST (then PSA) call for a workers' slate in the last elections did not raise any programmatic criteria! Its appeals were directed to locally prominent militants connected with the CP, left-Peronists or syndicalists, and the main demand was for a slate with 80 percent workers with an unspecified "workers' program."

Since the March elections, the fall-

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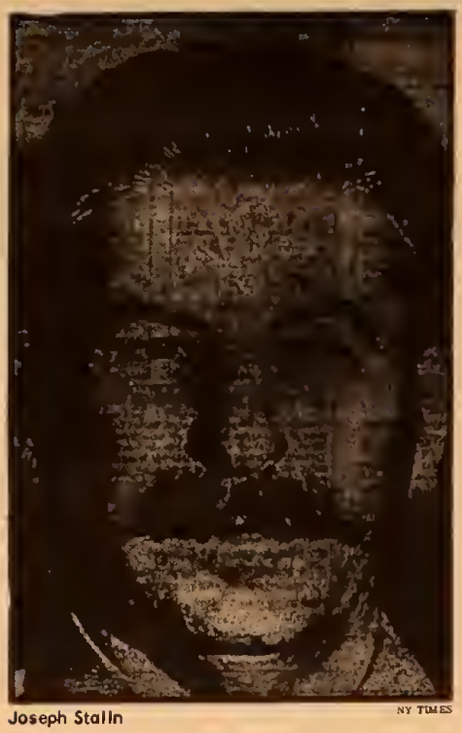

Joseph Stalin NY TIMES

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

2/ SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

The story of the origins of the Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country" is one of the usurpation of power by a bureaucratic stratum at the head of the first workers state in history. This privileged caste consolidated itself in the Soviet state apparatus which was formed as a necessary means of defending the conquests of the October Revolution in a backward peasant country, ravaged by civil war and isolated by the imperialist blockade and the triple defeat of proletarian revolution in Germany (1919, 1921 and 1923). These unfavorable conditions required a policy of "compromise" and consolidation rather than a blind "extension" of the revolution. Attraction of bourgeois experts to aid in the rebuilding of industry, guarantées to the middle peasants in order to end the famine, a policy of united front with the reformist leaders of the labor movement in the capitalist countries in order to find a road to the masses—these were the necessary tasks of the bour. To reject "compromises" on principle, as did the "Left Communists," to reject the use of bourgeois experts on principle and call for the replacement of state management of industry with trade-union control, as did the "Workers' Opposition," could only lead to defeat. All the same, every compromise brings with it dangers.

Lenin was aware of these dangers from the beginning and set up the "Workers and Peasants Inspection" (Rabkrin) as early as 1919 in order to curb bureaucratic abuses. The Rabkrin, however, was headed by Stalin and became in effect his private police force. By the time of the 11th Party Congress in 1922, Lenin was forced to observe:

> "If we take Moscow with its 4,700 Communists in responsible positions, and if we take that huge bureaucratic machine, that gigantic heap, we must ask: who is directing whom? I doubt very much whether it can truthfully be said that the Communists are directing that heap."

And in his very last writing, "Better Fewer, But Better" (1923) he called for an all-out war on bureaucratism, a drastic curtailment of the Rabkrin and its amalgamation with the Control Commission, noting that the former "does not at present enjoy the slightest authority." In a postscript to his "Testament" Lenin called for Stalin's removal as General Secretary of the Party.

The Triumvirate vs. Trotsky

But simple administrative actions could not abolish a phenomenon thrown up by history itself, rather than by individual or organizational failings. The country was tired from five years of starvation and civil war, tired of waiting for a European revolution which did not come. This mood and the conservative interests of the vast bureaucracy, which overwhelmingly dominated the Communist Party itself, were reflected soon after Lenin's death by the consolidation of power in the hands of the Triumvirate of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, and the practical exclusion of Trotsky from the central leadership.

A sharp crisis in the party broke out the winter of 1923-24 over the combined issues of party-democracy and industrialization. The "New Economic Policy" of cooperation with the peasantry had led to the emergence of a strong kulak (rich peasant) element in the countryside which was increasingly conscious of its bourgeois interests in opposition to the Soviet government, while industry continued to grow at a "snail's pace"; at the same time Stalin was running the party as a private fiefdom through the system of appointed secretaries. Trotsky demanded a sharp turn toward centralized planning and industrialization, an offensive against the kulaks and the return of democratic norms within the Party. The Triumvirate opposed this. (A year later Bukharin, who supported Stalin's policies, made his famous speech about "building socialism at a snail's pace" and calling on peasants to "enrich yourselves"!) What is more, they moved to make sure their line would prevail at all costs: during February-March 1924 no less than 240,000 raw recruits were brought into the party in the "Lenin levy," and as soon as they were enrolled they were lined up as voting cattle to back the line of the General Secretary (Stalin). By this and various other bureaucratic maneuvers he was able to eliminate almost all oppositionists from the May 1924 Party conference, which was turned into an anti-Trotsky rally.

The second engagement in the battle was begun with the "literary controversy" over Trotsky's "Lessons of October," an introduction to his articles of 1917 in which he exposed the role played by the current party leaders during the revolution. The fact that Zinoviev and Kamenev had opposed the insurrection, resigned from their government and party posts and demanded a coalition with the Mensheviks, or that Stalin had called for support to the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov in March 1917, was not widely known among the younger generation and was extremely embarrassing to the ruling group.

They counterattacked by denying that there was ever a right wing of Bolshevism, claiming that Trotsky played an insignificant role during the insurrection and launching a campaign accusing Trotsky, the organizer of the October Revolution and the Red Army, of never having broken with his pre-1917 views of conciliation with the Mensheviks. They also charged him with being hostile to the peasantry and continuing to hold to his theory of "permanent revolution" against Lenin's formula of the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the peasantry and the proletariat." The latter charge was correct, but they had to ignore the fact that Lenin came over on all the essential aspects of permanent revolution in his "April Theses" of 1917, that he had expticitly abandoned his earlier formulation and had waged a furious struggle particularly against Kamenev on this point. For the rest, they could rely only on lies and slander.

It is true that Trotsky wrongly called for conciliation with the Mensheviks until 1914, but he was convinced by the betrayals of the reformist Social Democrats in World War I that a split was inevitable and necessary. Lenin himself remarked that, "Trotsky long ago said that unification is impossible. Trotsky understood this and from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik" ("Minutes of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party," 1 [14] November 1917). Stalin, on the other hand, called for unification with the Mensheviks as late as *April 1917* when the issue was sharply posed and Tseretelli (the Menshevik leader) was soon to enter the bourgeois Provisional Government!

> "*Order of the day:* Tseretelli's proposal for unification.
> "Stalin: We ought to go. It is necessary to define our proposals as to the terms of unification. Unification is possible along the lines of Zimmerwald-Kienthal [antiwar conferences in World War I]."
> —"Draft Protocol of the March 1917 All-Russian Conference of Party Workers"

As for Kamenev-Zinoviev, the other two members of the Triumvirate and supposed defenders of Leninism against Trotsky, they called for conciliation during and after the insurrection itself (call for a joint government with the Mensheviks) and opposed the uprising! No right wing in the Bolshevik party? Lenin called them "strikebreakers of the revolution" and called for their expulsion if they did not return to their posts.

"Forgetting" such important episodes of the revolutionary struggle also requires the deliberate rewriting of history. Thus when the minutes of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks in 1917 were being published the editors simply cut out the meeting in which Lenin commented that "there has been no better Bolshevik" than Trotsky! However, one of the printers managed to pass a galley proof to Trotsky and it has been preserved for posterity. Concerning Trotsky's role in the October Revolution things were a bit stickier since John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* showed in great detail Trotsky's role as the organizer of the insurrection. So when the campaign against "Trotskyism" began Stalin summarily announced that Reed had distorted the facts, a discovery which had escaped everyone's eyes for the previous seven years. Lenin's "Testament" was also suppressed (though Khrushchev later admitted its validity).

Stalin Discovers "Socialism in One Country"

Even a steady diet of lies, distortions and slander could go only so far in securing the power of the new ruling clique. Stalin-Zinoviev-Kamenev were particularly vulnerable because in the theoretical arsenal of post-1917 Bolshevism, in the resolutions of the Communist International or the program of the Russian Communist Party, there was nothing which would "justify" the Triumvirate's increasingly conservative appetites. They needed a new theory which would be a clear alternative to Trotsky's permanent revolution. This was found in the doctrine of "socialism in one country."

In the current *Guardian* series on Trotskyism Carl Davidson defends this Stalinist theory with the claim that it is good Bolshevik coin:

> "On the other hand, Trotsky stood in opposition to the Bolsheviks in claiming that the proletariat was bound to come into 'hostile collision' with the broad masses of peasants during socialist construction and that 'without direct state support from the European proletariat, the working class of Russia cannot maintain itself in power and transform its temporary rule into a durable socialist dictatorship.'"
> —*Guardian*, 11 April 1973

This is a myth manufactured out of whole cloth. Until December of 1924 *nobody* in the Bolshevik party, *not even Stalin*, claimed that it was possible to build socialism in one country, without direct state aid from a victorious proletarian revolution in Europe.

"Socialism in one country" is a complete perversion of Marxism in the service of a parasitic bureaucratic clique which desires above all to escape from the logic of history and to build a comfortable nest isolated from the class struggle. In Engels' first draft of the *Communist Manifesto* this "theory" is clearly rejected. He wrote:

> "Question Nineteen: Can such a revolution take place in one country alone?
> "Answer: No. Large-scale industry, by creating a world-market, has so linked up the peoples of the earth, and especially the civilized peoples of the earth, that each of them is dependent on what happens in other lands.... The communist revolution will, therefore, not be a national revolution alone; it will take place in all civilized countries, or at least in Great Britain, the United States, France and Germany, at one and the same time."
> —F. Engels, "The Principles of Communism," 1847

In a certain sense, this statement was too categorical; history has shown that it is possible for the revolution to be victorious, for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be established, in a single state. But the fundamental proposition continues to hold, that socialism cannot be constructed in a single nation.

Lenin recognized this and, as early as 1906, wrote:

> "The Russian revolution has enough forces of its own to conquer. But it has not enough forces to retain the fruits of its victory... for in a country with an enormous development of small-scale industry, the small-scale commodity producers, among them the peasants, will inevitably turn against the proletarian when he goes from freedom toward socialism.... In order to prevent a restoration, the Russian revolution has need, not of a Russian reserve; it has need of help from the outside. Is there such a reserve in the world? There is: the socialist proletariat in the West."

It was not until early 1917 that Lenin wrote of the possibility of the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat first in backward Russia, but in no way did this imply an isolated penurious "socialist" society. For the Bolsheviks

the dictatorship of the proletariat meant a bridge to revolution in the West. The conditions for the socialist revolution (creating the dictatorship of the proletariat) and for socialism (the abolition of classes) are not identical. That the dictatorship of the proletariat came first to Russia by no means implied that it would be the first to arrive at socialism.

This distinction was so clear that Stalin himself, in early 1924, wrote:

> "But the overthrow of the power of the *bourgeoisie* and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean that the complete victory of socialism has been ensured. The principle task of socialism—the organization of socialist production—has still to be fulfilled. Can this task be fulfilled, can the final victory of socialism be achieved in one country, without the joint efforts of the proletarians in several advanced countries? No, it cannot. To overthrow the bourgeoisie the efforts of one country are sufficient; this is proved by the history of our revolution. For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of a peasant country like Russia, are insufficient; for that the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are required."
>
> —J.V. Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism," May 1924

In subsequent editions this was replaced by the opposite thesis, namely that "we have all that is necessary for building a complete socialist society"!

It could not be more clear that the Bolshevik perspective was one of proletarian internationalism, completely and unalterably opposed to the doctrine of socialism in one country. The Stalinists search through volumes of Lenin's writings to pick out isolated quotations which will "prove" that Lenin, too, believed in the doctrine of socialism in one country. But if that were true, even ignoring the many times Lenin denied this, why did Stalin write in May 1924 the exact opposite? If "socialism in one country" were orthodox Bolshevism why didn't anyone discover this until late 1924?

The Stalinists' favorite "proof," quoted by Davidson, is from Lenin's 1915 article "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe":

> "As a separate slogan, however, the slogan of a United States of the World would hardly be a correct one, first, because it merges with socialism; second, because it may be wrongly interpreted to mean that the victory of socialism in a single country is impossible, and it may also create misconceptions as to the relations of such a country to the others.
>
> "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone. After expropriating the capitalists and organizing their own socialist production, the victorious proletariat of that country will arise *against* the rest of the world—the capitalist world—attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, stirring uprisings in those countries against the capitalists, and in case of need using even armed force against the exploiting classes and their states."

Taken in the context of all his other writings from this period, it is absolutely clear that Lenin is referring here not to a "socialist society" but to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, he was obviously referring to Europe, since in 1915 Lenin did not even admit the possibility of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia before a socialist revolution in the West!

PENGUIN

Members of Left Opposition on way to exile in Siberia in 1928. Seated are Radek (second from left), Trotsky (center). Upper left is Rakovsky.

The other main Stalinist "proof" is a quote from Lenin's 1923 article "On Cooperation":

> "Indeed, the power of the state over all large-scale means of production, political power in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured proletarian leadership of the peasantry, etc.—is this not all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society...?"

This article is limited to the *political* and *legal* prerequisites for socialism. Elsewhere ("Our Revolution," 1923) Lenin referred to the statement that "the development of the productive forces of Russia has not attained the level that makes socialism possible" as "incontrovertible," while polemicizing against the Mensheviks who concluded from this that a revolution was worthless.

The Productive Forces

During the 1930's, in a setting of high inflation, a reign of terror inside the Communist Party and a civil war with the peasants caused by Stalin's program of *forced* collectivization, the "complete victory of socialism" was announced. A resolution of the seventh congress of the Communist International (1935) declared that with the nationalization of industry, collectivization and liquidation of the kulaks as a class, "the final and irrevocable triumph of socialism and the all-sided reinforcement of the state of the proletarian dictatorship is achieved in the Soviet Union." In 1936 the program of the Communist Youth declared: "The whole national economy of the country has become socialist." A speaker favoring the new program argued:

> "The old program contains a deeply mistaken anti-Leninist assertion to the effect that Russia 'can arrive at socialism only through a world proletarian revolution.' This point of the program is basically wrong. It reflects Trotskyist views."

The old program, written in 1921 by Bukharin, was approved by the Politburo with the participation of Lenin!

In his article, Davidson tries to maintain a pretense of orthodoxy by stating that "Marxist-Leninists, of course, have never held that the final victory of socialism—the classless society—is possible in one country." By his own admission then, the Russian Communist Party of the 1930's, under Stalin, was not Marxist-Leninist!

Davidson also accuses Trotsky of holding a "right opportunist 'theory of productive forces'" as the basis for opposition to the slogan of socialism in one country. But this "theory of productive forces" is the very basis of Marxist materialist analysis of history! It was Marx himself who wrote:

> "this development of productive forces...is absolutely necessary as a practical premise [for socialism]: firstly for the reason that without it only *want* is made general, and with want the struggle for necessities and all the old crap would necessarily be reproduced; and, secondly, because only with this universal development of productive forces is a *universal* intercourse between men established.... Without this, (1) communism could only exist as a local event; (2) the forces of intercourse themselves could not have developed as universal, hence intolerable, powers...; and (3) each extension of intercourse would abolish local communism. Empirically, communism is only possible as the act of the dominant peoples 'all at once' or simultaneously, which presupposes the universal development of productive forces and the world intercourse bound up with them.
>
> —K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, 1847

Davidson ridicules these basic Marxist propositions (ascribing them instead to Khrushchev and Liu Shao-chi!), claiming:

> "Most socialist construction that has taken place in the world has been in relatively backward countries. But to call it 'socialism,' in Trotsky's view, would only 'hopelessly discredit the idea of socialist society in the eyes of the toiling masses.'"

This view, according to Davidson, is "patently ridiculous."

Just how "socialist" was the Soviet Union in the 1930's? While Russia had made great strides in industrialization, definitively proving the superiority of socialist organization of production even with the terrible restrictions imposed by Stalin's bureaucratic rule, it was still far behind the advanced capitalist countries. The most basic necessities—decent housing, adequate food and clothing—were still unavailable to the masses of the population. Inflation was rampant and a black market continued to exist. Meanwhile the bureaucracy used its power to secure its own well-being, which concretely meant high salaries, special shops, automobiles, country houses and many other privileges. Lenin had said that the dying away of the state would begin on the very day of the seizure of power. The proletarian state, which was still an organ of class rule, would cease to be a separate power above society but the instrument of the vast majority, carrying out their will and basing itself on their active participation. In the Soviet Union of 1935 the state had not begun to wither away, but had grown instead into a gigantic apparatus of suppression and compulsion.

This, Brother Davidson, is socialism? Even after Stalin's political counterrevolution the Soviet Union was still a great advance over the conditions of czarism and capitalism. It remained a workers state, in the sense of preserving socialist property forms, though badly degenerated. But the classless society (announced by Stalin's 1936 Constitution of the USSR) it was not.

Betrayal of the 1926 British General Strike

The most damning proof of the counterrevolutionary meaning of the doctrine of "socialism in one country" was in the field of Stalin's foreign policy and his systematic downplaying, and finally abolition (1943), of the Communist International in favor of blocs with the bourgeoisies of the various countries where revolution threatened. An immediate and graphic illustration of the real content of Stalinist "internationalism" was provided by the 1926 British general strike.

In 1925 British coal operators sought to terminate the 1924 contract and replace it with a new agreement which would reduce miners to a below-subsistence standard of living. After an official inquiry into the industry the government returned a report which would have placed the main burden of modernizing the coal industry on the miners. Their answer was a strike beginning on 3 May 1926. The next day the whole country was in the throes of

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THE MILITANT

Chinese Communists, militant workers being shot by Chiang Kai-shek's troops in 1927 Shanghai uprising. Stalin made Chiang honorary member of Comintern Executive, ordered workers to lay down guns.

Continued from page 3

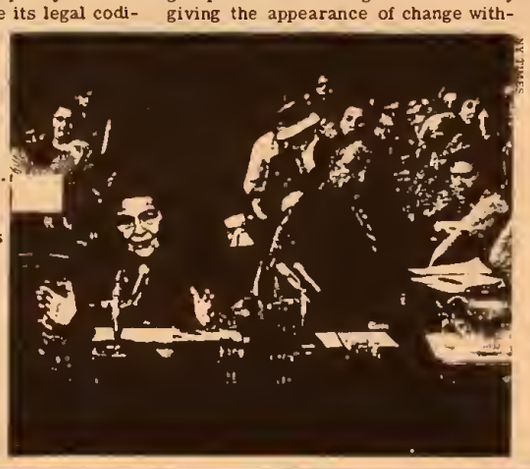
ERA...

talists maintain their power they will seek to utilize democratic laws and the legitimate desire for equality in ways that actually increase exploitation and division. Thus the "separate but equal" system of segregated schools was for half a century considered to be consistent with the 14th Amendment (then it was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1954, referring to the same article). Similarly the legitimate desire for equality was perverted by the ruling class into such schemes as the "Philadelphia Plan," whose real aim was not equality but the destruction of the construction unions; in fact, the plan caused deep antagonisms between white and black construction workers by proposing to eliminate the discrimination against hiring of minority workers in the building trades by taking jobs away from white workers (preferential hiring).

The principle of equality is important, if only because its legal codification would make clear the glaring abyss between the democratic pretensions of the bourgeois order and the actual reality of social oppression of women, minorities, youth, etc. How this principle is realized will be determined by the class struggle. As Marxists we know that the gains of the working class (wages, union contracts, legitimate protective legislation) cannot be defended primarily in the capitalist courts and legislatures, but by using labor's own methods of struggle. We also place class issues higher than abstract democratic demands. Thus if the probable central result of the ERA were to be the massive elimination of valuable labor laws, and if the workers movement were too weak to prevent this from happening, then we would certainly oppose the Amendment. But that is not the situation today. Although it is under the control of a corrupt, narrow-minded, self-serving, class-collaborationist, reactionary bureaucracy, the American labor movement has not suffered a decisive defeat. This is not a period of reaction down the line, but one in which the bourgeoisie is under pressure from the working class and various oppressed groups and is seeking to maneuver by giving the appearance of change without the substance. Though a distinct move to the right, the Nixon administration has not fundamentally broken from this pattern.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

Women aircraft workers during World War II.



Myra Wolfgang of Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union testifying against ERA. According to her, ERA supporters are "dealing with fantasies ... who is going to take care of the children?" Such arguments support status quo, deny importance of legal equality for women.

At this time, to oppose the ERA on the grounds that it could lead to the loss of protective legislation—as do the Communist Party, the International Socialists, the Revolutionary Union, the Class Struggle League and the AFL-CIO hierarchy—means declaring in advance a refusal to *struggle* to protect labor's gains. With the OL and IS this is a product of their petty-bourgeois workerism, which worships the class as it is today instead of fighting for the historic interests of the class. Inevitably this policy means accommodating to the bureaucracy as well, seeking out a comfortable niche within it as a respectable "left" critic, or attempting to replace the current bureaucracy with an alternative reformist leadership whose policies are fundamentally the same.

But let us even grant that some left-wing opponents of the ERA may be motivated by concern for working women: the fear that one effect of the ERA will be to embolden employers to intensify the exploitation of women workers now covered by whatever pitifully inadequate legal protection exists. Even so, opposition to the ERA is a mistake. For unlike ultra-left workerists who proudly proclaim that they have no interest in legalistic reforms like the ERA, Marxists recognize that struggles for bourgeois-democratic rights are of profound interest to the workers movement. Thus the Dreyfus case in 19th-century France was not merely a denial of democratic rights to an officer in the military, but was in fact a mobilization of reactionaries and anti-Semites which conditioned the entire climate of opinion and affected every layer of society. The civil rights movement of the 1960's—a thoroughly reformist movement under bourgeois leadership—was nonetheless a reflection of the legitimate aspirations of millions of black working people. The proletarian revolutionists cannot take

Continued from page 1

U.S./USSR Detente Doomed

buying out French firms. Rueff's solution was a return to the gold standard and a doubling of the price of gold. To put pressure on to achieve such a system, the French demanded payment of gold from U.S. reserves, refusing to hold dollars. Obviously this could go only so far, until at some point the U.S. became worried that it would lose its gold reserves which would be a key asset in the event of an economic "crash"; then something would have to happen.

Rueff and De Gaulle, however, refused to understand that a rigid gold standard would almost automatically turn recessions into sharp depressions. According to their reasoning a loss in gold would automatically reduce the export prices of a particular country, thus making its products more competitive, leading to higher exports and a return of gold. However, under conditions of monopoly capitalism prices are often quite insensitive to monetary pressures. And a gold standard would make it impossible for governments to pursue expansionist monetary policies during downturns in the business cycle. Instead they would have to deflate, restricting credit and overall demand, and in general doing just what most governments did during 1929-1932, with predictable results. To adopt such policies a government would have to virtually destroy the unions, since large wage cuts would be called for periodically, and this is fundamentally not possible under conditions of bourgeois democracy. It is no accident that only the (decaying) bonapartist De Gaulle regime seriously contemplated this solution.

Nevertheless, these maneuvers and the constantly deteriorating U.S. trade position brought the dollar under considerable pressure, to which Nixon replied by the successive devaluations of the U.S. currency since August 1971. (The value of the dollar relative to the mark has gone down by 30 percent in the last year alone.) This devaluation, however, was accomplished not by a drastic rise in gold prices and a return to the gold standard, but by freeing the dollar from any tie to gold (and thus to real value) at all. In the short run, this strengthened the U.S. trade position at the expense of other countries, notably Japan. But in the long run, it signals a period of wildly fluctuating speculative shifts in currency values such as occurred recently during the early stages of the Watergate crisis. The effect of anarchy in the world monetary system with the economy still in a boom has been minimal. At a time of economic crisis resulting from overproduction of capital, monetary chaos will accentuate the breakdown in world trade and the tendency to protectionism and will severely compound the crisis.

Thus while the Gaullist monetary policies led to a certain relative strengthening of France's position, the Pompidou regime wisely decided not to push the policy to the point of provoking a crisis—for this would result in a crash which would hurt French capitalism as well as the U.S.

Japan has been the fastest growing capitalist power in recent years, and the one whose trade relations with the U.S. most adversely affect the latter's balance of payments. For these reasons, in the long run Japan will likely be a strong opponent of the U.S. in the imperialist blocs which are beginning to take shape. In the short run, however, Japan is tightly attached to the U.S. economy and simply cannot make a sharp break without provoking a domestic depression. Thus in 1970 roughly 34 percent of Japan's imports and exports were with the U.S., compared to 28 percent for all of Asia and the Middle East (including oil from U.S. companies in those regions). Most of Japan's exports are technologically advanced manufactures for which the principal markets are the developed capitalist countries, i.e., the U.S. or Europe, as opposed to Southeast Asia. Perhaps most significantly, the vast majority of Japan's monetary reserves is in dollars (whereas the U.S.' reserves are 70 percent gold). Moreover, until recently the political structure of the country, and particularly the army, have been clearly dominated by the U.S. A sharp break with U.S. imperialism in the immediate future would be disastrous.

Tasks of the Workers Movement

In the immediate period, as inter-imperialist rivalries are in their developing stages, a fundamental task of the workers movement will be a consistent fight against economic protectionism of any sort. Workers must understand that the bosses' propaganda of "Buy American" is actually laying the groundwork for World War III. The axis of our struggle against economic nationalism must be around unity in action by the national contingents of the world proletariat—not support for the jingoistic trade-union bureaucracy, but for the formation of a militant international trade-union federation based on class-struggle policies.

The current situation is by no means stable. A sharp crisis of overproduction, in conjunction with the highly unstable monetary system, can lead to a sharp reduction of world trade and massive unemployment and jingoistic nationalism in every country. Proletarian revolutionaries must know how to turn the discontent arising from the misery which the capitalist crisis produces into class consciousness, by posing a program to fight the capitalists, not other workers: For a sliding scale of wages and hours; opposition to economic protectionism; international strike action; nationalization of industry under workers control; immediate withdrawal of the U.S. from Southeast Asia; dump the bureaucrats, for a labor party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government! In the words of Marx and Engels, "every class struggle is a political struggle." This basic truth of Marxism, doubly true today, must be absorbed by militants who would build a *class* opposition to the present ruling class and its bootlickers, the labor bureaucracy. ■

a hands-off attitude toward reforms like the Civil Rights Act or the ERA. Legalistic and tokenistic affirmations of equality must be *transcended* in struggle, not opposed.

For the edification of those who profess disinterest in democratic reforms, we would like to quote a passage from Friedrich Engels, who well understood the limited nature of formal legal equality of the sexes, but also recognized the value of official affirmations of democratic rights in exposing the actual material roots of female oppression—capitalism and its basic economic unit, the family:

> "The peculiar character of man's domination over woman in the modern family, and the necessity as well as the manner of establishing real social equality between the two, will be brought out into full relief only when both are completely equal before the law. It will then become evident that the first premise for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry; and that this again demands that the quality possessed by the individual family of being the economic unit of society be abolished."
>
> —*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

After 50 years, the ERA was finally passed by the necessary two-thirds majority of Congress in 1972. It is presently in danger of defeat as a result of negative votes by southern legislatures (it must be ratified by 38 states within seven years to become law). The defeat of the ERA would be a victory for reaction. At the same time we warn against the inevitable attempts of employers and anti-union forces to use the law to eliminate protective legislation, and call on the unions to fight this by organizing the unorganized, pressing for the extension of real protections (such as a prohibition of compulsory overtime) to men and declaring political strikes if the courts rule in favor of the capitalists. The emancipation of the working class will be the act of the working class itself.■

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CWA Convention...

al (most offenses are handled locally) for:

> "Wilfully supporting or assisting any and all corrupting influences or the undermining effects of Communist agencies or others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and Democratic Unionism."

Known for his supposed "opposition" to Beirne, Kirkpatrick claimed he was the only president in his district who opposed the last contract settlement (1971), calling it a "sellout." This "militant" wanted to hand Beirne a hatchet with which to chop any oppositionist whose *ideas* were considered subversive—such as the idea that Beirne's contracts are sellouts! Beirne has split many locals and helped blacklist local leaders for just such ideas carried a bit too far for his liking.

The Constitution Committee found Kirkpatrick's wording a little too reminiscent of the witchhunting of the 1950's, however, so it proposed language of its own. In its version:

> "Wilfully engaging in activities for the purpose of disrupting Local meetings; wilfully publishing untruths about any Local or its elected officers; or wilfully filing false charges under the Union Constitution or Local Bylaws against any member of the Union."

That its intentions were identical to Kirkpatrick's, despite the tidied-up language, was revealed in the Committee's motivation for the amendment:

> "There are, however, small groups of persons who have occasionally during the history of Labor convinced themselves that they know better than the membership itself, that because they contend the members are incapable of making proper decisions about their own lives, that the Democratic procedures must be vacated and that any means to their end are the proper ones. The result, when this kind of situation is permitted to continue, is a flaunting of the members' desires, the destruction of Union Democracy, and the subversion of Local Unions to the private purposes of special interest groups."

The Constitution Committee, moreover, printed both versions of the amendment in its report, making clear the purpose of the final wording, and objecting to the original version only on grounds that it was "far too broad in scope."

But the fact is that it is not the militant oppositionists but precisely the bureaucrats who have been guilty of "flaunting the members' desires, the destruction of union democracy, and the subversion of Local Unions to the private purposes of special interest groups." In Local 9415, it is the bureaucrats who have adjourned meetings against the will (and vote) of the membership. It is the bureaucrats who refused to support a wildcat in 1971 despite its overwhelming support by the membership. It is the bureaucrats who published in the local's *Labor News* a cowardly and vicious, red-baiting, sex-baiting, "anonymous" slander letter directed against members of the Militant Action Caucus. It is the bureaucrats who involved themselves in physical attacks on union members. And it is the bureaucrats who for months have prevented the election of shop stewards despite the fact that this was voted for by the vast majority of the membership last November!

In Kirkpatrick's Local 9410, it was President Kirkpatrick himself—this splendid champion of union democracy—who declared at a meeting last month that only "over my dead body" will the members get the right to elect their own stewards.

Nothing could be more ludicrous than the claim of this rotten union leadership, which refuses to fight for even minimal contract demands and which has never shirked from violating any democratic procedure which stood in the way of its own appetites, that its concern is the preservation of union democracy and the protection of the membership from "corrupting influences."

No! The real concerns of the bureaucrats are to keep the membership ignorant and quiet, unable to protest one betrayal after another by their "leaders." Some elements of the bureaucracy wanted to begin laying the groundwork for the upcoming 1974 contract fight by getting rid of all the troublesome opposition within the union. As they gear up for another great sellout in the Beirne tradition, they are acutely aware that their ability to consummate a deal with the bourgeoisie and force it down the throats of the membership will depend on their ability to silence militancy in the ranks, preferably through physical expulsion. And the time to start is now.

The Militant Action Caucus, *Yellow Pages* (San Francisco), *Bell Wringer* (Oakland) and the United Action Caucus (New York) backed a "No on 19-2C" Committee in order to fight this amendment. The Committee circulated a petition against the amendment and raised money to send two representatives to the convention to leaflet, petition and persuade delegates to vote against the amendment. Members of the MAC initiated the Committee and carried the brunt of the work from the outset, while others in the Committee took a more or less passive attitude. Of the $125.00 which the Committee raised to help send representatives to Miami (both members of the MAC), *Yellow Pages* supporters contributed only $5.00. The United Action Caucus in New York refused to take part in the struggle at all, beyond a pro-forma endorsement. Another opposition group, the Traffic Jam caucus (San Francisco) showed up for one meeting of the "No on 19-2C" Committee and left after about a half hour with no explanation. Faced with direct attack on the very right to opposition, launched by the president of their own local, they do nothing at all. Nor have recent issues of the newspapers of the Revolutionary Union, Progressive Labor or the International Socialists, who support these caucuses, seen fit to campaign against this witchhunting attack.

The two representatives of "No on 19-2C" did find support at the convention, however, particularly from some CWA members from Washington, D.C. and Atlanta, Georgia. The Atlanta phone workers had, like the members of the MAC, been brought up on charges within their local for "bringing the union into disrepute" (i.e., criticizing the local leadership).

A leaflet was issued against 19-2C and all parties who wished to participate in the struggle were encouraged to distribute it and to contact potentially sympathetic delegates. By aggressively pushing the issue other CWA members were found to help distribute the leaflet and numerous delegates were contacted, several of whom later spoke on the floor against the amendment. Overall the Committee's intervention had a noticeable impact. The failure of the amendment to win approval is due in large part to the efforts of this group and, even more, to the MAC, which had initiated the fight on the West Coast and had carried it through with persistence and determination. The final rejection of 19-2C was the act of a majority of CWA delegates. The delegates had been assured repeatedly—by Beirne (!) particularly—that the CWA was the most democratic union in the world. It was to this tradition that those opposing what was essentially a gag rule successfully appealed in their remarks during the debate (which took up most of one day). Local leaders had their own reasons to oppose the amendment, however. They were faced with certain contradictions: while it would have been nice to get rid of the militants, it would have given the International leadership an added handle to intervene in local affairs (since trial bodies under the amendment would be selected by the International).

Moreover, Beirne himself played a relatively passive role in the discussion. From his point of view there was no need to antagonize the local bureaucrats at this point by pushing the amendment through, there was the desire to project a liberal image and also a certain reluctance to deal with the flood of charges and counter-charges which would certainly engulf the International following adoption of the amendment. Much better to let the local leaders clean their own houses. Nevertheless, his concluding speech attempted to console those who had fought for the amendment and to gear them up for a fight against the militants (whom he called "commie bastards") in the coming period.

The defeat of the amendment was an important victory for all militants in CWA. The Militant Action Caucus, which led the struggle against 19-2C, has continually pointed out the need for a full political program to fight the CWA bureaucracy. This is borne out by the current red-baiting and the 19-2C amendment. The union leadership is firmly wedded to the capitalist system and will do everything necessary to protect it, from supporting wage-freezes and expelling militants on trumped-up charges to sponsoring secret CIA-funded operations (as Beirne did for years). To fight the bosses and their agents in the unions down the line the MAC calls for nationalization of the phone company under workers control, full union democracy, ousting the bureaucrats and building a labor party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. An integral part of this program is the need for a united-front defense of victimized militants and opposition to witchhunting in the unions. MAC put this section of its program into practice by initiating the "No on 19-2C" Committee and by taking the fight to the delegates at the CWA convention itself.

For MAC, the convention experience was important also because it exposed their program and strategy to other militants throughout the entire country and indicated the need for a national Militant Action Caucus within CWA. In the immediate future, the caucus is planning a series of forums to discuss the CWA convention, as well as MAC's program and strategy for trade-union struggle in general. A regular newsletter is also planned. More information concerning these activities, as well as MAC literature, can be obtained by writing to:

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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...Peronism

ure to present a clear alternative to the Peronists has become actively dangerous. In late May the PST attended a meeting with Cámpora which, according to the PST itself, "was a great meeting of the parties and organizations of the Argentine bosses to give their support to Cámpora's proposals." The PST's position was that all the government's acts which develop toward the workers' interests would be given critical support. "Without confusing the banners, Dr. Cámpora can count on our proletarian solidarity" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 May-6 June 1973). Cámpora-Perón begin gearing up for a crackdown on the "Trotskyists" and PST leader Juan Carlos Coral promises the PST's critical support for the positive measures of the Cámpora government!

Córdoba uprising in May 1969.

AVANZADA SOCIALISTA

Política Obrera and the Anti-Imperialist United Front

The Política Obrera group has made a number of correct criticisms of the PST, in particular of its reformist program. These criticisms are flawed, however, by two decisive errors. The first is its evaluation of Peronism. PO constantly leaves the door open to considering Peronism, or left-Peronism, as part of the workers movement (with which, consequently, Trotskyists could form a united front). Thus the FREJULI is characterized as "a coalition of Peronism with the pro-imperialist industrial bourgeoisie, on the latter's program, and of conciliation with the key wings of the military government" (*Política Obrera*, 12 February 1973). In fact, the FREJULI is simply the Peronist party, a bourgeois party just as were the Partido Peronista and even the Partido Laborista in their times. Moreover, PO termed the FREJULI victory in the March elections "an unquestionable triumph of the working class against the military *gorila* clique" (*Política Obrera*, 19 March 1973)!

The second, related, error concerns PO's call for an "anti-imperialist united front":

> "By their immediate programmatic content the political fronts which the revolutionary party establishes in the backward and semi-colonial countries are anti-imperialist fronts. It could not occur otherwise, as long as the axis of the class alliance which the working class leads is effected around the democratic tasks, uncompleted by the bourgeoisie, and national independence."
> —*Política Obrera*, 23 October 1972

The fundamental error of this analysis is simply that it throws Trotskyism overboard. The essential point of the theory of permanent revolution is that the struggle cannot be limited to the democratic tasks, that even to achieve agrarian reform, national independence and other democratic demands it is necessary to establish the dictatorship of the *proletariat*, supported by the peasantry. It is possible to form a front with bourgeois forces who are willing to fight against a particular imperialist power, but such a front is essentially military and is sharply distinguished from the tactic of a *working-class* united front.

The most concrete realization of the "anti-imperialist front" which PO envisions is the so-called "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" which was entered in early 1972 by the Bolivian POR, with which the PO is in close political agreement. This front, which expressly proclaimed its purpose as the taking of power, included within it General Juan José Torres (the previous president) and the former chief-of-staff of the Bolivian Army! Despite a few words about socialism in the program, this is a clear *popular front*, a coalition of the workers parties with the bourgeoisie and a direct betrayal of the struggle for working-class independence.

This is no academic discussion in Argentina. In response to General Lanusse's call for a Gran Encuentro Nacional and Perón's La Hora del Pueblo, the Communist Party was pushing its own popular front, the Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos (ENA—National Meeting of the Argentines). In its articles on the CP, Política Obrera consistently criticizes the ENA for its bourgeois program (essentially unity of all forces opposed to the military dictatorship, defense of private property, etc.) and for its leading candidates (the bourgeois Radicals Sueldo and Alende), but not for its character as a popular front! Instead, PO proposes a more militant "anti-imperialist" popular front with candidates selected by "a general assembly of the parties which claim to fight against imperialism and the dictatorship" which would also determine the program! The whole discussion clearly implies that a bloc with the bourgeoisie in backward countries is a permissible tactic for a Trotskyist party, a position which will eventually result in a bloc with Peronism ("Por que el Partido comunista vota una alternativa reaccionaria," 1973).

In Argentina, the struggle for the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie is above all the struggle against Peronism. In this struggle we cannot simply ignore the Peronist labor bureaucracy. We can propose united fronts in struggles for particular objectives; we can call on the CGT to fight for a revolutionary program of transitional demands. But we cannot extend this front to include Perón/Cámpora and the Peronist party (at present the FREJULI), for the purpose of the united front is to separate the working class from the bourgeoisie. A *popular* front with Perón (or Torres in Bolivia) has precisely the opposite effect, leading to betrayals for which the working masses pay with their blood. ■

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SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

a general strike. Councils of action were set up in the workers' districts to keep up morale and control the issuing of permits for emergency work or special transport. This was not simply an industrial dispute but a direct attack on the bosses' state.

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress, which had been entrusted with the conduct of the strike, called it off after nine days and at the height of its effectiveness, frightened by its revolutionary implications. Men going back to work found themselves blacklisted or accepted back only on terms including reduction in wages, loss of seniority or leaving the unions. On 13 May a second general strike occurred over the victimizations, but after conciliatory speeches from the TUC leaders—*and having no alternative leadership*—the men again returned to work. The miners stayed out until a series of separate agreements made between 23 and 29 December, but they were forced by the treachery of the trade-union tops to fight alone. The owners won on all counts: the national contract was lost and miners had to work longer hours for lower wages.

During the temporary retreat of the class struggle in Europe during 1924-25 Stalin decided to try and make peace with the reformist trade-union leaders, possibly abandoning the Red International of Labor Unions. The keystone to this policy was the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, a bloc between the Soviet trade unions and the General Council of the British TUC, formed in May 1925. After the General Council betrayed the 1926 general strike, Trotsky demanded an immediate rupture with these strikebreakers. Stalin and Bukharin refused. (Zinoviev had at this point joined the Opposition, though he was to capitulate to Stalin two years later.) In 1926 the General Council supported British imperialism's repression of the Chinese revolution. Trotsky again demanded the denunciation of the Anglo-Russian Committee. Again Stalin refused.

When it finally succumbed in 1927 it was the *British* leaders who dumped the Committee. Its principal aim had supposedly been to oppose British intervention in Russia. As a logical extension of the doctrine of socialism in one country, this mythical aid from the labor fakers was sufficient grounds for sacrificing the 1926 general strike.

Stalin Orders Chinese Communists to their Graves

Another even more horrifying example of the meaning of socialism in one country was Stalin's policy in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. As early as 1924 the Chinese Communist Party

Continued from page 12

...Jersey Ford

mum of support from the ranks. In leallet alter leaflet, Reilly denounced "outside organizations" which he claimed were seeking to "get control of and use this to further their own alien ideas." Only a month earlier, Reilly's guns had been aimed at his own vice-president, Gardner. Reilly tried to link Gardner with alleged perpetrators of "the lowest form of unsigned, union-busting lies; being paid for by outside forces..." Reilly continued:

> "This lying filth is written by the ex-President Resnick with the assistance of my Vice President, who have joined forces together to try again to take control of this Local."
>
> —undated leaflet signed by Reilly

Such bogey-man smear tactics come naturally to bureaucrats like Reilly, who use them to stay in power despite their records of inaction, betrayals and complete lack of program. In such a situation, the attitude of Progressive Labor and the PL-supported Workers Action Movement (WAM) was absurd to the point of being criminal. WAM leallets at the plant urged the handful of militants to shut the plant down no matter what, as though a few relatively unknown militants (especially to the day shift) could substitute for recognized leadership and the participation of the bulk of the workers, in the face of official sabotage. Meanwhile, PL's *Challenge* helped the company find its victims by bragging that WAM members had led the walkout!

While PL was urging the militants to self-destruct, the Rank and File Committee, which is supported by the Communist Party's *Daily World*, also sought to bypass the question of leadership, although in a different way, by appearing indistinguishable from the official leadership. A leaflet inspired mainly by the RFC said, "A Saturday meeting at the Hall which was attended by the top officers and 150 members expressed the same determination [to close down production]." It was unsigned, except for a "Local 906" designation, and while it didn't explicitly call for a strike, it thus implied official support for a strike—which is exactly what Reilly had allowed the militants at the meeting to think so that they would over-extend themselves and fall to make their own preparations! This attempt to pressure the local bureaucracy only helped build Reilly's trap.

The *Daily World* summed up the same approach later (28 June) in its report of the 23 June union meeting:

> "Spurred by membership action, the leaders of Local 906 of the United Auto Workers at the Ford plant here have pledged to win the reinstatement of Dave Gardner, its fired vice-president."

What they actually did was concentrate on Gardner and dodge the issues, alter having sabotaged a strike which alone could have secured action on *all* the victimized militants. In the end, the "militant" Gardner had only the same program to offer as his red-baiting rival: not militant action, in defiance of the International if necessary, but passive reliance on the International to carry out the usual impotent bureaucratic procedures to save some of the victims. The only difference between Gardner and Reilly was that many of the militants would listen to Gardner. As for the other grievances, such as the beat in the plant, only more of the same old promises!

What It Takes to Win

For a strike in defiance of both the local and International bureaucracies to succeed, mass mobilization of the workers is required, so that their support for the action is unquestionable, and a truly authoritative leadership can be elected. To bring this about, there must exist the nucleus of a leadership with the correct orientation to conduct the initial propaganda and mobilization. But such a nucleus, or caucus, will make mistakes if it fails to recognize in advance that the bureaucracy will sell out sooner or later, for the bureaucracy is committed to the maintenance of capitalism and must betray the workers in order to survive. The goal of replacing the reformist bureaucracy with revolutionary leadership must be clearly in the caucus' sights. Otherwise it will inevitably try to go around the established leadership, through the adventurism of small handfuls, or build false confidence in a section of the bureaucracy, thereby enabling the bureaucrats to better disarm and smash the movement.

The CP disagrees. Complaining of what it calls "'Left' groups" whose sole purpose is to expose the leadership rather than "treating the company as the enemy," it continues:

> "Some of our own comrades have the same hangup. They say that the main obstacle of taking on the company is the union leadership and that until you get rid of the leadership you can't fight the company. The trouble with this approach is that with no struggles against the company no rank-and-file leaders emerge in whom the workers can have any confidence."
>
> —*Political Affairs*, June 1973

But successful struggle against the companies and the capitalist system as a whole depends on the replacement of the treacherous trade-union bureaucracy, which otherwise will use its control of the unions to derail all struggles —by everything from sitting on wage boards to smashing wildcat strikes. So long as the sellout bureaucracy remains in power, the union ranks cannot be welded into a united fighting force against the class enemy. If militants attempt to substitute themselves for an aroused union under class-conscious leadership, they will merely set themselves up to be picked off by the company and the bureaucracy in tandem. Their determination will bear fruit only if it is joined to a struggle to construct a new union leadership to coordinate their struggles instead of sabotaging them. The road to victory lies through the formation of a caucus based on a full class-struggle program which can offer leadership in concrete struggles in the context of a full program, directly counterposed to that of the bureaucracy, to turn the union movement toward a revolutionary struggle against capitalism. ■

Defend Workers Democracy

On 12 June salesmen of the *Bay Area Worker*, a paper supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Union, physically attacked *Workers Vanguard* salesmen outside the Fremont, California GM plant. *BAW* supporters approached with rocks and pieces of glass, trying to grab papers away from *WV* comrades. Embarrassed to be seen by the workers, the cowards stopped their attacks during the shift change, afterwards resuming the harassment and finally following the *WV* sales team to its car to try to prevent it from leaving. RU supporters had previously threatened *WV* salesmen at Fremont in April and have physically excluded the SL/RCY from several recent Bay Area demonstrations.

These violent tactics are simply a manifestation of the frustration resulting from this organization's inability to *politically* defend its betrayals especially its trade-union policies. The RU's present strategy is to seek the absorption of its members into the local bureaucracies by uncritically supporting the local leaderships, thus cooperating in their sellouts of the membership. *Workers Vanguard's* exposure of the nature of these betrayals has become so threatening to the RU that it attempts to keep auto workers from reading our paper.

While the SL stands unconditionally for workers democracy and does not initiate attacks on the left, we are hardly pacifists and will defend our right to distribute our literature; acts aimed at our intimidation will result only in the further discredit and regret of their perpetrators. We call on all tendencies in the labor movement to condemn the *BAW*/RU attacks and to aid in the physical defense of our comrades. It is once again necessary to firmly establish the precedent of workers democracy and unity to ensure the free exchange of political ideas—the life-blood of the workers movement. From the struggle for program will emerge the road leading to proletarian power.

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had entered the populist bourgeois Kuomintang party of Sun Yat-sen on orders from Moscow. Trotsky objected when the matter was discussed then at the Politburo. The Chinese CP leadership under Chen Tu-hsiu likewise repeatedly objected. In October 1925 they proposed preparing to leave the Kuomintang; the plan was turned down by the Comintern Executive on Stalin's instructions. Stalin's line was that the revolution must be restricted to a bourgeois-democratic stage, under the leadership of a "bloc of four classes" including the national bourgeoisie, urban petty bourgeoisie, workers and peasants. The political expression of this bloc was the Kuomintang, to which the Chinese Communists were to subordinate themselves. They were directed to hold down the class struggle against the "anti-imperialist bourgeoisie" in the cities and seek a balance between them and the peasant movement in the countryside, above all maintaining the unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

Stalin's main interest in China at the time was not to foster revolution but to achieve a diplomatic bloc with the Kuomintang government. In early 1926 this bourgeois party was admitted to the Communist International as an associate party, and the CI Executive Committee, the "General Staff of World Revolution," elected Sun's successor General Chiang Kai-shek an honorary member! Only a few weeks later, on 20 March, Chiang carried out his first anti-communist coup, barring CP members from all leadership posts in the Kuomintang and demanding a list of all CP members who had joined the Kuomintang. Under orders from CI representatives, the Chinese party leadership agreed! In October 1926 Stalin actually sent a telegram urging the Chinese CP to call off a peasant revolt in Kwangtung province. Trotsky commented on this:

> "The official subordination of the Communist Party to the bourgeois leadership, and the official prohibition of forming soviets (Stalin and Bukharin taught that the Kuomintang 'took the place of' soviets) was a grosser and more glaring betrayal of Marxism than all the deeds of the Mensheviks in the years 1905-1917."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Permanent Revolution," 1928

This was bad enough, but alter a challenge from the Left Opposition headed by Trotsky and Zinoviev, and during the crucial days of the Shanghai insurrection which began in March 1927, Stalin again and again reaffirmed the policy of capitulating to the nationalists while the latter were preparing to liquidate the communists. A March 1927 editorial in the *Communist International* said the main task in China was "the further development of the Kuomintang." On 5 April Trotsky warned that Chiang Kai-shek was preparing a quasi-bonapartist coup against the workers and called for the formation of workers councils to frustrate this aim. At the same time Stalin boasted at a party meeting in Moscow that "we would use the Chinese bourgeoisie and then throw it away like a squeezed lemon." Also at this time the Chinese CP leadership was appealing to Moscow, trying to impress the CI with the significance of the Shanghai events, the greatest workers' rising in Asia, and with the need to break with the Kuomintang. They were ordered to surrender Shanghai to Chiang's armies, and on 12 April the Kuomintang army carried out a massacre which cost the lives of tens of thousands of Communists and militant workers who had laid down their arms at Stalin's orders. This was "socialism in one country" in practice!

But still Stalin would not abandon his policy and, declaring that the alliance with Chiang had now lapsed (!), he now ordered a bloc with the left-Kuomintang which had set up a government at Wuhan. Again Chinese Communists were ordered to hold back the peasant movement in order not to antagonize the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie. And again the bourgeois nationalists turned on the CP. At the end of the year Stalin moved to head off criticism of his Chinese policy from the Left Opposition by ordering an uprising in Canton by telegraph in a tactical situation where it was bound to suffer defeat, which it did despite the heroic defense of the "soviet government" by the Canton workers.

According to Davidson, "the Comintern advocated a policy put into practice independently by Mao and ignored or opposed by both Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao." In actual fact Mao did not criticize the line followed by Chen in this period. At one point (fall 1924) he was expelled from the CP Central Committee for his too-close cooperation with the right-wing Kuomintang leaders!

While the Opposition's line on China had been firmly defeated in the thoroughly bureaucratized Russian Communist Party and the Comintern, it was still dangerous to Stalin to have Trotsky at freedom in the Soviet capital. In consequence he ordered the arrest of the organizer of the October Revolution and founder of the Red Army, exiling him to Alma Ata in Central Asia and deporting him from the USSR two years later. The Bolshevik party had been transformed from the leading revolutionary force in the world into a mere appendage of Stalin's bureaucracy. When Davidson and the Maoists today support the doctrine of socialism in one country, it is this history of betrayals that they are defending. ■

Class-Struggle Alternative for the Trade Unions

Speakers:

KATHLEEN BURNHAM
Militant Action Caucus, CWA

MARK SMALL
SL Central Committee

Sunday, 22 July at 7:30 p.m.
Auspices: Spartacist League
For further information:
653-4668

PLACE TO BE ANNOUNCED

MAC LEADS STRUGGLE

CWA Convention Rejects Gag Rule Amendment

WV PHOTO

Opponents of anti-red clause leafletting at CWA convention.

A vicious assault on union democracy, spearheaded by California local bureaucrats of the Communication Workers of America, was defeated by a close vote at the CWA convention in June. The local officials, headed by the "militant" Kirkpatrick of San Francisco, proposed to give Joe Beirne's die-hard anti-communist International bureaucracy the constitutional power to persecute "reds" and "disrupters" in any local of the union, thereby greatly expanding the International's disciplinary powers. The defeat of this red-clause constitutional amendment was a victory for all union militants.

A crucial role in stopping this atrocity was played by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Oakland Local 9415. MAC initiated a "No on 19-2C" Committee which was joined by other oppositional groupings and individuals, and attended the convention in order to muster support against the proposal.

While the red clause was drafted by Kirkpatrick, it was eagerly supported by the other California local bureaucrats. One of their chief targets was MAC, which had recently defeated a lame attempt by discredited bureaucrats in the Oakland local to bring some of its members up on phony charges of "bringing the union into disrepute" (see *WV* Nos. 16 and 17, February and March 1973). These elements and others like them wanted a new club with which to beat down oppositions which exposed their rotten role. So armed, they hoped to be able to cling to office no matter what. Most delegates correctly saw this as a threat to them, however, since it could be used by the International to stifle any opposition.

Anti-Communism and Class-Collaboration

The posh Fontainbleau Hotel in Miami Beach was the scene of CWA's 35th annual convention—an appropriate setting for bureaucrats to ignore the pressing problems of the membership. While some of the 2,600 delegates had been elected by the membership of CWA, most attained delegate status merely by virtue of their positions in the local hierarchy. Thus the Militant Action Caucus waged a pre-convention struggle within Local 9415 for elected delegates, but bureaucratic manipulation prevented the issue from coming to the floor.

While profuse lip service was paid to democracy and freedom of expression for all points of view, the convention reeked of the vicious anti-communism of the CWA bureaucracy and its staunch support for the capitalist system in general and the cold-war liberals in particular. Telegrams from Senators McGovern and Humphrey, leading supporters of government wage controls and compulsory arbitration, as well as from other similar "friends of labor" were read from the rostrum, while awards were given to those CWA members who had raised the most money for the Democratic Party through the CWA's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

In discussing Nixon's wage freeze, a violation of every union contract in the United States and an attack on the union's position as sole bargaining agent for its members, CWA President Joseph Beirne, who has publicly called for Nixon's impeachment, commented only that the controls should be fair! The CWA bureaucracy has never taken up a struggle against the wage freeze and, in fact, the AFL-CIO executive board, of which Beirne is a Vice-President, actually called for wage controls even before Phase I was announced. Until the spring of 1972, Beirne also sat on the government's Productivity Advisory Board, which concerned itself with devising new and more efficient ways to exploit workers, and it was not until February of this year that the *C.W.A. News* called for an end to the Economic Stabilization Act—Beirne and the rest of the labor bureaucracy helped to create this act and now Beirne asks that the controls be "fair"!

One of the gravest threats facing the membership of CWA at this time, as it is facing the working class as a whole, is increasing automation, which under capitalism, because of the widespread unemployment it engenders, must take the form of a curse instead of a blessing. Not one of the resolutions placed before the membership even touched upon this critical problem. The delegates were instead encouraged to discuss and vote on such issues as year-round daylight saving time, testimonials to the memory of Presidents Truman and Johnson and support for Radio Free Europe.

The politically most controversial convention discussion centered on the "anti-red" amendment, clause 19-2C of the International Constitution.

According to the proposal originally put forward by Kirkpatrick, union members could be fined, suspended or expelled by trial set up by the Internation-

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Walkout Defeated at Jersey Ford

UAW Leaders Set Up Militants

As the ponderous bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers moves slowly toward the opening of formal bargaining in mid-July with the Big 3 auto companies, rank-and-file auto workers around the country are increasingly restive. Walkouts and wildcat strikes over heat, speed-up grievances and firings have increased, and local union elections in many locations have indicated growing dissatisfaction with existing leadership. The cornerstone of the UAW leadership's policy, however, has been to curb militancy through breaking strikes locally, refusing formal strike sanctions and red-baiting militants, so that Woodcock's gang can enter the negotiations with the "proud" boast to the companies: "Our union has proven its responsibility..." (Woodcock to UAW Forge and Foundry Conference, *UAW Solidarity*, June 1973).

Wildcat strikes have mushroomed briefly at Jefferson Ave. and Hamtramck Assembly Chrysler plants in Detroit, Chrysler in Fenton, Missouri, Ford at Mahwah, New Jersey and GM at Norwood and Lordstown, Ohio, in past months. A formal strike vote taken at Lordstown Local 1112 over an accumulation of over 4,000 speed-up grievances was approved by 88 percent of those voting. Brief walkouts over heat and other grievances have occurred at many more plants. At Dodge Main in Detroit, 11 workers were fired after a walkout over a speed-up grievance. The local leadership attempted to finger some militants as "revolutionaries" a few days later, as if "revolutionaries" were the cause of the discontent. The local struggles have been consistently frowned on and squelched by local leaders at the behest of the International, which holds up as examples the long, demoralizing Lordstown and Norwood strikes (which the International sabotaged through isolation) to discourage militancy.

Company Provocations at Ford

This strategy plays into the hands of the companies. Managements have been taking advantage of the situation to fire militants and provoke hopeless confrontations which serve only to expend the energies of the best militants, demoralize them and reinforce cynicism and disgust with the union. Ford, still projected as the target company for a possible strike when the contract expires in September, has scored heavily in this way at its Mahwah plant, thus weakening in advance one of the best potential centers of strike militancy.

A walkout in April led to suspensions for 84 participants. Around the same time there were three firings and two disciplinary layoffs of militants in the plant. Despite massive sentiment for a militant defense of all the victims throughout May, the Reilly leadership of Local 906 restrained the ranks from taking any action. Two walkouts over heat in early June resulted in the firing of two more workers, Larry Goldbetter and Local Vice-President Dave Gardner, for allegedly leading the walkouts. Gardner had already been trying to groom his image as a "militant" alternative to Reilly, and as the spokesman of the more militant black and Latin workers concentrated primarily on the second shift. His firing set off a move for a strike to defend all the accumulated victims, which succeeded in shutting down the second shift for one day (see *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973).

From that point on, however, it was all downhill. An unofficial meeting attended by the union officials was marked by hostility to the bureaucracy and demands for union action directed at Reilly. In a conscious provocation, Reilly let it be understood that while he formally opposed the strike, he would publicize Gardner's firing and the decision of the meeting—which was a unanimous vote to strike—thereby implying passive support for the action. But on the next regular workday, he was out at the gates encouraging the workers to go in!

No more than 10 percent of the plant had ever been mobilized for a strike meeting, and there was no recognized strike leadership. For two days, a handful of the best militants threw themselves into a vain effort to keep the shifts from working, despite the lack of leadership or preparation. Meanwhile, the company took pictures and Reilly noted individuals. At least 20 workers have since been seriously disciplined, including several more firings, while many others, possibly over 100, are still receiving lesser penalties for the one-day shutdown and strike attempt.

Official Red-Baiting

While sabotaging the strike, Reilly attempted to isolate the militants with red-baiting, thereby setting them up for firing by the company with a mini-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 25 20 July 1973

Labor Tops Sell Out to Nixon as...

Boom Heads Toward Bust

Coming in the midst of the Watergate scandal which is daily exposing the slime of capitalist politics for all to see, Nixon's "Phase Four" is one more proof of the bankruptcy of bourgeois rule. Following a wave of price increases which have raised food costs by 47 percent in the last year, Nixon's 60-day price freeze (announced on 13 June) will simply be the prelude to a new round of inflation. This phony price freeze is merely an attempt to mask the onset of the inevitable economic crisis which follows every boom.

There is only one group in the whole country that believes the government will hold the lid on inflation: the labor bureaucracy. Nixon's own officials are already announcing the failure of Phase Four to control price increases—even before it has been implemented! But recent contracts call for pitiful wage increases which don't even come close to matching the current rate of inflation. The powerful Teamsters' union settled for a mere 6.1 percent, while prices rose at the rate of 9 percent in the last quarter.

"Experts are frankly puzzled at why unions and their rank and file should be so unmilitant about wage increases at a time when the purchasing power of their dollar is being eroded," wrote the *New York Times* (12 July 1973) recently. The lack of rank-and-file militancy is a myth—the Akron rubber workers rejected the rubber contract in May; New York postal workers turned down their contract last month; discontent in Teamster ranks over Fitzsimmons' sellout pact has been reported throughout the country.

What is lacking is an alternative, revolutionary leadership for the labor movement. The present Meany-Woodcock bureaucracy accepts the framework of capitalism, as do the leaders of most of the "rank-and-file oppositions" who oppose them. It is necessary to bring to the broad mass of workers the understanding that in the present epoch the struggle to protect the workers' living standards requires not a fight for reforms, which will only be illusory, but a fight to overthrow the capitalist system. To mobilize the workers against capitalism it is necessary to go beyond the business unionism embodied in the slogan "more" and build a revolutionary opposition in the unions which can broaden the economic struggle into the political struggle for socialism. The achievement of this task requires the most accurate, scientific appraisal of reality.

For the capitalist class the opposite is the case. As the representatives of a dying social order already at an advanced stage of decomposition, the bourgeoisie requires not scientific analysis, but illusions. The economic "analysis" of the bourgeoisie is mere wishful thinking—alternating with panic when the facade of prosperity begins to crumble.

From Idiot Optimism to Despair

In recent months the bourgeoisie has graphically demonstrated that its "analysis" is mere impressionism. According to the Financial and Business Editor of the *New York Times*, writing at the beginning of this year, "The momentum developed since the cyclical contraction of 1969-70 has become so broad and balanced that an upturn reaching toward the next decade is a distinct possibility" (*New York Times*, 7 January 1973). But a mere five months later we read, "A growing number of business forecasters see a recession next year as a result of the breakneck economic expansion" (*New York Times*, 20 May 1973). Such is the ease and rapidity with which the prophets of the capitalist class go from idiot optimism to despair when faced with the contradictions and uncontrollable anarchy of their economic system.

Even prosperity seems bitter for the American ruling class these days. The *New York Times* (27 May 1973) caught the spirit of the times, quoting an official of the Harris Bank and Trust of Chicago as saying, "This is the unhappiest boom I've ever lived through." Indeed, the boom has generated the highest peacetime inflation since the nineteenth century, while unemployment remains high at 5 percent, and that figure is sure to get worse. Despite inflation and the high profit levels, the capitalists seem to find profit rates unsatisfactory since they are devaluing the capital stock (i.e., the stock market slide) and amassing their wealth in the form of money and debt claims—neither of which are very secure these days.

Faced with the disaster of economic "normalization" in Phase Three, the Nixon administration has again resorted to a hard line in state wage price controls. Whatever the temporary effect on Nixon's sagging popularity ratings, Phase Four will not provide a long-run solution to galloping inflation and, moreover, it has the effect of making the division of income between labor and capital a direct political confronta-

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General Strike Called Off...

CP Hands Victory to Military in Uruguay

The Communist Party-led National Workers Confederation (CNT), in the leadership of a general strike which held Uruguay virtually paralyzed for more than two weeks and created a pre-revolutionary situation, handed over power on July 11 to a military dictatorship thinly disguised by the presence of civilian President Juan Bordaberry. Following secret negotiations with the military government, the CNT called off the general strike and although the final settlement has not yet been announced, its meaning is clear: liquidation of the workers movement in Uruguay. Among other things, the CNT has apparently agreed to its own destruction—the Bordaberry government outlawed the labor organization in June, arrested many of its leaders during the strike and has driven the rest underground. Interior Minister Colonel Nestor Bolentini told newsmen July 12 that the dissolution of the CNT was "irreversible" and announced a new labor policy to make the unions non-political, implying creation of a new labor organization that "will not be permitted to intervene in political questions that distort the true sense of union association" (*New York Times*, 13 July 1973).

When the strike ended, hundreds had been arrested and the military was free to consolidate its rule. Bordaberry announced he would replace Congress with an appointed Council of State, and the government announced on June 28 it planned a major new crackdown on the Tupamaros (urban guerrilla group).

The CNT called for the general strike on June 27 when Bordaberry, backed by the military chiefs, dissolved the two houses of Congress and all municipal councils; announced he would henceforth rule by decree; ordered rigid censorship of the press; closed down all the schools for a month and outlawed the CNT. Bordaberry said the measures were necessary due to "criminal acts of conspiracy against the country" referring to the activities of the Tupamaros.

The calling off of the strike shocked and disoriented Uruguayan workers, because at the time of the decision half a million workers were out; workers occupied the major export industries such as tires and textiles; the state oil refineries had been shut down as well as the ports; and banking had almost completely stopped, shutting down government functioning. Attempts by the army to clear workers from the factories they held had been defeated; all the major industries remained shut

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Boston SL/RCY Demonstrate in Defense of Ligue Communiste

WV PHOTO

SEE ARTICLE PAGE 2

4-PART SERIES

The Lessons of Historical Experience:

TROTSKYIST WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Page 8

Repeal the Ban on the French Ligue Communiste

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR

L'EXPRESS

Top, Paris police regrouping after recent anti-fascist demonstration. Left, meeting of Ordre Nouveau, French fascist organization.

On 28 June the French government outlawed the "Trotskyist" Ligue Communiste and jailed several of its leading members following a violent melee in which leftist demonstrators clashed with Paris police defending a meeting called by the fascist Ordre Nouveau (New Order) as part of its racist campaign against immigrant workers. The Spartacist League calls on all working-class organizations to unite in defense of the Ligue against government repression and fascist attack.

Attempting to appear "even-handed" in the dispensing of bourgeois justice, the Gaullist Pompidou regime also banned Ordre Nouveau. But the fact that the French government chose to grant the fascists a permit for a public meeting may mark the beginning of a campaign against the left. In the past the government has either refused permits to Ordre Nouveau, or ordered the police to stand aside during the inevitable confrontation between the left and the fascists. Even the French Communist Party, which in the past has centered its attacks on the "gauchistes" (anyone to the left of the CP), was forced to comment that "by authorizing and giving police protection to the fascists of Ordre Nouveau, the government set up a deliberate provocation" (*Humanité*, 23 June).

These repressive measures occur in the potentially explosive context of recent strikes by workers at Renault against pay discrimination for semi-skilled (particularly foreign) workers and of students demonstrating against the militarization of youth expressed by the French government's new draft law (see *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973). The provocations and attempts to smash the "far left" serve to underscore the fundamental instability of the French government. Even after the recent March elections, in which the Pompidou regime split the vote evenly with the "Union of the Left," the question of a workers government continues to be posed as an immediate task for the French working class. As the French government dispenses with the norms of bourgeois democracy, the defense of the interests of the working class can only be assured by linking the struggle against the fascist bands and in defense of democratic liberties to the call for a workers government committed to the reconstruction of society on a socialist basis. New popular fronts, such as the "Union of the Left" composed of Communists, Socialists and bourgeois Radicals, are an obstacle to the political independence of the workers movement.

The Ligue Takes On the Cops

According to the 23 June *Le Monde* account of the confrontation:

> "Three police vans were burned during the confrontations as well as several private vehicles. Store windows were broken. The most violent confrontation took place about 8 p.m. . . . when strong police forces . . . cordoned off the area around Maubert Square [area of the meeting]. The thousand counter-demonstrators, helmeted, armed with lead pipes, balls and chains, and Molotov cocktails, surprised the forces of order by their organization and especially by their use of Molotov cocktails. The police, bombarded with incendiaries (some of the demonstrators had climbed to the rooftops), obviously had not expected to deal with such a substantial aggressor (small vans resupplied the demonstrators with firebombs) and at first were forced to retreat in disorder. . .
>
> "At several points in Paris, starting at 10:30 on the rue Lacepede, small groups tried to put up street barricades which were immediately torn down by special squads of police. An anti-barricade tractor was burned. After the first and most serious confrontation, the counter-demonstrators had dispersed in small and extremely mobile groups. Until about 1 a.m., the forces of order in motorcycles, jeeps and trucks patrolled the capital from the boulevard St-Germain to the place de la Concorde, from the Opéra to the Palais Royale in long columns of vehicles with their sirens screaming, to the astonishment of tourists and passers-by."

As is obvious from this account the Ligue Communiste organized the demonstration with full expectation of a military confrontation with the police. The Trotskyist movement has a long history of resistance to fascist groups, including attacking and dispersing fascist meetings, as French leftists have done to public meetings of Ordre Nouveau in the past. In this case, however, the presence of massive police force made the relation of forces unfavorable to the left. It would appear that the Ligue Communiste recklessly entered into an adventurist confrontation by attempting to take on the armed power of the state under circumstances which could lead only to the defeat of the left. The correct tactic, given the government's authorization of the meeting, was to mount a campaign calling on the mass workers organizations, particularly the CP and the CGT labor federation, to mobilize tens of thousands of their members to prevent the fascist meeting. In their absence, the Ligue could certainly have organized a mass protest demonstration. This is not the same thing, however, as a futile attempt to overwhelm the police with 1,000 youths.

This confrontation, which the Ligue characterized as an "error" in a subsequent leaflet, allowed the French bourgeoisie to begin a campaign of repression against the Ligue which could easily spread to other left groups. On the night following the demonstrations police occupied Ligue headquarters and arrested 25 Ligue supporters. One week later the Pompidou government outlawed the Ligue Communiste. In announcing this action, Pierre Messmer, Pompidou's prime minister, remarked: "After having made a rapid analysis of the situation, you plunge headlong into a definitive action without worrying about what will happen. You'll see well enough." While the Napoleonic pretensions of this statement are absurd enough, considering the narrow support for the Pompidou regime, it reveals a dangerous bonapartist appetite to smash the left.

United Defense of the Left

Regardless of the errors of the Ligue, the working-class movement must defend the right of the Ligue to continue to function and vigorously defend it against government persecution. The Minister of Interior Marcellin has threatened that the government "will draw the consequences at every level" from the incident (*Le Monde*, 27 June). This attempt to escalate the red scare-mongering of the Gaullist election campaign into wholesale anti-communist repression must be met with united opposition by the left.

Fearing isolation from a new wave of militancy which might loosen its stranglehold on the workers movement, the Communist Party has for the first time been forced to depart from its usual practice of denouncing all groups to its left as "ultra-left," and refusing to acknowledge and defend "Trotskyists" as part of the workers movement. It is significant that the Stalinist CP, along with the Socialist Party and the trade-union confederations, has issued statements denouncing the government and participated in a 4 July demonstration in defense of the Ligue's democratic rights. The limitations of the CP's understanding of "democratic rights" and the need for working-class unity in the face of attack were, however, demonstrated by its refusal to allow the Ligue a speaker at a rally for its own defense!

New York, Boston, Los Angeles and San Francisco SL/RCY locals participated in defense demonstrations called by the Socialist Workers Party. The Spartacist League mobilized 40-50 of the total of approximately 150 demonstrators at the French consulate in New York City. Predictably, the SWP's defense of the Ligue has concentrated solely on bourgeois democratic demands such as "Defend Civil Liberties in France, End the Ban" and "For Free Speech in France," completely ignoring the need for a class defense of the left against fascism and government repression. On the picket lines SL/RCY-ers chanted such slogans as "Smash the Fascist Movement, For Armed Workers Self-Defense" and "End the Ban on the Left, For a Workers Government."

Workers Militias or Urban Guerrillaism

The slogan of "Workers Self-Defense" figures prominently in the Ligue Communiste's agitation against fascist terror attacks on left groups and striking workers. While this formulation seems to coincide with the Trotskyist call for "Workers Self-Defense Guards" and "Workers Militias," it leaves ambiguous the question of precisely *who* will carry out the armed defense of the workers. The Ligue's formulation allows for the interpretation that small bodies of vanguard forces can carry out exemplary acts of terror which will spark the imagination of the masses and inspire them to prepare for the armed proletarian insurrection. As the Ligue explained in *Rouge* of 18 March 1972:

> "A terrorist action is only the 'continuation by other means' of the 'normal,' daily activity of revolutionaries. Its value derives from its ability to galvanize the combativity of the masses, strengthen their hatred for the existing order, bring to light the weakness of this order (cf. the actions of the Tupamaros, like the mass liberation of prisoners conceived to demoralize and ridicule in the eyes of the masses the Institution, the public powers, the army, the cops. . .). It is an action which unrolls a step ahead of the masses' determination, but which can be understood, approved, reflected by broad layers of the exploited."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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The workers, rather than "understanding, approving and reflecting" such actions, are only convinced of the futility of isolated, voluntarist confrontations between a few courageous individuals and the armed might of the bourgeois state.

Trotsky was quite clear on the difference between the violence of a few and the violence of the masses. In response to the question of whether the vanguard party should create the groups for workers defense out of its own members, Trotsky replied:

> "The slogans of the party must be placed in quarters where we have sympathizers and workers who will defend us. But a party cannot create an independent defense organization. The task is to create such a body in the trade unions."
> —"Discussion on the Transitional Program," June 1938

The *Transitional Program* itself is quite explicit:

> "Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of *creating workers' groups for self-defense*. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions... It is necessary to give organized expression to the valid hatred of the workers towards scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a *workers militia* as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings and press."

The Ligue's consistent omission of the slogan "For a Workers Militia" in its propaganda and agitation around the resurgence of activity by the fascist groupings only highlights its consistent departure from the Trotskyist strategy of struggling for revolutionary leadership within the existing mass organizations of the working class. Instead, the workers will be shown the efficacy of armed struggle from the outside:

> "In what concerns us, we have not hesitated to resort to actions of minority violence, when these activities were linked with mass activity....For us, revolutionaries need not wait for the uprising of the masses before opposing the daily violence of capital with their own violence. In strikes, we propose to the workers taught by the assassination of Overney, of Labroche, threatened by the CRS, to organize workers self-defense. To prove that it is possible, we set an example to the extent of our possibilities."
> —D. Bensaïd, *Rouge*, 10 June 1972

Rather than face the arduous task of long-term implantation into the trade unions dominated by the reformist social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies, the Ligue seeks a short-cut to the workers movement by gaining hegemony within the "new mass vanguard" forged out of the uprisings of May 1968. This abstract and amorphous category of "new vanguard" assumes a homogeneous layer of radicalized youth, obscuring the real differences in class outlook, political aspiration and revolutionary commitment. This category is used by the Ligue to justify the adaptation of its politics to appeal to high school and university youth. Rather than transforming these new recruits into Bolshevik cadre by breaking them from tendencies toward petty-bourgeois radicalism and confrontationism the Ligue has capitulated politically to the youth milieu in which it functions.

While generally paying lip service to formal Marxist orthodoxy, the real positions of the Ligue slip through occasionally, as in a polemic directed against "sectarians" who insisted, at the time of the May 1968 worker-student uprising, that the proletariat must be the leading force in revolutionary struggle. A prominent Ligue spokesman wrote:

> "The dialectical interaction between the class struggle of the proletariat and the struggle of other classes or social layers is alien to the sectarians. In their eyes, so far as the peasants or petty-bourgeoisie is concerned, there can be no socialist revolution unless the workers stand at its head."
> —Pierre Frank, "French Crisis Tests Revolutionary Vanguard," *Revolt in France*, 1968

How sectarian, indeed, to insist that the working class must lead the socialist revolution! What "sectarians" must Marx, Lenin and Trotsky have been to devote their entire lives to fighting for precisely this principle!

Thus the Ligue Communiste reveals the political disorientation underlying its tactical "errors" and anti-Marxist espousal of exemplary, minority violence. On the other hand, the Ligue's opportunist appetites (simply the reverse of its military adventurism) were revealed by its call during the recent French elections for a vote for the popular-front "Union of the Left," a coalition of workers parties with sections of the bourgeoisie.

In the international dispute currently raging in the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," the European majority including the Ligue (its French section) sees the strategy for Latin American revolution as one of guerrilla warfare, based on military detachments isolated from the organized workers movement. At the same time the USec majority wishes to distinguish itself from Guevarism-Maoism which is the natural ideological expression of guerrilla strategy. This dangerous game has reached the point where the Argentine section of the USec, the PRT (and its urban guerrilla detachment, the Revolutionary People's Army, the ERP) on the one hand embraces Maoism and Castroism while at the same time unilaterally declaring a truce with the new Peronist government which had vowed to "crush" Trotskyist and guerrilla groups (see "Guevarism vs. Social Democracy in the USec," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973).

The voluntarist adventurism of the Ligue and USec majority will undoubtedly provide fresh ammunition for the minority led by the Socialist Workers Party (the U.S. sympathizer section). However, the SWP's pretensions to Trotskyist orthodoxy against petty-bourgeois guerrillaism serve only to mask its own wretched betrayals of Marxism. No, the ultra-respectable SWP will not risk its cadre on such futile displays of impotence and frustration. Instead of exemplary terrorism it prefers unadulterated pacifism and grovelling at the feet of the liberal wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie (exemplified by the alliance with Senator Vance Hartke in the popular-front National Peace Action Coalition).

The recent adventure by the Ligue Communiste demands that honest revolutionists within both wings of the crumbling USec break with both the adventurist centrism of the European majority and the social-democratic reformism of the SWP, to return to the revolutionary Trotskyist program of intransigent struggle for the political independence of the working class.

For a United Defense of the Ligue Communiste!

For Workers Armed Self-Defense Against Fascism—Towards Workers Militias Based on the Unions!

For the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

SWP Confronts Nazis in 1930's

Socialist Workers Party demonstrates against Nazi meeting in Los Angeles, February 1939.

SL criticism of the Ligue Communiste's recent confrontation with Paris police in no way implies opposition to the use of organized violence against fascists by the workers movement. In fact Trotskyists recognize the prevention of the growth of fascism, politically and organizationally, as a necessary task of the proletariat. Every attempted activity of the fascists to build a movement to spread their poisonous anti-working-class ideology deserves to be smashed by indignant workers; proletarian democracy does not extend to the reactionary scum of society whose purpose is to serve as the ultimate weapon of the ruling class to liquidate the labor movement. The focus of such a campaign must be to mobilize labor as a whole through the formation of workers self-defense groups and ultimately workers militias, based on the unions. *Depending on the correlation of forces*, the revolutionary party might itself initiate a mass mobilization to attack and disrupt fascist meetings. This however has nothing to do with "exemplary vanguard violence."

One instructive example of an effective anti-fascist mobilization took place on George Washington's Birthday 1939. This was the occasion for several massive rallies of the American fascist movement, the largest of which was held in Madison Square Garden. The meeting drew 18,000 including the German-American Bund, Pelley's Silver Shirts, Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" gang and Hague's notorious goons out of Jersey City.

The Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, together with its youth group the YPSL (Young People's Socialist League), launched a campaign calling on the workers of New York City to "let the fascists feel the anger and the might of the working class..." and warning, "we must not let this filthy, creeping slime get a foothold in New York!" Despite the fact that the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the International Labor League (Lovestoneites) all refused to participate, the demonstration drew 50,000 anti-Nazis, including many rank-and-file members of the CP.

Protecting the fascists were about 1800 of New York's "finest," who freely attacked the picketers, swinging clubs and trampling the crowd with charges of mounted patrols. The demonstrators responded without hesitation, broke through the police lines and returned blow for blow. Clashes between police and workers continued for five hours, until the meeting finally ended.

Similar demonstrations were held in other cities, notably Los Angeles and Oakland. The SWP was able to take full political advantage of its role in these militant mass counter-demonstrations. CP and Lovestoneite accusations of "Trotskyite"-Fascist collaboration were thoroughly discredited, and the SWP was able to establish a nucleus of sympathizers within the CP on the basis of this work. In addition, the demonstrations were used to highlight the central thrust of the SWP's anti-fascist agitation: the call for armed workers defense guards.

Spartacist Local Directory

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 881-3064
Box 412, Station C
Buffalo, NY 14209

CHICAGO ..... (312) 548-2934
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 696-4943
Cleveland *WV* Committee
Box 2492
Cleveland, OH 44112

DETROIT ..... (313) 862-4920
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

LOS ANGELES ..... (213) 467-6855
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90038

MILWAUKEE
Box 5144, Harbor Sta.
Milwaukee, WI 53204

NEW ORLEANS ..... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

SAN DIEGO ..... (714) 272-2286
Box 22052, Univ. City Sta.
San Diego, CA 92122

SAN FRANCISCO ..... (415) 863-1459
Box 40574
San Francisco, CA 94140

Blacks, Women and Job-Trust Unionism

Preferential Hiring Is Not the Answer

The recent government offensive to impose preferential treatment of minorities and women in the telephone company is part and parcel of a broad attack on the independence of the trade-union movement. Government "Affirmative Action" programs for hiring, transfers and promotions—just like state wage controls, compulsory arbitration and court actions to overturn union elections—are weapons in the hands of the capitalist government to weaken the unions and directly or ultimately drive down wages. The workers movement must present a united front against these union-busting attacks. Instead of acquiescing to the class enemy's stratagems, working people must wage a real struggle to eliminate racial and sexual discrimination within the unions using *labor's own methods* (including strikes) to wipe out discriminatory practices of the employers.

Whatever gains individual minority and women workers might obtain by the government opening up a few jobs for them will in the long run be more than offset by the losses suffered by the entire working class as a result of state control of the labor movement. It is notable that Nixon, the author of the Philadelphia Plan for preferential hiring of blacks in the construction trades, openly woos southern racists and does not even pay lip service to civil rights—except where the unions are the target. Likewise, the liberal Kennedys' campaign against "corruption in the unions" (in reality an effort to oust Jimmy Hoffa from the powerful Teamsters union) was combined with support for vicious anti-strike laws and wage controls.

"Preferential hiring" has the added effect of discriminating against white male workers supposedly in order to make up for centuries of oppression suffered by minorities and women as a result of capitalism. The intended result of such policies is to increase racial and sexual antagonisms within the working class. To these divisive schemes, which only serve the capitalists (and are actively supported by them), revolutionaries must counterpose a program which will promote working-class unity across racial, national and sexual lines. Categorically opposing state interference in the unions, we must call for the end of racial and sexual discrimination and job-trusting, and implementing a policy of increasing equalization of wages, non-discriminatory training programs for skilled-craft jobs, hiring on a first-come, first-serve basis and a struggle for a sliding scale of wages and hours which would provide jobs for all. As long as workers are pitted against each other in competition for a limited pool of jobs, the necessary consequence will be a divided and weakened labor movement.

"Affirmative Action" at Bell Tel

The most recent government preferential hiring scheme is the "Affirmative Action" program currently being implemented in telephone. This January American Telephone and Telegraph agreed to set up a "soft" quota system (guidelines rather than fixed percentages) after the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) sued the company for having discriminatory hiring and transfer policies. Subsequently the EEOC has filed discrimination suits against many other corporations and trade unions, including Philip Morris, General Motors, General Electric and the United Auto Workers.

The EEOC based its arguments of discrimination in the telephone company on Bell System figures which show extreme underrepresentation of minorities and women in higher-paying craft jobs. Women, who comprise 60 percent of the total work force, are 99.8 percent of the system's secretaries, 99.9 percent of the operators, 98.9 percent of the service representatives and only 1.1 percent of the craft workers. Nationwide in 1971, 79 percent of all black employees were female, concentrated in the lowest job categories, with five-and-a-half times greater chance of remaining in unskilled positions than white employees. EEOC won the court case and demanded that AT&T write up a program to increase the number of minority and women workers in the higher-paid categories.

The AT&T settlement was in four parts: AT&T would give lump-sum payments of $15 million to 13,000 women and 2,000 male minority group members who had been discriminated against in the past; it would give raises of $23 million to 36,000 workers whose advances and pay increases were judged to be possibly hindered by discrimination with additional pay raises in the next five years; it would roughly double the company's "ultimate goals" for hiring male operators and clerical workers and female craft workers; but AT&T would not have to formally admit any instances of discrimination.

AT&T President Robert D. Lilley said at the conclusion of the settlement, "the big job for management is to convince those employees who are watching women and minorities pass them by that nothing unjust has been done" (*New York Times Magazine*, 20 May 1973). This will be a difficult task indeed! With no provisions for *more* jobs, the only way to increase the proportional representation of minorities and women is to systematically discriminate against whites and men in hiring, transferring and upgrading.

The *New York Times Magazine* (20 May 1973), which lauded the settlement as a breakthrough for women, mentioned in conclusion a hitch to the program:

> "The traditional solution to conflicting demands in the American political system has been to divide an ever-increasing pie. But in the short run, the size of the employment pie is fixed and if minorities and women want a piece of it, it has got to come from the share held by white males."

For minorities and women, the actual settlement is pure tokenism. The lump-sum payments average out to a paltry $100-to-$400 for the first group of women and minority group males who transfer into craft jobs and *hold them for at least six months*—not much compensation for any individual kept out of a particular job category for any length of time. The pay raises are equally insignificant. As for the job quotas, doubling the "ultimate goals" in Pacific Telephone in the category of semi-skilled inside jobs, for example, would raise the percentage of black women to only 2.8 percent!

These percentages in no way reflect the proportions of women and minority group members in the population, but instead only those *with acquired skills*. With little access to specialized training, the majority of minority and women workers remain permanently barred from the higher-paying skilled categories. (In addition, most telephone company skilled craft jobs are based on the company's own training programs, thus making the whole skill criterion perfectly ludicrous.)

CWA Tops Temporize

The CWA International has asked the federal courts to delay implementing the program on the grounds that the agreement interferes with the union's job-posting and bidding procedures as well as rights to bargain with the company over seniority; that the quotas are not large enough; and that the union is not sitting on the placement bureau. It does not oppose in principle government interference into union affairs, nor does it oppose preferential hiring per se. During the entire period of the court suit, the Beirne bureaucracy refused to take any action against the proposed guidlines, saying it would "wait and see" how the government dealt with the company. CWA is now fighting only through the courts and will file only individual grievances against the program.

The question of seniority is one of the most sensitive aspects of the preferential hiring question. In part seniority systems are a form of union control of advancement, as well as being protection against arbitrary or victimizing layoffs by the company. A government attack on seniority systems, for whatever reasons, is a threat to the partial gains won by labor and must be opposed on principle as one more union-busting tactic. Almost all government and company-sponsored "affirmative action" schemes have the effect of weakening, bypassing or eliminating negotiated seniority systems.

However, to oppose government meddling in the unions on the question of seniority is not the same thing as defending the existing systems, which are frequently blatantly discriminatory. In the phone company, for instance, the CWA opposes that part of the EEOC settlement which rules that craft jobs above entry level will be made competitive based on the length of employment with the company. The bureaucracy is standing on the old system of seniority based on time in the job category immediately beneath the vacancy level. This system will keep women and minorities from entering the higher-paying skilled crafts for many years, even if they have years of service in the Bell System.

Instead, it is necessary to oppose the discriminatory seniority system with a program of struggle for *jobs for all*. Seniority by its very nature is a system of dividing up scarce jobs and inevitably discriminates against younger and newer workers even when it is not blatantly biased. In a situation where AT&T is drastically cutting back on jobs through automation, "affirmative action" programs without a fight for jobs will simply set one group of workers against another.

MAC Opposes "Affirmative Action"

The various opposition groups in the CWA have taken sharply different positions on the question of "affirmative action." In the Bay Area, the *Bell Wringer* and *Yellow Pages* caucuses originally criticized "affirmative action" only because the quotas weren't large enough. In a joint April issue, they called the program tokenist because there were no new hirees and called for establishing a "real affirmative action program." Their position was in direct counterposition to the class stand of the Militant Action Caucus of CWA Local 9415 (Oakland, Calif.), which correctly pointed out that the affirmative action program was merely a ruse to enable the government to intervene in the unions:

> "The phone company and the U.S. government use the guise of 'racial justice' as a club to weaken the union and to divide the working class by ting blacks against whites, men against women, unemployed against employed workers. 'Affirmative Action' applies quota systems on hiring and transfers, giving the company another excuse to ignore the seniority system..
>
> "Instead of calling for *strikes* against layoffs and forced transfers, and for a union hiring hall so workers can control hiring on a first-come, first-serve basis, the Bell Wringer merely criticizes the phone company for not living up to *government* percentage quotas. This position objectively *supports government interference in the unions*. In light of this their demand for 30 For 40 is a contradiction, a militant cover for a class collaborationist position."
>
> —"Militant Action Report," 7 November 1972

CHALLENGE

Demonstration for preferential hiring in Pittsburgh, 1969, organized by Black Construction Coalition. Led by black middle class, BCC received government grants, made white workers the enemy.

"Black Monday"

The most blatant anti-union drive using the issue of discrimination oc-

curred in the construction trades in the late 1960's. Unemployed blacks organized demonstrations and moved on construction sites in a number of cities across the country to shut them down, demanding jobs. The anti-black, anti-labor Nixon administration quickly moved to capitalize on black workers' legitimate resentment at being shut out of the construction industry. (In Pittsburgh in 1969, for example, only 1.4 percent of journeymen in craft building trades unions were black.)

The government, trying to whip up public opinion against the unions, raised hue and cry about "exorbitant" wage demands of workers on federally-funded construction projects robbing the urban poor of good housing. "Black Mondays Are Good for Us" ran an October 1969 editorial in *Fortune* magazine, the monthly organ of U.S. capitalism, approving demonstrations of blacks against construction workers in Chicago and Pittsburgh. *Fortune* said that the demonstrations of blacks for more jobs were "channelled in the right direction" and quoted John Doar, then president of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Development and Service Corporation (dedicated to restoring slums through black capitalism):

> "Union concepts of security and seniority were formulated in a period of struggle between company and union. Now the struggle is between the Negro and the unions. It is our position that a basic conflict exists between labor-union concepts and civil-rights concepts. Something has to give."

Doar's recommendations included the elimination of the union hiring hall: "Unions still control an estimated two million jobs through such arrangements. Employers should be free to hire any qualified worker."

The sharp rise of anti-union sentiment among blacks was due primarily to the "new ideology"—that organized labor is the main barrier to black liberation. Through conscious propaganda and direct financial aid, the capitalists cleverly manipulate the phony "community control" issue—"blacks should have the jobs in the ghetto"—for the conscious purpose of breaking the unions.

"Black construction coalitions"—blocs between the government, ghetto residents and big business—were set up to skirt the unions. In Pittsburgh "Operation Dig" received $485,000 of Labor Department funds to set up its own one-year training program for blacks, in counterposition to the traditional three-to-five-year union apprentice program, and demanded 40 percent black membership in each affected craft union in two years. Chicago's Coalition for United Community Action was directly financed by Chicago banks and the Ford Foundation to the tune of $1,150,000. In return its leaders—C.T. Vivian and Jesse Jackson—promised to limit their fire to the unions and the contractors, covering up for the banks and big business which were responsible for large cutbacks in jobs in the construction industry.

At the same time the government sought to push its "Philadelphia Plan" which set quotas for minority hiring on federal construction. The Plan also included provisions for a government-industry-union commission to intercede in strikes and compulsory cooling-off periods. The Plan was implemented successfully only in Philadelphia but with the desired results. Racial antagonisms intensified sharply; the collective bargaining power of the unions was weakened.

"Affirmative Action" at UCLA

Recent attempts to implement an affirmative action program at the University of California coincide with an all-out drive by the State of California to smash the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) through anti-labor legislation such as the Morretti Bill (compulsory arbitration), red clauses and sweetheart contracts.

On the UCLA campus, "affirmative action" was first implemented at the Neuro-Psychiatric Institute (NPI). A committee was set up to be merely an advisory body to the NPI administrator, who was to make sure that the proportions of minorities and women in the NPI work force corresponded to the proportion in the Los Angeles population. Since UCLA is doing very little hiring, the program could be accomplished only by preferential hiring, preferential promotions, etc. at the expense of white males who were threatened with loss of their jobs.

The key question facing Local 2070 of AFSCME was whether or not to participate in the elections to the Affirmative Action Committee (AAC). At first, in early 1972, the union set up its own rival Affirmative Action Committee and voted against participation in the employers' AAC. When the issue was revived this year, this position was reversed: the local leadership managed to swing the vote in favor of participation, thus sanctioning direct state intervention into union affairs and voluntarily abandoning the right to control hiring and promotions.

The question of participation in the NPI's Affirmative Action Committee has also been a divisive issue between tendencies within Local 2070. In the Local's vote on joining the employers' AAC, supporters of the reformist Communist Party voted to participate. Earlier, when the issue first came up in 1972, IS supporters in typical fashion proposed to *reform* the employers' AAC by giving it real powers, increasing the proportion of employee representatives, etc. The Militant Caucus has opposed union participation in the AAC. However, at the March 1973 meeting of Local 2070 the caucus incorrectly voted to reverse its previous stand and participate in AAC elections. In a subsequent leaflet entitled "Workers Action, Not Affirmative Action!" (7 April 1973) the Militant Caucus announced,

> "Upon reconsideration, the MC repudiates this vote and reaffirms our long-standing and principled opposition to entry into the AAC...
> "...the AAC is a weapon for *direct state intervention* into the unions for the purpose of destroying them.
> "Rather than entering the AAC, we propose a union *boycott* of the elections and counterpose *independent* action by the union. The main point of this action must be a massive *organizing drive* and the struggle for union recognition, a statewide contract, and collective bargaining. Affirmative Action is a diversion and threat to our goals. We seek to gain full employment and working class unity, not by exacerbating existing tensions among workers, but by advancing demands which unite all workers, such as: for a union hiring hall, mass hiring and training of the unemployed, a shorter work week at no loss in pay (30 for 40)...In order to obtain our goals a struggle for unity against the capitalists and for our own political party—a labor party based on the trade unions—is required. We seek not to better administer capitalism, but to struggle for a workers government!"

The Record of the Left

Almost every tendency claiming to have a revolutionary strategy for the working class has actively supported, or at least apologized for, government preferential hiring and advancement programs in the unions. Looking to the state as a neutral body that can aid the unions in their struggles for democracy and equal rights is the essence of reformism. In contrast, the Spartacist League recognizes the state to be an instrument of class oppression whose interest in intervening in the unions is in order to *paralyze* the working class. Consequently we oppose government interference in the unions on principled grounds.

The International Socialists (IS), which supports the Bell Wringer and Yellow Pages groups in Bay Area telephone, gave its justification for appealing to the bosses' state against the unions in a comment on a Labor Department ruling on discrimination at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Sparrows Point, Md. last January:

> "The apparatus of many unions, including the IBT [Teamsters] and the UMW [Mineworkers] (under Boyle's regime) have been transformed into monstrous bureaucratic structures which use both gangster methods and alliances with the state to suppress virtually any possibility of rank and file reform through the processes of the union itself...Under these conditions, rank and file groups and oppositionists may have no choice but to use the courts as one arena in the struggle against the bureaucracy."
> —*Workers' Power*, 16 February-1 March 1973

Thus in the IS' view, the unions should be supported against the capitalist state sometimes (when they do popular things) in the same way that the deformed workers states should be defended sometimes (as in Vietnam, due to the popularity of the Vietnamese Stalinist leaders among petty-bourgeois radicals)! For Trotskyists, however, defense of the unions against the bourgeoisie is a question of principle, just as is the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism despite the sellout policies of its Stalinist leaders.

Proving once again its complete abandonment of Trotskyism, the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (9 February 1973) called the steel settlement a victory for black workers and railed that because the government did not set up enforcement machinery, "the racist company and union officials will, at best, make only a token effort to enforce the government order." Supporting government intervention in the unions, no wonder the SWP can see nothing wrong with joining with bourgeois liberals in the National Peace Action Coalition.

Where Is the Class Line?

The sharp polarization within the U.S. left over the question of preferential hiring arises from the conflict between two principled positions: that blacks and women must be integrated into all sections of the work force and that no worker should be discriminated against. Proponents of preferential hiring argue that since black and women workers have historically carried the burden of inequality, white men must now be willing to give up their "privileges."

Such bourgeois moralizing must be rejected out of hand. It is crucial to recognize that the single most important cause of political backwardness in the American working class is the manipulation by the ruling class of profound ethnic consciousness and conflicts arising out of a nation created through immigration. The rise of right-wing populist demagogy, which blames the economic troubles of white workers on the "inflated ambitions" of blacks and their establishment-liberal supporters, has heightened hostilities between black and white workers. It is therefore crucial to demonstrate that the fight against racial oppression will not take place at the expense of white workers, but instead at the expense of the capitalists.

Protecting jobs of white male workers in no way means sanctioning discriminatory practices against minorities and women. The Spartacist League demands replacement of discriminatory seniority systems and job trusting by equal access to training and apprenticeship programs, open admissions with stipends to colleges and universities, the elimination of restrictive educational requirements for jobs that do not need them, so that minorities and women will not be systematically segregated into the lowest-paid sections of the working class. But we do not support "solutions" that result in the systematic discrimination against white male workers.

In a period of significant unemployment, preferential hiring programs are simply that: more jobs for blacks means fewer jobs for whites. Instead of pitting different groups of workers against each other, a real struggle for the integration of minorities and women into the work force on an equal basis requires a fight for organizing the unorganized, for a sliding scale of wages and hours to provide jobs for all, for an end to all sexual and racial discrimination, for a union hiring hall, and a political struggle against the capitalist parties and the capitalist system which fosters racism and sexism.

In recent years the bourgeois press has mounted a systematic effort to foster antagonisms between minority and white workers. A high point in this campaign was the 1968 New York teachers strike, in which the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Board ("community control") was pitted against the United Federation of Teachers. The fundamental issue of the strike was the right of teachers to job security and due process for hiring, transferring and firings, despite the business-union conservatism of the Shanker leadership of the UFT which enabled the strike to be turned into a black-white racial war. This strike lined up almost every left group, with the exception of the Spartacist League and the NCLC, behind the school board and its cynical Ford Foundation backers.

The SL took a clear class stand against the union-busting drive, in defense of the strike, at a time when this was a very unpopular position. (Later, in 1970, most left groups supported the Newark Teachers Union in its strike against the local school board. The only significant difference between the two situations was that in 1968 blacks were "in" among petty-bourgeois radicals, while by 1970 it was labor's turn.)

Beyond the question of preferential hiring, the crucial issue in the case of "Affirmative Action" is the independence of the trade unions from the state. The unions, despite their reactionary and corrupt leaderships, represent the first step in the organization of the working class against its capitalist oppressors. Minority and women workers more than any other group need the protection of unions (as the difference between wages in the North and the right-to-work South clearly shows). The labor bureaucracy's collusion with the bosses' discriminatory practices is an abomination which must be fought out within the workers movement through struggle against the bureaucrats, not by reliance on the "benevolence" of the class enemy. Whoever fails to understand this cannot hope to lead the workers in the *class* struggle for socialism. ■

Class-Struggle Alternative for the Trade Unions

Guest Speaker:
KATHLEEN BURNHAM
Militant Action Caucus, CWA
Speaker:
MARK SMALL
SL Central Committee

Sunday, 22 July, 7:30 p.m.
YWCA—1515 Webster, Oakland, Ca.
For further information: 653-4668

Auspices: Spartacist League

Corrections

The "Defend Chilean Miners' Strike" article in *WV* No. 23 of 22 June 1973 erroneously claims that the suspension of Chilean copper shipments to Europe during the recent Chilean copper miners' strike caused "losses of $50 million per day in foreign exchange." In actuality total losses since the beginning of the strike in April were approximately $50 million by mid-June.

The subjects of the page 5 photograph in *WV* No. 24 of 6 July 1973 are Hector Cámpora and Juan Perón's wife Isabel. The caption incorrectly states, "Perón and wife with picture of Eva...."

Also in *WV* No. 24 the article on "Socialism in One Country" refers on page 6 to the "May 1924 Party conference." It should have read "May 1924 party congress."

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

3/ THE "THIRD PERIOD"

(Editor's Note: The recent wave of virulent anti-Trotskyism being spread by various Maoist groups relies on the standard Stalinist weapons of lies and distortion, and above all on ignorance about the true history of the communist movement. The present series, replying to the articles on "Trotsky's Heritage" in the New Left/Maoist Guardian, *serves as an introduction to this history and a brief summary of the principal political issues separating Trotskyism from Stalinism.)*

Stalin's consistent rightist course during 1926-27 led him to capitulate to the kulaks (rich peasants) at home, to the trade-union bureaucrats during the British general strike, to Chiang Kai-shek in China. He backed up this policy by a bloc in the Politburo with Bukharin, who had called on the peasants to "enrich yourselves" and projected the building of socialism "at a snail's pace." The Left Opposition led by Trotsky opposed this line, warning that it not only meant the massacre of thousands of foreign Communists but ultimately threatened the very foundations of the Soviet state itself. Stalin "answered" at the 15th party congress (December 1927) by summarily expelling the Opposition and formally declaring that "adherence to the opposition and propaganda of its views [is] incompatible with membership in the party."

Trotsky's predictions were dramatically confirmed by the kulak rebellion of 1927-28. The state granaries were half empty and starvation threatened the cities; grain collections produced riots in the villages, as the peasants (who could obtain little in the way of manufactured goods in return for the inflated currency) refused to sell at state-regulated prices. Suddenly in January 1928 Stalin switched to a tougher line, ordering armed expeditions to requisition grain stocks. But even this was not enough. In May he was still declaring that "expropriation of kulaks would be folly" (*Problems of Leninism*, p. 221), but by the end of the year he argued: "Can we permit the expropriation of kulaks...? A ridiculous question.... We must break down the resistance of that class in open battle" (*Problems of Leninism*, p. 325). Such dramatic reversals of policy were a constant for Stalin.

Since 1924 Trotsky had been campaigning for industrialization and collectivization and was branded by Stalin as an "enemy of the peasant" and "superindustrializer." But faced with an anti-Soviet peasant revolt in 1928, Stalin recoiled in utter panic, switching from blind conservatism to blind adventurism. In the 1927 *Platform* of the Joint Opposition, Trotsky and Zinoviev called for doubling the growth rate of the first five-year plan; Stalin now *tripled* it, at the price of tremendous suffering for the workers. The Opposition called for voluntary collectivization aided by state credits for cooperatives and a struggle against the influence of the kulak; Stalin now accomplished the forced collectivization of *half* of all farms in the Soviet Union in the space of *four months*! The peasants responded by sabotage, killing off more than 50 percent of the horses in the country, and a civil war which during the next several years cost more than three million lives.

Trotsky opposed the collectivization-at-machine-gun-point as a monstrosity. Marxists had always called for the gradual winning over of the petty bourgeoisie by persuasion and a voluntary transition to socialism through cooperative production. The industrialization, however, despite the incredible disorganization and unnecessary hardships caused by bureaucratic planning, he praised:

> "The success of the Soviet Union in industrial development is acquiring global historical significance....That tempo is neither stable nor secure... but it provides practical proof of the immense possibilities inherent in socialist economic methods."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Economic Recklessness and its Perils," 1930

Both the collectivization and industrialization fully vindicated the policies of the Opposition. To represent a return to Leninism, bowever, they required the complement of re-establishment of Soviet and party democracy. The bankruptcy of his previous policies sharply revealed by the crisis, Stalin took the opposite course, reinforcing his bureaucratic dictatorship and expelling Trotsky from the Soviet Union.

Stalin Discovers a "Third Period"

Stalin's policies in the Communist International (CI) were a duplicate of his domestic zigzags. After the disaster of the Shanghai insurrection of 1927, in which he ordered the Chinese Communists to lay down their arms to the butcher Chiang Kai-shek, he sharply reversed course and ordered the adventuristic Canton Commune which ended in a similar massacre of the workers. In the summer of 1928 Stalin generalized this pattern of reckless ultra-leftism into the doctrine of a "third period" of imperialism.

According to this "theory" there was a post-war revolutionary wave ending in 1923, a period of stabilization until 1928 and then a new period of the imminent and final collapse of capitalism. Like the catastrophists of today, Stalin reasoned that economic crisis would automatically create a revolutionary situation. In fact the early stages of a crisis are frequently accompanied by sharp demoralization in the working class. And it is noteworthy that at no time during 1928-32 did any Communist party in the world attempt to seize power! (Subsequently Stalin quietly abandoned his bombastic theory as he made a sharp turn to the right.)

The onset of the depression and the Comintern's ultra-left policies wreaked havoc in the Communist parties. In the key country of Western Europe, Germany, a combination of mass layoffs and the CP's policy of abandoning the trade unions resulted in the percentage of factory workers in the party falling from 62 percent in 1928 to only 20 percent in 1931, effectively turning the Communists into the vanguard of the unemployed rather than the workers. Typical for the pathetic results of "Third Period" adventurism were the May Day demonstrations of 1929 which had been prohibited by the capitalist governments: In Paris the police simply arrested all active CP members on 30 April (releasing them three days later). In Berlin the social-democratic police chief Zoergiebel brutally attacked the Communists, whose call for a general strike fizzled.

Another aspect of the "Third Period" policies was the practice of setting up small "revolutionary unions," counterposed to the reformist-led mass organizations. Communists favor trade-union unity, but do not oppose every split. It may be necessary to break with the restrictive craft unions in order to organize mass-production workers. Also, when a left-wing upsurge is prevented from taking power solely by bureaucratic and gangster methods, a break with the old organization may be the only alternative to defeat. The key is support of the overwhelming majority of the workers, enabling the union to survive as a mass organization.

The "Third Period" dual unionism, considered a matter of principle, was quite different. It led to the formation of separate trade-union federations (the Trade Union Unity League [TUUL] in the U.S. and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition [RGO] in Germany), and countless tiny "red unions" with a few score members, which never had any chance of success. The "red union" policy is directly opposed to the Leninist policy of struggling for Communist leadership of the existing mass workers' organizations, and with the exception of a few isolated situations it was doomed to defeat.

Nazi stormtroopers march on Karl Liebknecht Haus, headquarters of German Communist Party. On Stalin's orders, CP refused to call for united front with Social Democrats, paving way for Hitler's seizure of power.

"Social-Fascism"

A generalization of this policy was Stalin's discovery that the reformist social-democratic parties were "social-fascist," i.e., "socialist in words, fascist in deeds." Since they were therefore no longer part of the workers movement (like the social-democratic-led unions!), the tactic of united front was not applicable and Communists could at most offer a "united front from below," that is simply calling on rank-and-file Social Democrats and trade unionists to desert their leaders.

The social-democratic leaders prepared the way for fascism—about this there can be no doubt. In January 1919 the Social Democrat Noske personally organized the massacre of hundreds of German revolutionary workers in repressing the "Spartacus Uprising" in Berlin; among the martyrs were Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the top leaders of the German CP. In 1929 the Social Democrat Zoergiebel drowned the CP May Day march in blood. At every step on Hitler's road to power the reformists capitulated rather than fight. And even after Hitler had already taken power, instead of organizing the massive resistance they had promised, social-democratic leaders offered to support the Nazi government's foreign policy in the vain hope of thereby saving their party from destruction! They never fought until it was too late, and in the last analysis they preferred Hitler to revolution.

But this is not at all the same as saying, as did Stalin, that the Social Democracy was only the "left wing of fascism." This philistine statement ignored the fact that the organizations of Social Democracy and the unions themselves would be *destroyed* as the result of a fascist victory. As Trotsky wrote:

> "Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular governmental system based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society. The task of fascism lies not only in destroying the Communist vanguard. ...It is also necessary to smash all independent and voluntary organizations, to demolish all the defensive bulwarks of the proletariat, and to uproot whatever has been achieved during three-quarters of a century by the Social Democracy and the trade unions."
>
> —"What Next," January 1932

Here was a situation that cried out for the policy of the united front. The leaders did not want to fight but to retreat. The rank and file, however, could not retreat—they had to fight or face annihilation. Call on the social-democratic leadership to mount a united offensive against the Nazis! If they accept, the fascist menace could be destroyed and the road opened to revolution. If they refuse, their treachery is clearly exposed before the workers and the revolutionary mobilization of the working class is aided by demonstrating *in struggle* that the communists are the *only* consistent proletarian leadership. In Trotsky's words:

> "Worker-Communists, you are hundreds of thousands, millions; you cannot leave for anyplace; there are not enough passports for you. Should fascism come to power, it will ride over your skulls and spines like a terrific tank. Your salvation lies in merciless struggle. And only a fighting unity with the Social Democratic workers can bring victory."
>
> —"For a Workers' United Front Against Fascism," December 1931

"After Hitler—Us"

Right up to Hitler's seizure of power Stalin continued to follow out the sectarian-defeatist logic of the "Third Period." After the September 1930 elections, in which the Nazis' vote jumped from 800,000 to more than six million, the head of the German CP, Ernest Thaelmann, told the Comintern Executive, "...14 September was in a sense Hitler's best day after which there would be no better but only worse days." The CI endorsed this view and called on the CP to "concentrate fire on the Social-Fascists"! The Stalinists ridiculed Trotsky's analysis of fascism, and claimed there was no difference between the Brüning regime

and the Nazis. In other words, they were entirely indifferent whether the workers' organizations *existed or not!* Remmele, a CP leader, declared in the Reichstag (parliament), "Let Hitler take office—he will soon go bankrupt, and then it will be our day." Consistent with this criminal and utterly cowardly policy, the CP *joined together with the Nazis* in an (unsuccessful) attempt to unseat the social-democratic Prussian state government (the "Red Plebiscite" of 1931)!

In response to the wide support Trotsky's call for a united front found among German workers, Thaelmann replied in September 1932:

> "In his pamphlet on how National Socialism is to be defeated, Trotsky gives one answer only, and it is this: the German Communist Party must join hands with the Social Democratic Party.... Either, says he, the Communist party makes common cause with the Social Democrats, or the German working class is lost for ten or twenty years. This is the theory of an utterly bankrupt Fascist and counter-revolutionary.... Germany will of course not go fascist—our electoral victories are a guarantee of this. [!]"

Nine months later Thaelmann was sitting in Hitler's jails. He was later executed by the Nazis, as were thousands of Communist and Social-Democratic militants, and the workers parties and trade unions were crushed by the iron heel of fascism. Trotsky's analyses and policies were fully confirmed—and the German proletariat paid the price of Stalin's criminal blindness.

But this did not put an end to Stalin's betrayals. Trotsky had earlier warned, "We must tell the advanced workers as loudly as we can: after the 'third period' of recklessness and boasting the fourth period of panic and capitulation has set in" ("Germany, The Key to the International Situation," November 1931). The tragedy continued to unfold with clockwork precision. Following Hitler's assumption of power, the Comintern, seized with panic, forbade any discussion of the German events in the Communist parties and dropped all mention of social-fascism. Instead, in a manifesto "To the Workers of All Countries" (5 March 1933) the Executive called for a united front with the social-democratic leaders (which they had rejected for the past five years), and for the CPs to "abandon all attacks against the Social Democratic organizations during the joint action"!

The United Front

Carl Davidson's series on "Trotsky's Heritage" in the *Guardian* is a consistent whitewash of Stalin's crimes against the workers movement in an attempt to make a case for the Stalinist policies of "socialism in one country," "peaceful coexistence," "two-stage revolution," etc. In dealing with the events around Hitler's rise to power Davidson claims "the Trotskyists cover up for the political force that actually paved the way to power for the fascists—the German Social-Democrats" (*Guardian*, 9 May 1973). The reader can judge for himself from the above just who paved the way for fascism! Davidson goes on to remark, "This is not to say that the German Communist party made no mistakes or that their errors were insignificant. ...They also made a number of ultra-'left' errors, including a one-sided emphasis on the 'united front from below,' rather than a more persistent effort at unity with the Social-Democratic leaders as well, even if this was turned down." Davidson neglects to point out that *at every point the policy of the German CP was dictated by Stalin himself*, and repeatedly confirmed by Comintern meetings!

The Stalinists consistently try to blur the working-class content of Lenin's united-front policy (whose main slogan was "class against class") in order to confuse it with Stalin's "popular front" with the "democratic" bourgeoisie. They seek to portray the united front as a tactic of class collaboration and capitulation to the social-democratic leadership. This has led some groups, such as the Progressive Labor Party (PL), to reject the tactic of united front altogether:

> "As we have repeatedly pointed out, we reject the concept of a united front with bosses. We reject the concept of a united front with Trotskyists and the herd of various fakes on the left.... "We believe in a united front from below that takes the form of a left-center coalition."
>
> —"Road to Revolution III," *PL*, November 1973

The united front from below, i.e, calling on the ranks to desert the reformist leaders, is always in order. But we cannot simply ignore these misleaders without resigning the vanguard to sterile isolation. Replying to opponents of the united front during the early years of the Communist International, Trotsky wrote:

> "Does the united front extend only to the working masses or doesn't it also include the opportunist leaders?
> "The very posing of this question is a product of misunderstanding.
> "If we were able simply to unite the working masses around our own banner or around our practical immediate slogans, and skip over reformist organizations, whether party or trade union, that would of course be the best thing in the world....
> "...in order not to lose their influence over the workers reformists are compelled, against the innermost desires of their own leaders, to support the partial movements of the exploited against the exploiters....
> "...we are, apart from all other considerations, interested in dragging the reformists from their asylums and placing them alongside ourselves before the eyes of the struggling masses."
>
> —"On the United Front," 1922

UNDERWOOD AND UNDERWOOD

German CP leader Ernst Thaelmann (left) rejected Trotsky's call for united working-class front against fascists as "counter-revolutionary" and announced in September 1932 that "Germany will of course not go fascist." Nine months later he was in a Nazi jail.

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Russian peasants demonstrating in 1929, calling for "liquidation of the kulaks." Stalin first opposed Trotsky's call for gradual collectivization; later, after 1928 kulak revolt, ordered forced collectivization of half of all farms in four months.

These theses were approved by the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the Executive Committee of the CI. In his polemic against the ultra-lefts (*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*) Lenin called for using "every opportunity to gain a mass ally, no matter how temporary, vacillating, unreliable, and adventitious. Whoever hasn't been able to get that into his head doesn't understand an iota of Marxism, and of contemporary scientific socialism in general."

After refusing for five years to unite with the social-democratic leaders, Stalin in March 1933 flip-flopped completely and agreed to a "united front" which prohibited the freedom of criticism. This meant the Communists pledged themselves in advance to remain silent in the face of the inevitable betrayals by the reformists, just as Stalin refused to criticize and break with the British trade-union leaders when they smashed the 1926 general strike. How little this has to do with Bolshevism can be appreciated by reading the original Comintern resolution on the united front:

> "Imposing on themselves a discipline of action, it is obligatory that Communists should preserve for themselves, not only up to and after action, but if necessary even during action, the right and possibility of expressing their opinion on the policy of all working-class organizations without exception. The rejection of this condition is not permissible under any circumstances."
>
> —"Theses on the United Front," 1922

The Soviet Union—A Degenerated Workers State

The definitive betrayal by Stalin in Germany, and the necessary conclusion of calling for new communist parties and a new international, led to the question of a new party inside the Soviet Union itself. This, in turn, brought up again the question of the class character of the Soviet state and the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy which ruled it. Trotsky refused to consider the USSR "state capitalist" as did many former Communists who had been expelled by Stalin. To do so would imply that there could be a peaceful counter-revolution, "running the film of reformism in reverse," so to speak. Fundamentally the state is based on the property forms, which represent the interests of particular classes. The socialist property relations in the Soviet Union remained intact, and this colossal conquest of the October Revolution must not be lightly abandoned. While opposing the bureaucratic Stalinist leadership, Bolshevik-Leninists must unconditionally defend the USSR from imperialist attack.

At the same time, this was no healthy workers state. The proletariat had been politically expropriated. The soviets were simply administrative bodies to rubber-stamp the decisions of the General Secretary. The Bolshevik party was a creature of the bureaucracy, with the entire leadership of 1917 expelled or in disfavor, with the sole exception of Stalin. Given the events of recent years—the expulsions, the arrests and exiling of every oppositionist—it was criminal lightmindedness to believe that this parasitic bureaucracy could be eliminated without revolution. This would not be a social revolution, resulting in new property forms, but a *political revolution*. The USSR was a *degenerated workers state*:

> "...the privileges of the bureaucracy by themselves do not change the bases of the Soviet society, because the bureaucracy derives its privileges not from any special property relations peculiar to it as a 'class,' but from those property relations that have been created by the October Revolution and that are fundamentally adequate for the dictatorship of the proletariat.
> "To put it plainly, insofar as the bureaucracy robs the people (and this is done in various ways by every bureaucracy), we have to deal not with *class exploitation*, in the scientific sense of the word, but with *social parasitism*, although on a very large scale....
> "Finally, we may add for the sake of complete clarity: if in the USSR today the Marxist party were in power, it would renovate the entire political regime; it would shuffle and purge the bureaucracy and place it under the control of the masses; it would transform all of the administrative practices and inaugurate a series of capital reforms in the management of economy; but in no case would it have to undertake *an overturn in the property relations, i.e., a new social revolution.*"
>
> —"The Class Nature of the Soviet State," October 1933

The Stalinists immediately screamed "counter-revolution." Trotsky was an agent of Chamberlain, Hitler, the Mikado, etc., and was out to re-establish capitalism, they claimed. But the Stalinists were never able to point to a single instance in which Trotsky refused to support the USSR against imperialism or called for abandoning the socialist property forms. In 1939 on the eve of the Second World War he led a bitter struggle against a group in the American Socialist Workers Party, led by Max Shachtman, which refused to defend Russia against Hitler. Trotsky repeatedly emphasized that as long as the Soviet Union remained a workers state, however badly degenerated, it was a matter of principle to defend it. In the hour of need the Bolshevik-Leninists would stand ready at their battle posts.

In the early 1960's Mao Tse-tung announced that the Khrushchev-Brezhnev leadership of the Soviet Union since 1956 was "social-imperial-

continued on page 11

Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions

PART 1 OF 4

The Trotskyist movement has a proud tradition of struggle for the principles of Leninism, under difficult conditions and against heavy odds. In the United States, the core of the leadership which built the original Trotskyist organization (Communist League of America 1928-34) kept up the struggle for over three decades, before the vicissitudes of the Cold War anti-communist witchhunt finally caught up with them and caused their political degeneration and departure from Bolshevism in the early 1960's. The Spartacist League was born in the fight against the degeneration of the Trotskyist movement—in the Socialist Workers Party—and claims the tradition as its own.

This tradition includes the struggle of the Left Opposition against the bureaucratic degeneration of the USSR, the campaign for a workers united front against fascism in Germany, and the battle to build a new, Fourth International to provide an alternative proletarian leadership to the bankrupt Social Democrats and Stalinists.

As in the course of every preceding phase of the struggle for revolutionary socialism, however, it was inevitable that the Trotskyists would make mistakes. Correction of earlier mistakes, while in no way repudiating the earlier struggles and tradition, has been integral to the growth and political and theoretical armament of the movement. If one holds the early Lenin, for instance, up to the mirror of the whole body of Leninism—which incorporates the experience of the Russian Revolution and struggle to build the Communist International—one finds many errors and shortcomings. As James P. Cannon, communist leader and pioneer American Trotskyist, put it, discussing the development of the democratic-centralist vanguard party conception in 1944:

> "If our party stands today on far higher ground that that occupied by the amorphous rebel workers' movement prior to the First World War—and that is indubitably the case—it is not due solely to the superiority of our program, but also to the consistent application in practice of the principles and methods of Bolshevik organization. The experience of a quarter of a century has convinced us over and over again that this is the right way, the only way, to build a revolutionary party. . . .
> "In politics nothing is more stupid, more infantile than to retrace ground that had already been covered, to go back and start all over again as if nothing had happened and nothing has been learned."
>
> —*Letters from Prison*

Just as Lenin had early shortcomings which reflected the social-democratic movement he was struggling to transcend, so the American Trotskyists made mistakes which reflected, in part, the arena of the degenerating Communist Party from which they emerged, and in part the national political environment in which they functioned. The history of Trotskyist work in the trade unions in the U.S. was in the main exemplary and includes such high points as the Minneapolis Teamster strike of 1934, which was a model of mass mobilization as well as the first instance of organizing of trucking on the lines of industrial unionism; and the SWP's struggles against the no-strike pledge and the War Labor Board in World War II. However, it also reveals consistent errors which must be studied and corrected by revolutionists today if the movement is to be armed against new dangers. While this history has yet to be fully researched and recorded, its main outlines can be critically examined.

CP Degeneration in the Twenties

Cannon, Shachtman, Abern and the other founders of American Trotskyism were recruited to Trotsky's Opposition suddenly, in 1928, after the issue of "Trotskyism" was considered closed in the American CP, and without having undergone the experience of a conscious struggle against the Stalinist degeneration of the party in the twenties. This degeneration had hopelessly corrupted the bulk of the leadership and cadre of the CP and demoralized, tamed or driven away most of the members.

The leadership of the party was firmly in the hands of Jay Lovestone, a hated, distrusted and cynical factionalist, who controlled the party through organizational manipulation and unprincipled political adaptationism. Identified with the Bukharinite right wing internationally, the Lovestone clique was steering the party in the direction of unbridled opportunism based on pessimism. In the trade unions, Lovestone's policy was to rely heavily on maneuvers at the top in the trade-union bureaucracy, coupled with political overtures to liberals in the form of pacifism, etc. Given the sharp decline of the AFL, this policy meant concentration on the privileged skilled trades, the small minority of the workers who were organized, and virtually no orientation to the masses of unskilled workers.

In the Stalinized Communist International (CI) of the late twenties, leadership of the national sections depended on being able to sense the winds of political change in Moscow and change one's line in time. The rampant factionalism, soon to be replaced by monolithism, had become completely unprincipled. Thus while Lovestone's right-wing opportunism fit his natural predilections and organizational methods, his faction was no more or less identified with any particular political program than was that of his chief opponent, William Z. Foster. Both sought power through adapting to the Comintern breezes, which had been blowing distinctly to the right since 1926, when Stalin blocked with Bukharin against Trotsky, Zinoviev and the ultra-lefts.

Cannon, although he too was influenced by the degeneration of the Communist International, as early as 1925 formed a third faction, the purpose of which was to fight for the liquidation of the programless factions and the building of a collective leadership. It was a somewhat demoralized Cannon who reluctantly attended the Sixth Congress of the CI in 1928, at which he accidently discovered a copy of Trotsky's critique of the draft program, and became convinced of Trotsky's analysis of the degeneration of the International as based on the interests of the national-bureaucratic elite in the USSR.

"The Right Danger in the American Party"

At the time of the Sixth CI Congress Cannon had formed a bloc (a temporary alliance, not a fusion of groups) with Foster's group on the basis of the document, "The Right Danger in the American Party." This document, like the bloc that produced it, was contradictory: it was both a principled condemnation of the gross opportunist errors of Lovestone, and a platform for an unprincipled attempt by the Fosterites to get control of the CP on the basis of what they sensed was a new left turn in the making in the Comintern.

Stalin was indeed preparing a new left turn, though he was not ready to break openly with Bukharin at the time of the Sixth Congress. As usual, the turn was forced on Stalin by circumstances which grew out of the previous line. In addition, the turn of 1928 was a plot to outflank the Left Opposition: first to expel Trotsky, then to appear to adopt his slogans. Many members of the opposition fell into the trap and capitulated to Stalin.

"The Right Danger," later reprinted in the Trotskyists' paper, the *Militant*, on which the Trotskyists continued to stand after their expulsion, reflected the signals being sent out from Moscow before the Sixth Congress, indicating the approach of the new "Third Period" turn. It attempted to use against Lovestone letters from the CI complaining about this and that, and pressure from the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU—CI trade-union arm) for more work to organize the unorganized into new unions. While correctly attacking the grossly opportunist and capitulatory blocs of Lovestone with various elements of the trade-union bureaucracy, the document tended to slip into the fallacious third period "united front from below" conception:

> "The C.I. line against the United Front from the top with reactionary trade union, liberal and S.P. leaders, and for united front with the workers against them, applies with special emphasis in America."
>
> —*Militant*, 15 December 1928

While the "Right Danger" thus contained some errors reflecting the developing new Stalinist zigzag (and was furthermore limited solely to the consideration of American questions), it was in the main correct. It was principled, from Cannon's point of view, on the need to form new unions in places where the AFL was decrepit or non-existent. While Foster was the extreme AFL-fetishist, the partisan of "boring from within," Cannon had broken with Foster in 1926 over the Passaic strike, which he felt was an example in which a new union should

LABOR HISTORY ARCHIVES

Cops attacking strikers in 1926 Passaic textile strike. The Communist Party led the bitter battle, but CP's Ruthenberg leadership capitulated to the AFL rather than form new union. Below, 1933 coal strike in southern Illinois, led by Progressive Miners of America. While opposing dual unionism, Trotskyists supported PMA and called for formation of new unions where craft restrictions or bureaucratic domination strangled old unions. The key is support from overwhelming majority of workers.

by Chris Knox

have been formed under Communist leadership.

After their summary expulsion from the CP, which occurred on the basis of their views alone as soon as they solidarized with Trotsky, the Trotskyists attempted to make the most of Stalin's adoption of their slogans and continued to expose Lovestone, who was belatedly jumping on the third period bandwagon. The Trotskyists claimed Moscow's new slogans, "Against the Kulak! Against the Nepmen! Against the Bureaucrats!" as their own and took credit for the pressure leading to the CP's formation of new unions in mining, textiles and needle trades. These were the areas which the Trotskyists had felt were most ripe for the open formation of new unions, in conjunction with continued oppositional work in what was left of the old AFL unions. Initial Trotskyist trade-union work centered on these unions, particularly mining in southern Illinois.

This position for new unions in areas abandoned and betrayed by the AFL bureaucrats was soon to be distorted by the Stalinists into a position of dual unions *on principle*, and opposition to work in the old unions. As consistently presented by the Trotskyist Opposition (both before and after it became "Trotskyist"), however, the "new unions" line conformed to both the objective situation and the CP's ability to intervene in the situation. The AFL unions had been on a rampage of class collaborationism, destruction of militancy and expulsion of "reds" throughout most of the twenties. The thrust of this reactionary drive by the bureaucracy was explicitly against the organization of the masses of unskilled workers into industrial unions, which alone could overcome craft myopia and accomplish the organization of the bulk of the working class. The result was that the AFL unions not only refused to organize new workers, but they shrank drastically, driving away new workers and anyone who wanted to organize them in the process. By the end of the twenties, the crisis of proletarian leadership took the form of the lack of leadership to organize the unorganized.

The duty of revolutionary leadership was, in fact, to fill this gap, and smash the AFL bureaucracy in the process. This condition continued into the thirties, until finally a section of the AFL bureaucracy moved to organize the mass production industries precisely out of fear that if the AFL leadership didn't do it, the reds would. This resulted in the setting up of the CIO which, while it entailed a bitter rivalry with the old AFL leadership, was primarily a matter of the formation of new unions for the unorganized industries rather than a case of rivals directly competing for the same workers with the old unions.

The Trotskyists proceeded from the concrete situation in each case, and advocated new unions only where the struggle to take over the old unions had clearly exhausted itself against the stone wall of bureaucratism. Mining was such a case. The rank and file in areas such as southern Illinois were so disgusted with the betrayals and utter disregard for democracy of the Lewis machine that the basis for a new union really displacing the old shell existed. Opposition leaders in the CP before 1928 had to fight Lovestone policies which were a capitulation not only to the slow moving "progressives" (Brophy, Hapgood, etc.) but to the Lewis machine itself! The formation of the National Miners Union (NMU) by the CP, in conjunction with anti-Lewis leaders, came too late and was further sabotaged by other CP errors of an adventurist character. Rank-and-file pressure caused the progressives to try again in 1932, however, and the CP went along reluctantly with setting up the Progressive Miners of America.

Despite the objective conditions favoring new unions, the CP's third period red unions were a disastrous betrayal. They were disasters because of the manner in which the CP attempted to form them: too late at first, in the case of mining and needle trades, but then increasingly too precipitously, without preparation. Strikes were called in the same manner, as an adventure on the part of a small handful, rather than on the basis of conscious preparation of the mass of the workers. Furthermore, the CP's policy was a betrayal, because it made a principle for the whole movement out of what should have been merely a tactic for particular circumstances. While the CP claimed throughout to be for continued opposition inside the old unions, the core of third period sectarianism made this impossible. The AFL leadership, as well as the Socialist Party, Trotskyists, Musteites, and all other tendencies, were denounced as "social-fascists" and otherwise not part of the workers movement in any sense. This made the united front, in which communists bloc with non-communist working-class leaders in order to expose them and advance the struggle at the same time—an essential part of communist work in the trade unions—impossible. While destroying its handful of new unions through sectarianism and adventurism, the Stalinists thus abandoned and sabotaged work in the old unions, which left the reactionary bureaucrats in control. This not only delayed the final introduction of industrial unions on a mass scale, but ensured that when such unions were formed, reactionaries would lead them.

From the moment at which the "new unions" position of the CP began to mushroom into the full-scale sectarianism of the third period, the Trotskyists fought to expose these errors and warn of the dangers. With tremendous prescience, they warned:

> "The new 'theories' are attempting to rationalize the AFL out of existence as a federation of unions and abstractly preclude the possibility of its future expansion and growth in an organizational sense....
>
> "The abandonment of... struggle [in the AFL] now taking place under the cover of high-sounding 'radicalism' will only prevent the crystallization of an insurgent movement within the old unions and free the hands of the bureaucrats for more effective sabotage of the new unions, for these two processes are bound together. The result will be to strengthen the effectiveness of the AFL bureaucracy as a part of the capitalist war machine."
>
> —"Platform of the Communist Opposition," *Militant*, 15 February 1929

Trotskyist opposition to the sectarianism and adventurism of the third period, like the opposition to Lovestone's opportunism, was consciously linked to Cannon's earlier positions in the CP. As such, it carried forth certain errors which contributed to the mistakes of the later work of the Trotskyists in the trade unions.

In addition to condemning Lovestone's opportunism in the late twenties, the opposition groups (Foster and Cannon) condemned as sectarian his tendency to work exclusively through party fractions in the trade unions rather than building sections of the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), the party's trade-union organization. This tendency on the part of the Lovestone group dated back to the 1924-25 left turn in the CI. In the U.S., the Ruthenberg/Lovestone faction (Ruthenberg died in 1927) used this turn for factional advantage against Foster, by substituting direct party work in the unions for building the TUEL, which was Foster's main organizational base. While Cannon had always been for a flexible policy on work in the unions, including building new unions when called for, he was also against the "narrow" conception of the TUEL, which was developed at this time, in which the latter was closely identified with the party. Instead, he was for broad united-front blocs, while maintaining the independence and freedom to criticize of the party:

> "In 1925 the present Opposition conducted a struggle against the narrowing of the TUEL into a purely Communist body with a Communist program and for broadening it into a united front organization. This was one of the most progressive struggles in the history of the party."
>
> —"Platform of the Opposition"

The "Platform" of 1929 then goes on to condemn both the abandonment of united-front tactics with the onset of the third period and earlier failures of both a left and right character: failure to build broad united-front movements where possible and failure to struggle for a leading role of the party within such blocs and movements (including warning that "progressive" bloc partners will betray, etc.).

The error which was buried in this polemic was that the TUEL was designed precisely to be the vehicle to bring the main outlines of the Communist program directly into the unions. It was a membership organization based on a program, not a bloc or united front. It *carried out* united fronts with other forces. Since these other forces, and much of the TUEL membership itself, had melted away or been driven out of the unions by 1924, the *increased* identification between the TUEL and the Communist Party engineered by Ruthenberg/Lovestone seemed to Cannon to be a sectarian error: rather, the party should be using the TUEL to seek new allies. Yet Cannon advocated the same watering down of the TUEL's political nature as did the degenerating Comintern in the late twenties. This watering down gave rise to a policy of blocs as a permanent strategy (the "left-center coalition") from 1927 on (see *WV* No. 22, 8 June 1973).

Cannon's position on trade-union work, then, called for principled united fronts and blocs around the immediate burning issues, together with vigorous party-building and maintenance of the party as an independent force, free to criticize its bloc partners, and always striving to play a leading role. Rather than being confused on the nature of the united front, which he was not, Cannon simply dismissed the TUEL, or the need for anything like the TUEL, as anything other than a vehicle for such blocs or united fronts. This left him with no conception of an organized pole for the recruitment of militants to the full party program for the trade unions, i.e., what the TUEL had been during its period of greatest success (and before the Stalinist degeneration of the CI set in). It is not surprising, then, that the Trotskyists never attempted to create anything like the TUEL, such as caucuses based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program, in the course of their trade-union work. What caucuses they did create had the character of temporary blocs, usually based on immediate, trade-union issues. This meant that the party itself, able to function openly only outside the unions, was the only organized pole for recruitment to the full program.

That the problems with this approach didn't become manifest until much later, after the rise of the CIO, was due primarily to the nature of the period, which called above all for a united front for the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions. This called for capable revolutionary trade-union organizing, which the Trotskyists, particularly the experienced militants of Minneapolis and Cannon himself, were prepared to conduct. This perspective led the Trotskyists into some of the Stalinist dual unions, the progressives' PMA, and leadership of the historic Minneapolis truck drivers' strikes of 1934.

The Minneapolis strikes stand to this day as a model of revolutionary trade-union organizing. Together with the San Francisco and Toledo general strikes of the same year, the Minneapolis strikes were an important precursor to the organization of all mass production workers along industrial lines.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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...Uruguay

down despite arrests of a number of union leaders and proclamations by the government that all striking government workers would be fired and non-government workers who were fired would receive no compensation. The students had taken over Montevideo University; tear gas and shootings had failed to crush a giant demonstration in downtown Montevideo. Even the *Daily World* said on July 6, "The military's strikebreaking efforts have had almost no effect..." The *New York Times* reported an interview with a construction worker July 13 who said he could not understand why the union leadership had given in: "At first some of our companions went hungry, but we were getting organized and were ready to hold out."

In tragic confirmation of the counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism, as if further proof were required, the CP had all through the strike called not for a workers revolution, not even for consistent democracy, but instead for a coalition with not-so-reactionary sectors of the military! When the general strike threatened to turn into a real contest for power, rendering the CP's feeble bourgeois allies irrelevant, the Stalinists chose to liquidate the resistance rather than form factory committees and a national strike committee to wage class struggle against the military.

Military Slowly Consolidates

In late 1971 an Allende-type popular-front coalition including the CP and the Christian Democrats and called the Frente Amplio (Broad Front) ran a general for president but lost in the elections to Bordaberry's Colorado party. The military had been gaining strength in the past few years through the success of its campaign against the Tupamaros. *Le Monde* 11-12 February 1973 reported that within six months of the campaign against the Tupamaros, over half of the members and cadres had been lost, most of the hiding places discovered, and the leadership chopped off including the shooting and arrest of founder Raul Sendic.

Opposition to the military drive was centered in the Frente Amplio. In addition to the main parties it also included the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores), a grouping linked to the Argentinian PST which in turn is supported by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario) of Juan Posadas, with support from the Tupamaros. The Tupamaros, despite all their spectacular and individually heroic adventures, managed to play a totally insignificant role in the recent crisis, due to their divorce from the mass organizations of the working class.

When Congress was dissolved and the CNT outlawed, the Frente Amplio made an additional bloc, the Resistance Front, with dissident sections of Bordaberry's own Colorado party and with the other major bourgeois party, the Blancos. The Resistance Front was a political bloc on a bourgeois program around two demands: ousting Bordaberry and the restoration of democratic rights. Thus the CP, unsatisfied with its leftist popular front, formed an even broader "Broad Front."

Naturally the Stalinists maintained that the primary question was that of union of all forces against fascism. They were about as successful in applying the strategy of the popular front in Uruguay in 1973 as they had been in Spain in 1936-39—which is to say they were very successful since the whole purpose of the class-collaborationist bloc is to prevent revolution.

There is only one policy for revolution in Uruguay, as throughout the world—permanent revolution. Faced with the massive mobilization of the working class, the Castroite Tupamaro guerrillas faded into irrelevancy. Faced with the massive mobilization of the working class, the CP abandoned the struggle for fear of the consequences. The battle for Trotskyism is the battle of life and death for the revolution. ■

Continued from page 1

Boom Heads Toward Bust

tion, something which does not augur well for the capitalists.

The Slumping 50's and the Booming 60's

The present economic situation is organically linked to earlier cycles and can only be understood by looking at capital accumulation over the past few decades. This is because capitalist production cycles are primarily generated by the changing quantitative relation between the amount of profit and the value of capital (in other words, the rate of profit).

According to the fairy tale concocted by Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League (SLL), and his American camp follower the Workers League (WL), there was a post-World War II economic boom which only ended in the early 1960's (or in recent versions, in 1971). In reality, however, the end of the Korean War brought in a prolonged period of economic stagnation. In fact, 1953-61 marked the second worst period for American capitalism in this century. The period contained three downturns and had an average unemployment rate of over 5 percent. Moreover, between 1953 and 1961 the national output per person increased by a total of only 8 percent! At the same time, the rate of profit, which had averaged 13 percent during the late 1940's and the Korean War fell to 10 percent during 1954-61. (All statistics are from the *1973 Economic Report of the President*. The Marxist concept of the rate of profit, based on the labor theory of value, is sharply different from the formula used in capitalist statistics; however changes in the two are usually parallel.)

This stagnation of the U.S. economy during the middle and late 1950's was a cause of major concern to the ruling class, particularly when contrasted with the dynamism of the Soviet economy during the same period. A key slogan in Kennedy's 1960 campaign was to "get this country moving again." The belief that the statism of the liberal Democrats—compared with the donothingism of the Eisenhower administration—could stimulate the economy was probably the most important cause of substantial ruling-class support for Kennedy.

The Kennedy administration was associated with an economic boom, partly caused by state investment subsidies in the form of corporate tax dodges and government pressure to keep down wages (the "wage-price guidelines"). However, the 1962-66 capital investment boom was primarily the product of market forces unrelated to government policy. After years of minimal investment which resulted in obsolete production facilities in wide sectors of the economy by the early 1960's, the new plant and equipment during the Kennedy years embodied exceptionally high rates of technological improvement. Thus during 1962-66 the output per man-hour increased 3.8 percent a year compared with 2.7 percent a year in the 1954-61 period. This dramatic rise in productivity-increasing investment led bourgeois ideologues, and some supposed Marxists (such as Ernest Mandel) as well, to fantasize about a "third industrial revolution" and a fully automated economy.

By 1967 however, the facts demonstrated once again that capitalist expansion contains its own negation. A fully automated economy is only possible under socialism. In the period up to 1966 the expanded production had halved the unemployment rate and the resulting tight labor market had strengthened workers' bargaining power. As a result, wages rose sharply in 1966, leading to a jump in unit labor costs of 2.8 percent compared to an increase of only .7 percent the year before. Rising labor costs combined with the high rate of capital investment drove down the rate of profit. Investment, which had been increasing at 13 percent a year, actually fell slightly, which should have thrown the economy into a downturn. In fact, national output did decline in the first quarter of 1967. However, a recession was averted by the expansion of the Vietnam war, which increased the military budget by 17 percent in 1967 alone. Thus the U.S. had entered into a partial war economy.

War Inflation, Strike Wave and State Wage Control

Because of the unpopularity of the Vietnam war, Johnson decided not to raise taxes or impose direct wage-price controls or rationing. Instead he chose the con-man's way of paying for his armaments and soldiers by simply printing money (in this case by borrowing from the central bank). With an expanding payroll and smaller proportion of consumer goods, the U.S. suffered a classic war-generated inflation which pushed consumer prices up about 6 percent a year between 1967 and 1970. Wage increases had been geared to an earlier, slower rate of inflation and many unions (such as the UAW) had actually bargained away full cost-of-living adjustments in the early 1960's. With the unions trapped by existing contracts and a pro-capitalist bureaucracy, real take-home pay fell in the period from 1967 to 1970.

Nixon came to power committed to the right-wing bourgeois recipe for fighting inflation: deflate the economy so that rising unemployment will check wage increases and falling demand will depress prices. By cutting back the federal budget (the only dynamic aspect of the economy) by 6 percent in 1969, Nixon got his desired recession. But the results were not to his liking. On the one hand the monopoly power of the huge corporations made prices relatively resistant to government monetary measures, and inflation continued. On the other, trade unions were too entrenched to be cowed by anything short of massive unemployment, while the workers were more concerned with catching up with the inflation than afraid of pricing themselves out of a job.

In the face of rising unemployment the working class undertook a massive strike wave during 1969-71. This was highlighted by the General Electric strike in the fall of 1969, the postal workers' wildcat in the spring of 1970, the Midwest Teamster wildcat in the spring and the long General Motors strike in the fall of that year. Although they were not uniformly victories for the workers, due to the treachery of the labor bureaucracy, these strikes enabled the organized working class to keep its real wages roughly stable.

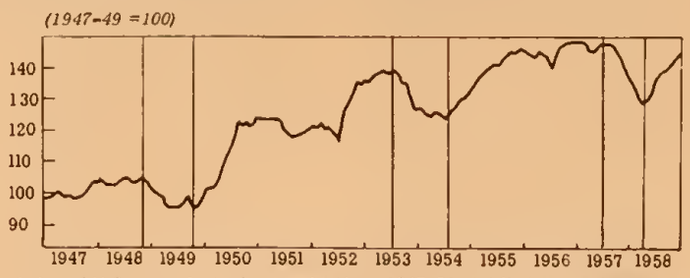
The bourgeoisie, however, required a cut in the workers' real wages to offset the inflation. The money wage increases of 7 to 10 percent were intolerable for the U.S. ruling class given its weakened international competitive position. Following the steel settlement under threat of an expected strike, the Nixon administration was faced with the choice of either trying to further depress the economy, hoping that rising unemployment would finally break the spirit of the unions, or else imposing direct state wage control. Nixon chose the latter course.

With the cooperation of the union bureaucracy, Nixon's wage price control was essentially successful from the standpoint of the ruling class. The strike wave was broken as the number of man-days on strike fell from more than 66 million in 1970 to 26 million in 1972 (*Monthly Labor Review*, February 1973). The union bureaucracy kept to Nixon's game plan by holding wage increases to an acceptable 5-1/2 percent. With wage increases down and the increased productivity always associated with the early phase of a boom, the inflation was moderated at about 3-1/2 percent in 1972.

"The Unhappy Boom"

The wage price controls roughly coincided with, and partly contributed to, a capital investment boom which took off in the middle of 1971. It has been, however, a strange boom.

One of the most unusual and important aspects of this boom has been its small impact on employment. The unemployment rate has only dropped from 6 percent in mid-1971 to 5 percent in the first quarter of this year, and it will certainly not drop any further. While from 1971 to the first quarter of 1973 national output increased by 11 percent and investment in plant and equipment went up by 19 percent, total man-hours employed only increased by 6 percent (*Current Business Developments*, May 1973). This means that investment has been of a highly capital-intensive, labor-saving type—what Marx called accumulation with a sharply rising organic composition of capital. This means that the value of capital is increasing faster than the value of the output it generates, leading to a falling rate of profit.



Index of U.S. manufacturing production, 1947-58. While bourgeois economists, Healy/Wohlforth talk of "1950's boom," statistics show post-Korean War period was one of relative stagnation.

The highly capital-intensive nature of recent investment accounts for another seemingly strange aspect of the current boom—the fall in stock market prices. Despite the rapid inflation and healthy profit levels, the market value of the capital stock has declined steadily since January. The decline in stock prices is not because of Watergate or even the monetary crisis, but is a normal phenomenon during business cycles. As the *Wall Street Journal*'s leading financial analyst, Alfred Malabre, correctly observed, "Stock prices normally begin to drop long before a recession sets in and to rise long before business recovers" (*Wall Street Journal*, 18 June 1973).

At a certain point during a boom the owners of the capital stock discover that the return on their investment (profit) is unsatisfactory given its rising value. In Marx's words, capital has blocked its own growth. The *first* manifestation of the falling rate of profit is the devaluation of the capital stock and the flight from ownership of the means of production into money and debt claims. The second manifestation is a cutback in the actual production of capital (a drop in investment) causing a general decline in economic activity.

It is clear that the boom has peaked and that a new downturn is less than a year away. The key element in a capital investment boom, new orders for plant and equipment, peaked last January (the same month as stock prices) and has been declining steadily since. The workweek shortened slightly in May. Retail sales in April grew at the slowest rate since June 1972. And for the first time in a year inventories grew faster than sales, always a clear sign that a boom has peaked. It is fairly certain that the value of output will decline by late this year and that the physical volume of output will decline in the early and middle months of 1974.

However the "unhappiest" aspect of the boom, particularly for workers, is unquestionably the near-runaway inflation in the first part of this year. This has a number of causes. Undoubtedly, the capitalists took Nixon's "back-to-normal" Phase Three as a signal to engage in competitive price increases. The one-sidedness of the investment boom is itself a cause of inflation since it increases total payrolls much faster than consumer goods, particularly food. The February dollar devaluation also contributed by raising the price of imports (mainly manufactured consumer goods and raw materials, notably petroleum) and shifting certain products, notably agricultural, out of domestic and into foreign markets.

Whatever the specific weight of the various factors contributing to the current inflation, it is clear that the United States (along with the other advanced capitalist countries) now faces a structurally higher rate of inflation which feeds on itself. This has two objective bases. One is the inability of the nationally organized ruling classes, in the absence of the external, "natural" discipline of the gold standard, to control the international money supply. To do so would require a genuinely international political unit and this the bourgeoisie is incapable of providing, tied as it is to the archaic national-state system. The second reason is that trade unions in the advanced capitalist countries are so well-entrenched that it requires extraordinary measures to replace organized workers with the unemployed.

Back to the Hard Line

If the trade unions have the objective power to defend the workers' living standards even in the face of substantial unemployment, the union bureaucracy can sabotage the use of that power. And one would have to look far and wide for a better example of such sabotage than the bureaucracies' policies during Phase Three. In order to prepare for the steel contract, Abel signed a no-strike pledge. In order to prepare for the trucking negotiations, Fitzsimmons forced the Chicago Teamsters local to agree not to wildcat against the national contract. And the Rubber Workers and electrical unions signed contracts that everyone knew would mean a decline in the living standards of the workers. From the standpoint of the ruling class, the *only* good news on the inflation front is that wages are rising less than prices. As the *Wall Street Journal* (11 May) commented, "The chief cost they are watching is labor cost, and so far the signs have been encouraging. Last month, for instance, the Rubber Workers signed with Goodyear for increases amounting to about 6 per cent a year."

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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...UAW Elections

order to get elected, while the Brotherhood Caucus leaders are career bureaucrats pretending to be some kind of radicals in order to get elected. As *Workers Vanguard* pointed out before the elections (see *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973), the Brotherhood was really a vehicle for the old Blue Slate, the previous union leadership before the Herrera clique (which in turn was just ousted by the Brotherhood). The Brotherhood slate contained a large number of Blue Slate operators, including Denny Lemmond, who ran for financial secretary and is so infamous that he was defeated by an unknown independent.

The election campaign also revealed that behind the New Left populist rhetoric—which can be purchased cheaply in California—of Brotherhood leader Earlie Mays lies a past history as a full-time functionary for the Reuther-Woodcock bureaucracy. Thus despite vague talk of "people power," the Brotherhood victory was simply the exchange of one bureaucratic clique for another in a game of musical chairs in which the membership always loses.

This was accurately reflected in the campaign itself, which was totally dominated by mutual personal exposés and recriminations (probably mostly true on *both* sides). The net effect should have been to discredit both sides in the eyes of any honest militant. And in fact only about half the membership voted at all. Although Mays won the key shop committee chairmanship, the other union offices were pretty evenly divided with the incumbent Unity Team keeping 12 out of 19 of the committeemen. In short, the vote was a minor protest vote, with a recognition that there was really no significant difference between the two slates.

Responding to the call for "people power" like a school of sea lions to a barrel of fish, all the phony "revolutionary" groups in California barked the praises of the Brotherhood Caucus. Predictably the CP characterized the Brotherhood victory as "a significant victory for the rank and file" (*Peoples World*, 23 June). And just as the Chinese bureaucracy vies with Moscow for the favors of U.S. imperialism, so the American Maoists vie with the CP in embracing trade-union opportunism. Thus both the Revolutionary Union and the October League give uncritical support to the Brotherhood Caucus. Not to be outdone by the Stalinists, the Workers League added its own characteristic touch of political banditry by first hailing the establishment of the Brotherhood (*Bulletin*, 11 December 1972), later withdrawing its endorsement in order to push its own barely-distinguishable reformist auto program (centering on a 20 percent wage increase), and now again hailing the Brotherhood victory with the headline "Brotherhood Sweeps Fremont" (*Bulletin*, 25 June)—this time covering itself by noting deficiencies in the caucus' program.

In keeping with the petty cliquism which characterized both slates in the Fremont elections, neither side has mobilized the ranks for a united *class* defense of victimized workers who have been sacked by GM. The two latest incidents are the firing of night committeeman Gregg Mello and the disciplinary layoff of John Scrempos, a Brotherhood leader. In response to earlier company attacks, the Brotherhood stalled for months before holding a small rally on 10 May which was attended by only a small fraction of the Brotherhood's clalmed membership. Moreover, they sought to use opposition to the firings for purely factional advantage, announcing an NLRB suit against GM's "attempt to obstruct the Brotherhood." Their answer to the company's recent attacks was another impotent rally on 20 June. Fremont workers must reject this each-caucus-for-itself defense policy and unite in a major campaign to force the company to rehire *all* the victimized workers, utilizing the full power of the organized working class including the power to halt production.

The defense of the union also requires the fullest freedom of discussion, that is *workers democracy*, to arrive at the proper course of action. We therefore call on the Brotherhood Caucus to live up to its democratic pretensions and drop the ban on selling left-wing literature in front of the union hall, a ban earlier imposed by the Herrera gang. We also call on the Brotherhood and all other forces in the union to condemn the gangster tactics of the Maoist Revolutionary Union which has on several occasions physically threatened *Workers Vanguard* salesmen at the Fremont plant. The October League, another Maoist group which enthuses over the Brotherhood, has similarly threatened *WV* salesmen in other locations.

For a Nationwide Class-Struggle Opposition in the UAW

The election of diverse "left" oppositionists in locals throughout the country demonstrates the felt need for a militant, class-struggle alternative to the Woodcock bureaucracy. Such an opposition must be based not on cheap (and meaningless) "serve the people" or "fight the bosses" rhetoric. Instead it must have a sharply defined and comprehensive program for working-class power, uniting the proletariat around a series of transitional demands which, going beyond the limits of the capitalist system itself, lead directly to the only real answer to workers' needs, socialist revolution. ■

Nixon's exemption of wages from the 60-day freeze is not generosity toward labor, but smart politics. With the bureaucrats shoving rotten contracts down the throats of the ranks, while prices and profits are soaring, for Nixon to have applied the freeze to wages would have been a totally unnecessary provocation to labor. As it is, the bureaucracy will certainly claim that the price freeze has stiffened management resistance, thereby preventing the unions from winning better terms.

The breakdown of the "normalization" Phase Three and the reassertion of a hard line in direct controls demonstrates that state wage control is a fundamental requirement of contemporary capitalism, regardless of the personal preferences of whatever politicians are in office. The implication for union militants is clear: it is not possible to revert to "independent" unions simply acting as bargaining agents for their members in a free market. In this era, the unions are either agencies by which the ruling class disciplines the workers or they must be the organizational bases for the overthrow of capitalism.

Catastrophism vs. Marxist Economics

For some time Lyn Marcus' National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) and Tim Wohlforth's Workers League (WL) have been proclaiming that the final economic crisis of capitalism is at hand and that the next few years will bring either communist revolution or fascism. People new to the Marxist movement may believe that this is simply an over-reaction to the 1971 devaluation of the dollar and the onset of international financial anarchy. Far from it. Wohlforth and Marcus have been singing the "final, ever-deepening crisis" song ever since the early 1960's! In 1965 Wohlforth, with Marcus acting as his economic adviser, asserted:

> "Our position is that essentially capitalism as a world system is in a period of stagnation and decline, and that the fundamental character of the post-war period is formed by the boom and prosperity of capitalism based on the rebuilding and development of Europe and that *the period since the end of the 50's has been one of decline and stagnation.*" [our emphasis]
>
> —"Conversations with Wohlforth," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3, Part 4, Seventh Session

Here we have it—the fifteen-year "ever-deepening final crisis" of capitalism.

In the next issue of *Workers Vanguard* we intend to deal with the Workers League/Healyite theory of "The Crisis" in some detail. At this point we will limit ourselves to two observations. First, capitalist production is inherently *cyclical* and a continual decline in production is impossible. And second, both the WL and NCLC use "the final crisis" to justify the proposition that traditional economic reformism is now revolutionary, since capitalism can no longer grant reforms. Their crisis-mongering is simply a justification for their economism.

Not only do catastrophic theories discredit Marxism and disorient would-be revolutionists, but they also distract the working class from the actual exploitation, oppression and class conflict they face in daily life. Thus in order to make a case that *now* the final depression is at hand, the WL is forced to create the complete fiction of the prosperous Eisenhower years, a period which occurred—oh happy coincidence—before the emergence of the Wohlforth tendency. (Had Wohlforth led an organization during the mid-1950's we have no doubt that the ultimate crisis of capitalism would have surfaced then.)

Communists do not need to project the imminence of a catastrophic economic crisis and fascist rule to justify the need for socialist revolution. The highest inflation in twenty years, a 5 percent rate of officially acknowledged unemployment and a venal and moribund union bureaucracy actively collaborating with a reactionary government to hold down wages—these conditions are a quite sufficient precondition for building the vanguard communist party and a class-struggle opposition in the unions. ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

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THE "THIRD PERIOD"

ist," and that the USSR is no longer a workers state but a new imperialism presided over by a "red bourgeoisie." In a recent attack on Trotskyism from a Maoist viewpoint, the pamphlet entitled "From Trotskyism to Social-Imperialism" by Michael Miller of the League for Proletarian Revolution, this position stands in contrast to Trotsky's position:

> "In 1956 Khrushchev came on the scene, launching an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat and spreading petty-bourgeois ideology and culture everywhere....
>
> "Trotskyism has never understood in theory and never learned from practice the class character of the Soviet and Chinese states. During the period of Soviet history when the economic base was being transformed from private to social ownership of the means of production, the Trotskyites always stressed the political structure—the superstructure....The economic base can never by considered apart from the political structure. In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, which is the heart of the political structure, was taken over by a clique of bourgeois-type politicians and transformed into a variant of a big bourgeois political party. Now they are busy implementing economic policies which *reverse the socialist* economic base, which restore private ownership, private production for the market, and which reproduce on an enormous scale all the corresponding capitalist social relationships."

This passage demonstrates the Maoists' rejection of elementary Marxism. If, as they hold, a peaceful social counterrevolution took place in Russia, then logically a peaceful socialist revolution against capitalism is also possible—a classic social-democratic position which Lenin refuted in *State and Revolution*. Further, to maintain that such a revolution was accomplished by the appearance of a ruling group with "petty-bourgeois ideology" is idealism, completely counterposed to the Marxist materialist understanding that a social revolution can be accomplished only by an overturn in property relations.

Most important of all are the practical consequences of this policy. Since the USSR is an "imperialist" state according to Mao, it is not necessary to defend it against other capitalist states. In fact, Mao has gone so far as to press for a Sino-Japanese alliance against the Soviet Union and to encourage the retention of NATO as a bulwark against "Soviet imperialism" in Europe! These are the counterrevolutionary implications of the "state capitalist" position put into practice. They raise the specter of an inter-imperialist war with the USSR and China aligned with opposing capitalist powers—an eventuality which would place the socialist property forms of the deformed workers states in immediate danger. Though the Brezhnev clique in Moscow is not so explicit in blocking with capitalist states against China, its willingness to abandon the defense of the workers states in the hopes of achieving an alliance with U.S. imperialism was clearly revealed last year when Nixon was invited to sign a declaration of "peaceful coexistence" in Moscow at the very moment that American planes were carrying out saturation bombing over North Vietnam!

The Trotskyists, in contrast, call for Sino-Soviet unity against imperialism, for unconditional defense of the deformed workers states. At the same time we mercilessly criticize the parasitic bureaucracies who are sabotaging that defense. The advanced workers will recognize the justice of this principled, class position, and reject those such as the Maoists and pro-Moscow Stalinists who criminally abandon the defense of the workers' conquests.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Reformists Gain in UAW Elections

In recent local elections at four key plants of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in different sections of the country, incumbent bureaucrats have been ousted by the ranks and replaced by more militant-talking oppositionists. At the Tarrytown, N.Y. General Motors plant and the International Harvester complex in Chicago the winners were supporters of the Communist Party (CP) and its labor sympathizer group, the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD). In Detroit a leader of the largest oppositional group in the union, the United National Caucus (UNC), was elected president of Chrysler's Eldon Gear and Axle plant, while the Brotherhood Caucus won at Fremont GM on the West Coast. What these various oppositionists have in common is a lack of a clearly-defined class-struggle program, relying instead on simple trade-union militancy and vague anti-establishment rhetoric.

Since the 1969-71 strike wave, the ancient and rigidly conservative Meanyite bureaucracy has become fundamentally alienated from the ranks and a target for hostility, particularly from the younger, black and Latin workers. That bureaucracy can now be shattered. But the decisive question is whether the Meany-Woodcock leadership will be replaced by a slicker, more left version of the same, drawn in part from the cadre of the reformist left organizations, or by forces representing revolutionary class-struggle policies. Thus far the International bureaucracy of the UAW has not been effectively challenged by a "left" opposition, but in the past few years a number of "militant" oppositionists have achieved a certain power base at the local level.

The two major currents in the present upsurge of rank-and-file labor reformism are on the one hand the Communist Party, with its experienced trade-union machine, and on the other a diverse conglomeration of groups and individuals emerging from the New Left/black nationalist movement and supported by various Maoist, syndicalist and social-democratic organizations, notably the International Socialists (IS). One of the key arenas in this struggle is the UAW, which was built by supporters of several avowedly socialist parties and where today, with the brutal working conditions and heavily young and black membership, discontent with the pro-capitalist Woodcock regime is rife.

The Huey Newton of Eldon Gear and Axle

Jordan Sims, who recently won the presidency of the Chrysler Eldon plant in Detroit, is a prominent spokesman for the apparently moribund United National Caucus. The UNC is an unstable amalgam of aspiring local bureaucrats ranging from the politically conservative, business unionist Mike Singer to reformist "socialists" like Sims and the ex-Trotskyist Art Fox, with the IS thrown in for added flavor. Like many such groupings, the UNC features a two-tier, maximum-minimum program. The maximum program includes such demands as immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, opposition to state wage control and support for a labor party. These demands would be an important part of an authentic class-struggle program, although in themselves they do not go beyond the bounds of capitalist society. However, *in practice* the UNC completely ignores them in favor of concentrating on safer issues such as the referendum election of the International president, and crosses the class line to sue the union in the capitalist courts (to deprive pensioners of voting rights). Beset by organizational incompetence and rampant warlordism, the UNC appears to have self-destructed (the last issue of its paper, the *UNC*, was in December). If true, this would mean one less obstacle for auto workers and the rest of the proletariat in the struggle for independent organization as a class around revolutionary objectives.

Sims' election is clearly a personal victory and not a strengthening of the UNC. While Sims was elected president, every other office was retained by the incumbent bureaucracy. Sims apparently did not associate himself with the UNC, even on the basis of its lowest-common-denominator "bargaining program," running instead primarily on a reputation for militancy arising from past victimization by Chrysler and the local bureaucracy. In a glowing article on the Eldon election, the IS' *Workers' Power* (June 1973) restricted itself entirely to the heroic saga of Jordan Sims' personal history (rather like the *Black Panther* coverage of Huey Newton), not once mentioning the program he ran on. This is not surprising considering that he didn't run on any program.

DAILY WORLD

Bill Scott, leader of Rank and File Committee at Tarrytown GM.

The CP Achieves Respectability

Meanwhile at Tarrytown GM, the Rank and File Committee won an important victory, sweeping the bargaining committee elections. Among those elected was Bill Scott, a prominent supporter of the reformist politics of the CP. The program of the victorious RFC (which ran in a bloc with some independents) was the typical menu of bread-and-butter "economism" one expects of a CP-supported caucus. According to the *Daily World* (6 July 1973), "Their program [was] to fight speedup, clean up unsafe working conditions, fight for the hundreds of pending grievances and organize the shop behind contract negotiations."

Faced with a successful upsurge from the ranks, the incumbent bureaucracy moved to co-opt the RFC by "unifying" with it. The current Local 664 leaders, Calore and Sheridan, announced that they wanted to join with the Rank and File Committee against the company and that they supported the caucus' program. They probably did, too, for there is nothing in it that has not been raised by every bureaucrat on the outs who is trying to get into office without upsetting the system. Scott replied that the RFC also favored unity, but that "unity must be based on struggle for the rights of the membership" (*Daily World*, 6 July 1973). What union bureaucrat, even the most reactionary, would ever openly oppose the "rights of the membership" in the abstract? On the basis of such protestations Meany himself could unite with the RFC! This farce clearly demonstrates the key importance of *program*. Faced with successful insurgency, the wilier bureaucrats will move to co-opt the opposition, temporarily embracing as their own the more militant program as long as it remains within the framework of traditional business unionism.

Another important victory for the CP was the election of Norman Roth as president of the Melrose Park, Illinois UAW local at the International Harvester plant. Roth is a prominent spokesman for the CP-backed TUAD and "Labor for Peace," a loose coalition of liberal bureaucrats. Roth won against a campaign of red-baiting in a three-sided race against a corrupt, racist incumbent, Egan, who put out a leaflet calling blacks "fugitives from the watermelon patch" and "burr heads."

Roth's election, like Sims' in Detroit, was essentially a personal victory although he heads a small opposition group, the Solidarity Caucus. Roth was the only Solidarity candidate elected, with the remaining local offices divided between the Egan group and a similar bureaucratic clique. The goals of the Solidarity Caucus are summarized by its virtually meaningless slogan of "the unity of all labor behind a program which can win." Despite its talk about "all labor" the caucus is a localized group which doesn't even bother to call for the ouster of the Woodcock bureaucracy. In the present campaign, its two most radical demands were "open the books" and an end to labor participation on Nixon's Productivity Board. While opposition to state wage control is a vital agitational demand in this period, to limit labor's economic program to that single demand implies tolerance for "normal" free-market capitalism. Although Roth does a lot of talking about the Vietnam war *outside* the union, his campaign was almost totally devoid of concern for *any* broader political issues. He does not say *how* labor should oppose the war (write your congressman?). He refused to call on the workers to break from the capitalist parties to form a labor party based on the trade unions, and in fact he, together with TUAD and—in practice—the CP, supported McGovern in the last elections. By not calling for labor action against U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia and a working-class alternative to the bosses' parties, Roth's campaign did not fundamentally break with the policies of the present labor bureaucracy, which above all refuses to challenge capitalist rule.

Syndicalists Sucked into Business Unionism

An important radical group in Melrose Harvester is the Workers Voice Committee, a syndicalist group, originating from the Revolutionary Youth Movement wing of the old SDS. Workers Voice believes that trade unions are organically reformist and discredited and that the class struggle must flow through new shop-floor organizations. Despite its formal anti-unionism, which includes opposition to participation in union affairs, Workers Voice revealed its fundamentally reformist appetites by succumbing to Roth's popularity and giving him backhanded support: *Workers Voice*, Vol. 4, No. 5 observed that Roth "is closer to the real issues concerning workers in the shop than the other candidates." Mike Goldfield, a leader of Workers Voice, went even further by putting out a personal leaflet attacking only Egan and saying, "We hope that if Norm Roth is elected president, he will not play the same divisive role, thus, making it easier to achieve unity among all workers in the shop."

Another leader of Workers Voice, Murray Dillard, ran for re-election on the union executive board as a trustee. (Since Workers Voice has a formal position against running for union office, its members instead run as independents when they want to.) Dillard's campaign leaflet of 27 June had a picture of the American flag and the caption, "Be a Good American"!

Dillard's flag-waving is not some aberration or cynical maneuver unrelated to his past association with Workers Voice. At heart syndicalists long to be at one with the great American working class and are contemptuous of revolutionary Marxism, preferring instead native shop-floor militancy. A group which defers to the existing consciousness of the workers will necessarily become infected sooner or later with the reactionary ideology that the ruling class inculcates in the masses. National chauvinism, just as much as racism, is a principal weapon of the ruling class in fighting against the independent organization of the workers as a class. The Dillard incident is simply one more demonstration that a workerist rejection of the Leninist vanguard party means abandoning the historic tasks of the working class, instead capitulating to the present attitudes of particular groups of workers and ultimately leads to reaction.

Dillard's campaign, in addition to embarrassing Workers Voice, also embarrassed—you guessed it—the IS, whose supporters had been sporting Dillard campaign buttons. The IS just can't seem to resist those "honest, rank-and-file" opportunists.

Out-Bureaucrats Don New Left Clothing

The victory of the Brotherhood Caucus at the Fremont, California General Motors plant differs from the elections of Sims, Scott and Roth in that the latter are reformist "socialists" pretending to be simple union militants in

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 26 3 August 1973

AP

U.S. bombing in Cambodia, July 1973.

U.S.' Last Hope in Cambodia: Mao/Sihanouk

By signing the August 15 cut-off of bombing in Cambodia, Nixon and the U.S. capitalist class have signed the death warrant for the Lon Nol clique whose sole base of "popular" support expands or contracts depending on the amount of American "aid" available for bribery and whose sole defense against the Khmer Rouge insurgency is American B-52's. Lon Nol's army, entirely equipped and paid by the U.S., is so shot through with corruption that of the 250,000 soldiers claimed by the general staff to be on the payroll, 150,000 were found to be "phantom" troops added to the lists to pad the bank accounts of the generals. Even the payroll meant for the troope that actually exist is siphoned off by the generals. The army epends as much time demonstrating in front of the Royal Palace for back wages as it does fighting the Khmer Rouge. U.S. military supplies are promptly reeold to the Khmer Rouge, so that although the Chineee and North Vietnamese provide almost no military ald, the insurgente are able to maintain a partisan war using equipment "Made in the U.S.A."

Lon Nol'e regime is so unstable that even his hand-picked court astrologere, who are his closest political advisors, predicted his imminent downfall this past Spring. He promptly had 55 astrologers arrested for making disloyal predictions. However, this brought him no better fortune as both his military and economic situation continued to deteriorate. His U.S. "advisors," with something more material than the stars to back up their advice, forced him to exile his brother, General Lon Non, who even among the thieves and thugs that constitute Cambodia's "elite" was considered corrupt and despotic, and to broaden his regime by bringing back his co-conspirators in the 1970 anti-Sihanouk coup who had since fallen out.

The insurgent forces, the Stalinist Khmer Rouge, have since the overthrow of Sihanouk grown from scattered guerrila bands and Communist cells numbering 3,000 into a force of 50,000 which militarily controls and politically adminietere 80 to 90 percent of Cambodian territory. The Khmer Rouge are reportedly divided into eeveral groups and lack central coordination. Following the precepts of Mao and his ex-close-comrade-in-arms Lin Piao, they have made little or no attempt to organize the urban working class. Instead they have preferred to ally with the "national monarchy."

Though when Sihanouk was head of state as a "neutralist prince" he persecuted the Khmer Rouge and drove them underground, as soon as he was deposed by Lon Nol he formed a political bloc with his former foes called the "National United Front of Cambodia," or FUNK for ehort, which ie in turn part of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (GRUNK). The FUNK claims to mobilize all social classes and strata, all political parties, all professional or religious organizations, all patriotic personages irrespective of their political opinion, sex and religious belief. It also promises to "safeguard the inviolability of the person, property, wealth and privacy of correspondence" and even asserts that "Buddhism is and will remain the state religion"("Proclamation" of the FUNK). The GRUNK claims to be open to all "qualified representatives of the Buddhist clergy, the army, the police, the provincial guard, young people, intellectuals, peasants, workers, other laborers, industrialists, shopkeepers, civil servants, women, etc. who belong to all the patriotic, progressive, anti-imperialist-leaning groups" (*Le Monde*, 25 March 1970). Thus, as in Greece, we are confronted here with a "people's monarchy" vs. a "general'e republic," except that in Cambodia the Stalinists constitute the only real, politically organized force within the "people's monarchy" and the prince eerves as a titular figurehead.

A Nixon-Mao-Sihanouk Axis?

The U.S. government, in anticipation of the August 15 deadline, is apparently trying to split Sihanouk from the Khmer Rouge and reconstruct the "government of national salvation" which existed prior to the 1970 coup, composed of Lon Nol as premier, Sirik Matak as

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What Should Be Done About Richard Nixon?

Whatever may be the intentions of the evidently honorable old male chauvinist, raciet, constitutionalist Senator Ervin from North Carolina, he has, for his own reasons, provided a service by pushing hie inquiry to the point of revealing at least some of Nixon'e conspiratorial echemes, and raising the obvious question, what should be done about Richard Nixon?

We are not bourgeois democrats. Certalnly, for his crimee against bourgeoie democracy Nixon ehould be removed (impeached) as preeident of the U.S. Behind hie incredible unctuousness—doing dirty tricks while hypocritically mouthing platitudes about public morality and piously calling for "law-and-order"—lie bonapartist appetites to become the Colonel Papadopoulos of America.

But the truly great crimes, of enormous magnitude—smacking of the Nazi war crimes for which the imperialist victors exacted their revenge on the losers in the Nuremburg Trials, as well as of the equally barbarous atrocities committed by the Allies (Dresden, Hiroshima/Nagasaki, etc.)—are what he's done (and is still doing as you read this) in Indochina: the calculated mass butchery of Asian peasants and workers.

The proper aspiration of the American workers movement is to extradite this man and his guilty entourage to some place like North Vietnam, where a real tribunal of the peers of his victims might be convened and a just verdict possibly arrived at. For our part, we aspire to lead the working class in a socialist revolution which can provide the definitive verdict on Nixon's rule —by sweeping him and his class into the dust-bin of history.

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French Bomb Tests Spark Protests in Australasia

On July 21 France began a series of nuclear tests on Mururoa atoll, 800 miles southeast of Tahiti, despite considerable international opposition. The governments of Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Japan, Canada, Britain and Sweden issued protests. In France the Communist Party and the Socialist Party stated their opposition to the tests. Postal workers in Britain refused to handle mail to France for a week. The main protests, however, have been in Australasia. The Labor governments of Australia and New Zealand successfully sought a ruling from the World Court calling on France not to begin any tests until the Court could rule on the claims of the two Pacific states. When the French government went ahead with its stated intention of ignoring the World Court, Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam lamented that France had "betrayed her traditional respect for the law" (*New York Times*, 23 July 1973)! Whitlam sent a naval supply ship to join the New Zealand frigate "Otago" which, replete with Cabinet Minister, was bearing "silent witness" at the edge of the test zone.

In Australia the Australian Council of Trade Unions called for a nationwide boycott of French products, a ban on the handling of French goods and the refusal to service French air traffic, ships and businesses. These measures which include a blackout on telegraphic and postal communications between France and Australia and to French businesses, have virtually severed communications and trade with France.

Most of the ostensible revolutionary left in Australia has uncritically accepted the nationalist, liberal and pacifist premises prevalent among the opponents of the tests. Thus they have been confined to regretting that the Whitlam government is not more determined and that it relies too much on "correct" forms of protest. The exception is the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. In a leaflet the SL/ANZ pointed out that:

> "The Whitlam government has attempted to limit the power of the French by opposing the testing of French nuclear weapons in the Pacific, and various left-wingers have cheered them on, deluded that they were "pressuring" the Labor government into making gains for the working class. 'Whitlam's action in sending the Supply to the test area was the least he could do. His success in winning a favorable decision at the Hague opposing the French tests would have achieved nothing if it were not followed up....' (*Direct Action*, No. 43, June 28, 1973) The government opposes the power of the French not because Whitlam doesn't like strontium 90 in his tea (which he presumably doesn't), but because the Australian Labor government will seem to have much more room to maneuver—to negotiate more profitable deals for the Australian bourgeoisie—if the government appears to be authoritative in an attempt to make the French back down. What the SWL/SYA and all the rest don't seem to understand is bourgeois politics. The Labor government decision to send a naval vessel into the nuclear test zone is hardly an act any revolutionists should applaud. Not only are the "lefts" tailing after reformism and chauvinism but pacifist antics as well. *Only the power of the conscious working class, mobilised internationally against the bourgeois system of war can effectively end the nuclear power of the bourgeoisie.*

The Socialist Workers League/Socialist Youth Alliance is content like their friends in the Socialist Workers Party to tail uncritically after the liberals, even going so far as to suggest that "the tests could easily be stopped if the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, would sail into the test area himself" (*Direct Action*, No. 40, 10 May 1973)! Their comrades in the New Zealand Socialist Action League capitulated even more openly to pacifism. At a demonstration protesting the ban on the Ligue Communiste in Wellington on July 2 they carried banners inscribed "Ban the Bomb, not French socialists" (*Intercontinental Press*, 16 July 1973)! The largest ostensible revolutionary organization in Australia, the Communist Party of Australia, hopes that the Labor government will make a "fresh start" and implement an "independent and peaceful foreign policy." It fails to realize that Australia is just as much a part of the imperialist system as is the U.S. and that to think otherwise is the first step toward becoming the ally of the Australian bourgeoisie. But besides its utopian Stalinist belief that a minor imperialist nation can somehow achieve economic independence without proletarian revolution, it argues that:

> "The problem of nuclear tests and weapons of course goes beyond the French government and involves the other four nuclear powers. Not only France but also China still pollutes the world's atmosphere with tests. The USA and USSR, though confining testing to underground, may be building up mammoth radio-activity problems for the future...."
>
> —*Tribune*, 10-16 July 1973

According to the CPA this is a "totally unacceptable situation" which can be ended only by "universal agreement to abandon nuclear weapons production and destroy stockpiles" which "will not begin to occur until each nuclear power can convince the others it has no intention of initiating a nuclear war in any circumstances." This completely anti-Marxist idealism was challenged by our Australian comrades:

> "The 'Black Ban' slapped on all French goods by the ACTU is an act we must support but not uncritically. In banning all relations with France the social-democratic trade-union leaders mobilised tens-of-thousands of workers for political action. The workers movement must support the ban, not for the reasons offered by the ACTU, but because we are opposed to the arming of the bourgeois state, not because we are against nuclear weapons or the French. The strike leaders' use of nationalist sentiment and appeals to bourgeois morality are *barriers* to revolutionary class consciousness and must be fought, particularly when they are used to justify a good action. "These trade-union leaders revealed their limitations when they criticized the Chinese for detonating a nuclear weapon. 'They're fouling our environment,' they cried. But the Chinese state is using the weapons to defend the historic gains embodied in the destruction of capitalist property relations. *What we hold against the Chinese state is its failure to use the threat of these potent weapons to aid the Vietnamese in their fight against imperialism!*

BLACK STAR

1971 French H-bomb test in South Pacific.

The supporters of Mao, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) are likewise unable to understand the Marxist position of unconditional defense of workers states and are led by the Chinese bureaucracy's efforts to unite with the "friendly" imperialists, to tacitly support the testing of nuclear weapons by the French imperialists. Ignoring the question of the class nature of the state they divide the world into the superpowers (the U.S. and the Soviet Union) who are "desperately seeking to divert the people's growing struggles against imperialism" (*Vanguard*, 28 June 1973), and the "small and medium powers" of which China, of course, is the champion.

According to a Chinese diplomat, "the enhancement of their self-defense capabilities by a great number of small and medium countries confronted with aggression, interference, subversion and control by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has nothing at all to do with the arms race" (*Peking Review*, 3 November 1972). No matter if these "self-defense capabilities" are used to crush the workers and peasants of these countries, as in Pakistan, Ceylon, Sudan and France!

The Australian Maoists are reduced to claiming that the protests against the French tests are all a U.S. imperialist plot, implemented by "their agents and stooges in those countries where they have large amounts of 'capital' invested" (*Vanguard*, 28 June 1973)! And while defending the right of certain bourgeois regimes to enhance their repressive powers, the Chinese bureaucracy promotes pacifist illusions by signing an agreement for a nuclear free zone in Latin America, calling for a nuclear free zone in the Pacific and for a total ban on nuclear weapons.

The development and deployment of nuclear weapons, first used by U.S. imperialism against the Japanese people, is the culmination of the destructive, anti-human nature of modern capitalism. Had U.S. imperialism had a monopoly of nuclear weapons during the 1950's, it likely would have used them to slaughter millions of Russian and Chinese in order to destroy the Sino-Soviet deformed workers states. Therefore it is absolutely necessary for the USSR, China, North Vietnam and the other deformed workers states to have their own nuclear arsenal in order to counter the military might of imperialism. Our opposition to the French tests in the South Pacific is primarily based on our principled struggle to strip all the imperialist powers of all their weapons of mass murder. The potential nuclear poisoning of the Australasian peoples is a real and tangible danger, but nevertheless secondary to the class issue involved in the tests.

Disarmament, test bans and nuclear free zones offer no solution to the danger of war. As long as the imperialist system remains, nuclear weaponry will be produced if the bourgeoisie needs it. Real measures are required to defend the existing gains of the working class against imperialism. Brute military power is sometimes the only immediately available weapon to use in defense against imperialism, as the Bolsheviks realized when they set Trotsky to organizing the Red Army. Our defense of the deformed workers states is unconditional. We recognize that so long as the international working class is led by various reformist agents of the bourgeoisie the military power of the vacillating Stalinist bureaucracies is the only immediately available, if poor, unreliable and ultimately inadequate, defense. These bureaucracies will maneuver and betray revolutions in their desire for "peaceful coexistence" with the bourgeoisie, and must be overthrown by a political revolution. But the gains of the working class must be defended by every possible means. ■

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Old- and New-Style Black Courthouse Politicians...

Bradley, Seale Gain in Coast Elections

The recent election of black ex-cop Tom Bradley in Los Angeles and the sizeable vote received by Black Panther/Democrat Bobby Seale in Oakland represent no gains at all for the black masses. Rather they fit into the recent pattern of ruling-class support for black capitalist politicians in the potentially explosive big-city ghetto areas. Blacks like Stokes (Cleveland), Hatcher (Gary), Dellums (Oakland), Gibson (Newark) or Chisholm (Brooklyn) are no more able to reverse the deteriorating conditions faced by the working class—increasing unemployment, inflation, inadequate housing, schools and medical care—than are their fellow Democrats Daley, McGovern, Kennedy and Wallace. While Black Panther Party leader Seale is not the same as black policeman Bradley or union-buster Gibson, his appetites are clearly in their direction, as evidenced by the BPP's bloc with local black capitalists and its participation in the administration of the government poverty program. And although the BPP campaign as part of one of the bourgeois parties is certainly a sharp reversal of past policies, it is the logical result of the Panthers' black nationalism, which like all nationalism ultimately means support for capitalism.

Black Cop Wins in L.A.

Tom Bradley, ex-police lieutenant and city councilman, became L.A.'s first black mayor by defeating three-term incumbent Sam Yorty in a run-off election on May 29. The black voting bloc plus a sizeable white anti-Yorty vote and support from sections of the bourgeoisie enabled Bradley to reverse Yorty's 1969 election success which was based on a racist and red-baiting campaign. This time, in the absence of a militant black movement, Bradley was able to campaign openly on his police record (appearing in uniform on posters and vowing to bring "law and order" to the schools) while Yorty's blatant appeals to racism were unconvincing to many white voters. Moreover Bradley's campaign was too moderate and dull to inspire either racist fears or enthusiastic support.

Bradley's election can in no way be considered a victory for oppressed black people or even a response by the bourgeoisie to black community pressure. Important sections of the bourgeoisie enthusiastically welcomed his candidacy as a means for stabilizing capitalist rule at the expense of the working class. The ruling class didn't have to fear that Bradley's election might lead to the frustration of "rising expectations" (the usual bourgeois explanation of ghetto rebellions); Bradley gave oppressed blacks nothing to expect. The rulers understand that, in addition to maintaining a façade of representative democracy, a moderate black politician obedient to the dictates of finance capital can often be an effective vehicle for containing and channeling the militancy of labor and oppressed minorities. Yorty is a conservative "maverick" Democrat whose high-handed methods and ultra-conservative rhetoric might be a handicap in a period of economic stagnation and decline.

This is important in Los Angeles because of the sharper social conflicts there than are characteristic of northern California. One evidence was the massive Watts uprising. The current wave of roundups and deportations of Mexicans in southern California, which is affecting thousands in the L.A. region, could lead to a similar explosion. The labor situation is equally explosive. Los Angeles, industrialized largely since the period of labor militancy of the late 1930's, is still not a union town. This produces an explosive situation, reflected in the militant Teamster wildcat in 1970, the vicious union-busting lockout which destroyed the craft unions at the *Herald-Examiner* a few years ago and the current use of an army of company/Teamster goons to break the United Farmworkers' strike. Recently, pro-Abel leaders have been voted out in several southern California Steelworkers' locals in protest over the sellout no-strike pact.

Like Kenneth Gibson of Newark, Bradley is useful for the capitalist strategy of using liberal black politicians to break the power of the unions. In a recent speech at a UAW conference in L.A. Bradley said that his Labor-Management Committee "will try to anticipate labor problems in our city, mediate labor disputes whenever possible, and keep me advised on all aspects of labor relations so that I can be personally active in helping solve problems" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 July 1973). The *Times* approvingly notes that San Francisco's liberal Mayor Alioto has been an activist in labor-management disputes whereas Yorty's Labor-Management Committee had intervened in only four disputes in 12 years. The capitalists look to Bradley to become an "activist" in mediating class struggle and presenting a "progressive" facade to the black and Chicano population. On all the issues which face the working class—deportations of Mexican nationals, the wage freeze, union-busting, police terror, etc.—Bradley differs from Yorty only on details. Not surprisingly then, Bradley received endorsement from the *Los Angeles Times*, a major organ of the "progressive" capitalists.

NEWSWEEK

NEWSWEEK

Top, Bobby Seale as respectable Democrat. Below, ex-cop Thomas Bradley.

The responses of present and would-be labor "leaders" to Bradley's campaign are indicative of the lack of independent working-class politics in Los Angeles. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats, seeking to restore their traditional role as power brokers in the Democratic Party, actively campaigned for the losing organization-liberal, Jesse Unruh, then gave only token support to Bradley in the run-off. A more liberal bureaucrat, Clifford Fried, vice-president of AFSCME Local 2070, while claiming to support the formation of a labor party within the confines of Local 2070 at UCLA, argued strongly in the County Federation for support to Bradley.

The so-called "left" turn of the Communist Party toward independence from the Democrat Party was again shown to be a fraud in the Los Angeles city elections. (In this year's mayoralty elections in New York City, the CP has supported the capitalist politician Herman Badillo during the Democratic primary, while at the same time pushing its own candidate Rasheed Storey for the fall elections.) It took care not to

continued on *page 19*

Letter

Preferential Advancement in Steel

June 20, 1973

Editor
Workers Vanguard

Those working class tendencies that give support to government and court-ordered revisions of the discriminatory effects of seniority systems should examine the ruling of the Labor Department concerning the Bethlehem Steel plant at Sparrows Point, alluded to in the *WV* article on preferential hiring. Here is a concrete instance of how state intervention weakens the seniority system itself and threatens the very existence of the union.

Under most contracts in the steel industry, a worker gains seniority only in his own department and must give up whatever seniority he has accumulated when he wishes to transfer. This divisive and restrictive system must be changed to a system of plant-wide seniority to provide more equitable opportunities for advancement and protection against layoff. There must also be a fight for more jobs, through a sliding scale of wages and hours, for without this there will still be the competition for jobs that makes discrimination possible. The government order not only does not do this (which would require a major struggle against the company), but introduces a whole new set of racial antagonisms by according preferential treatment to those blacks hired before March 1968, when discriminatory hiring supposedly ceased. The order grants members of the affected class of blacks the right to transfer with rate retention (no reduction in pay) and full seniority carry-over to any department in the plant as vacancies occur, using plant-wide seniority. But a white worker (or a black hired after 1968) similarly locked into the hot and dirty blast furnace department or the coke ovens cannot use plant-wide seniority to transfer. And for purposes of promotion, plant-wide seniority is applicable only when an affected black is competing for the opening, whereas others can advance only by use of the backward system of departmental seniority. Judge Henderson, who ruled in a similar case in the Bethlehem plant in Lackawanna, N.Y., termed this privilege "super-seniority" and the new left should logically call it black skin privilege. Whatever you call it, the deliberately preferential treatment is a ruling class tactic of divisiveness.

The cost of the company's admitted discrimination is to be borne by the workers, as Labor Secretary Hodgson made clear when he said that the disruption of whites' expectations "is the price that must be paid."

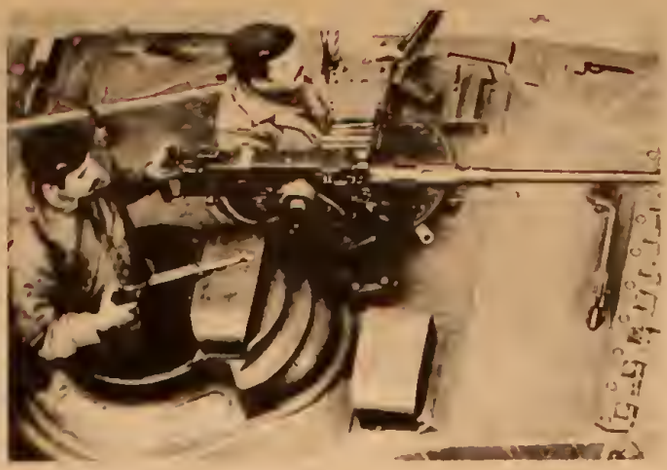
That the present union leadership is not about to wage a struggle for an equitable solution is confirmed by the response of president Eddie Bartee of USW Local 2609 at Sparrows Point made in the January 22 *New York Times*: "It will be rough for a while. But at least it was good it was the government that imposed the change, because if there is trouble, the government will be the scapegoat. I could say to a white guy, I didn't do it, the government did it."

In addition, the government ruling openly encourages the company to use its contractual right to promote and lay off according to "ability to perform the work." In spite of its presence in the contract with the USW, the company has been reluctant to use this provision, but it is now given a government-sanctioned go-ahead to reassert this most effective management prerogative to destroy the union. Arbitrators will surely uphold the company, since this ruling usurps the negotiated contract.

Two years ago a Labor Department panel recommended no changes in the seniority system because they would be "unduly disruptive" to the plant's normal business. The recent order was made completely acceptable to Bethlehem by calling for "reasonable requirements" for jobs. Minority employees need not be transferred "if they do not possess the basic skills required to perform the job they seek and could not, with minimum training, be so equipped." This ability requirement will be used, as it was before unionization, as leverage against the collective strength of the workers, and very likely against the black workers first.

Comradely,
Lionel S.

WV EXCLUSIVE



Tanks of the anti-Allende insurrectionary 2nd Armored Regiment driving along San Isidro Street on the way to the government building.

The pictures on these pages portray the attempted coup d'état by a section of the Chilean army this past June 21. Troops from the Second Armored Regiment surrounded the presidential palace and the ministry of defense, but were defeated in a three-hour shootout with loyalist units. During the fighting 22 people were killed, mostly civilians who were caught in the crossfire.

The revolt was defeated primarily because the bulk of the officer caste still feels Allende is performing a useful function by misleading the workers, and has not yet decided to dump him. Allende, for his part, again refused to mobilize the workers and relied for the government's defense on the loyalist generals. He accused Patria y Libertad, a fascist group with ties to right-wing sectors of the military, of being involved in the conspiracy, but did not outlaw it.

While the mini-coup was easily defeated, the threat of a reactionary putsch continues to grow as the popular-front government is increasingly unable to perform its job of holding back the workers, as witnessed by the recent copper miners' strike. The question of who shall rule is being posed with razor sharpness, as pro-government and anti-government demonstrations, strikes and lockouts, assasinations and discoveries of fascist arms caches occur one after another.

A rightist military coup, though not necessarily fascist, would (like the Banzer coup in Bolivia in August 1971) be directed at the suppression of the increasing mass militancy and the decapitation of the labor movement. The putsch was directed against the Allende government in the immediate sense; its real target is the workers movement.

Workers and peasants of Chile! The government of the Unidad Popular is not a workers government. It is a coalition of workers and capitalist parties. No matter how small the left radical and left christian-democratic parties, they are in a sense the most significant parties of the UP. For their presence is the guarantee that the Allende government will not step beyond the bounds of capitalism.

Trade unionists and housewives! The UP government does not stand for your interests, but those of the bosses. It has permitted galloping inflation which could be stopped by price controls administered by the unions and workers control of production and distribution. It has slowed down the process of nationalizations and leaves the "national" industrial capitalists untouched. It uses machine guns to suppress striking miners.

The Allende government must be replaced by a workers revolution. The working people must struggle for a government based on the CUT labor federation, the workers parties, and the cordones industriales and JAP's (incipient "people's committees") in the workers districts. This is the only real defense against the reactionaries.

But we are now faced with the following particular situation: The right wing is moving toward a decisive showdown with the government. Because of the strength of the UP vote in the March elections and the increasing radicalization of the workers, larger and larger sectors of the bourgeoisie are convinced that the line must be drawn. So for today the workers and Allende have a common enemy.

In the face of an attempted putsch, revolutionists must give military support to the popular-front government, without for one second ceasing to oppose it politically. We call for the distribution of arms to the workers, the formation of workers militias based on the trade unions, and the outlawing and disarming of all fascist organizations. Likewise we call for the abolition of the standing army and in particular the officers corps, and the organization of the troops into soldiers committees, allied with the trade unions. For the formation of a central committee of workers militias, soldiers councils and workers organizations (unions and parties) to coordinate the defense. Only in this way can we guarantee that the potential for revolutionary mobilization and the gains already wrung from the bourgeoisie are not made dependent on the good will of the "democratic" generals.

The ostensibly revolutionary left in Chile has failed to provide a clear opposition to the popular front, to consistently struggle within the existing mass organizations against the reformist leadership of the Socialist and Communist parties. Attempts, such as those by the MIR, to artificially create "people's assemblies" which will bypass the unions and the mass workers parties, are doomed to failure. So too are the demands of leftist groups on the government to increase nationalizations and break with the capitalist parties.

A bloodbath is today being prepared for the working masses of Chile. Only by struggling to build a revolutionary, vanguard party which bases itself on the politics of Lenin and Trotsky can this be averted and the revolutionary potential be realized. In contrast to centrists such as the MIR who constantly cave in to the popularity of the UP with their formulas of "critical support" and pressuring from the left, such a party would be one of irreconcilable opposition.

Pro-government troops in front of the Sheraton-Carrera (diagonally across from the government building) prepare for battle against the insurrectionaries.

Insurrectionary troops are rounded up by pro-government forces.

Rightist Coup Fails in Chile

Pro-government soldier, identified by white arm band and dull hetmet.

Farmworkers of the MIR-led Revolutionary Peasants' Movement (MCR) arrive in Santiago to defend the government.

Worker killed during the battle in the center of Santiago.

After the defeat of the rightist putsch, a mass demonstration in defense of the Unidad Popular.

PHOTOS BY NAUL OJEDA

Minneapolis 1934

GENERAL STRIKE!

The "Battle of the Market" in the May 1934 Minneapolis truck drivers strike, led by Trotskyists. Strikers dispersed cops and bosses' vigilantes. Innovations such as "flying picket squads" helped win and were later used by other workers in strikes around the country.

Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions

by Chris Knox

PART 2 OF 4

Throughout the 1930's the American Trotskyists had to work under an overwhelming organizational disadvantage compared to the Stalinists. Expelled in the late 1920's from a Communist Party which had already undergone years of political degeneration, the Trotskyist forces at first numbered no more than 100 as opposed to the CP's 7,000. Furthermore, after Stalin's abrupt shift into the "Third Period" in 1929, many elements in the CP who had been sympathetic to Trotsky were superficially impressed by the new ultra-leftism and apparent adoption of some of the slogans of the Left Opposition and were induced to remain in the CP. The main initial source of Trotskist recruitment was thus frozen off.

Despite the extreme sectarianism of the "Third Period," the CP reversed its decline and began to grow again during the early years of the Depression. CP-initiated unemployed leagues held militant demonstrations and attracted new forces. Despite the radical disproportion of forces, however, the CP could not tolerate the political threat represented by Trotsky's analysis and program. It immediately set out to destroy the American Trotskyists through physical gangsterism and cowardly exclusionism within the workers movement. Trotskyist meetings around the country were attacked by thugs and sometimes broken up.

> "In those dog days of the movement we were shut off from all contact.... Whenever we tried to get into a workers organization we would be expelled as counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. We tried to send delegations to unemployed meetings. Our credentials would be rejected on the grounds that we were enemies of the working class. We were utterly isolated, forced in upon ourselves."
>
> —James P. Cannon, *History of American Trotskyism*

Under such circumstances, the Trotskyists did little mass work. Their first duty was to save as many of the vanguard cadre as possible for the program of the revolution. A premature turn to mass work would have in fact meant meaningless, sterile isolation—an abandonment of the Trotskyist program. Opportunities for intervention such as the Progressive Miners of America in 1932 were the exception rather than the rule.

The victory of fascism in Germany in 1933 was a monumental defeat which went unopposed by the Communist International and caused only isolated defections in its ranks. The Left Opposition concluded that the Third International had definitively gone over to support of the bourgeois order, and pronounced it dead as a potentially revolutionary force. Instead of continuing to act as a bureaucratically-expelled faction of the CI, the Trotskyists announced their intention to build a new party and a new international. This coincided with a slight economic upturn which renewed confidence among employed workers and stimulated a dramatic upturn in the class struggle. Strikes increased, and the Trotskyists fought hard to break out of their isolation. They published special editions of the *Militant* for big events such as the Paterson silk strike, sent their leaders on tours, and even managed to speak at some of the larger unemployed conferences, despite continued hooliganism by the CP.

Into the AFL

The Depression heightened the crisis of proletarian leadership caused by the refusal of the bureaucratic, craft leadership of the American Federation of Labor to organize the unorganized in the 1920's. While millions were thrown out of work and millions more forced to accept wage cuts, the AFL continued its class-collaborationist, do-nothing policy, showing no more concern over the unemployment question than the capitalist government itself. After the 1929 stock market crash, AFL-head William Green had even offered the bosses a no-strike pledge, if only they would stop wage cuts (which, of course, they did not, prompting only more inaction by Green)! Most union leaders simply counseled passive acceptance of rampant wage-slashing by the bosses while the AFL campaigned against government unemployment insurance. John L. Lewis of the Mineworkers toured the country putting down strikes against wage cuts. By 1933, AFL membership, continuing its decline, hit a low of slightly over two million, which was about half what it had been in 1920.

The Rooseveltian "New Deal" economic program (under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933—NRA) was designed to improve business by encouraging "rationalization" (promoting government-backed trustification) and raise public confidence in the system through a massive propaganda campaign. However, the strike wave beginning in early 1933 included a high proportion of unorganized industrial workers, which caused Roosevelt to cave in to pressure from the AFL to include a "right to organize" clause (section 7-A of NRA). Actually representing no change in the realm of legal rights, the vague clause had the effect of both promoting company unions and building the authority of the AFL unions: in either case, it was designed to provide the bosses with an agency to contain the upsurge.

While the bosses busily set up company unions to control the workers, the AFL unions also began to expand—despite the fact that many of these unions had previously been reduced to discredited shells—because the AFL appeared to be the agency through which the benefits of the "New Deal" would filter down. The Trotskyists immediately recognized the vital implications of this trend for revolutionary work in the class struggle. "We must march with this instinctive movement and influence it from within," wrote Cannon in the *Militant* (2 September 1933).

The Stalinists, meanwhile, were still maintaining their ruinous "Third Period" policy of creating dual "red" unions everywhere. The supposition had been that the unorganized masses would be organized directly by the CP, over the heads of the AFL. A mere trifle had been lacking for the realization of this plan—the mass movement. Despite some party growth, sectarian isolation of the Communists had been the general result. The established unions were showing some new life, but the Stalinists had destroyed the basis for intervention with their absurd characterization of the AFL as "social fascist" and ordered their people out. The pure sectarianism of their line is illustrated by the fact that where real, industrial unions existed independently from the AFL, but not under Stalinist control—such as the Progressive Miners in the Southern Illinois coal fields and the Amalgamated Food Workers in New York City—the Stalinists maintained their paper "unions" anyway, "independent" of the independents!

The Trotskyist position was in no way a change in basic policy, despite the fact that they had earlier urged the formation of new unions, independent of the AFL, in some areas. The Trotskyists carried forth the Leninist policy of seeking to reach the masses as long as they remained in the reactionary unions, without placing any confidence in the reactionary bureaucracy. The surge into the AFL was a dramatic confirmation of Lenin's policy, and condemnation of Stalinist ultra-leftism, but, as Cannon continued:

> "By this we do not at all commit ourselves to the fetishistic belief in the possibility of transforming the AF of L into a fighting instrument of the workers. We do not expect Green and Co. to organize the masses of unskilled workers.... The resurgent struggles of the masses... will probably break out of the formal bounds of the AF of L and seek expression in a new trade union movement."
>
> —*Militant*, 2 September 1933

The course of the upsurge confirmed the Trotskyists' analysis. Massive strikes occurred, but the establishment of new mass unions along industrial lines was thwarted in strike after strike by AFL leaders. The craven betrayal of the nation-wide textile workers' strike in 1934, for instance, confirmed the South as an open-shop haven, which condition persists to this day.

In the entire period, there were only three real victories, all led by revolutionists or professed revolutionists:

Correction

Part I of this series indicated that the Stalinists went along reluctantly with setting up the Progressive Miners of America. Actually, they only entered it later, after the final abandonment of the "Third Period."

Stalinists led the San Francisco waterfront strike; the Musteite American Workers Party, later to fuse with the Trotskyists, led the Toledo Auto-Lite strike; and Trotskyists led the Minneapolis truck drivers' strikes. These strikes were successful because they established powerful new unions along industrial lines which spread throughout whole industries and regions. The organization of the bulk of the proletariat under revolutionary leadership, finally displacing the reactionary AFL leaders, clearly loomed. To head off this threat, a section of the AFL leaders later formed the CIO.

Hotel Strike Debacle: a Test of Principle

The turn to mass work did not change the sharp limitations on the Trotskyists' forces. They could only intervene directly in those unions in which they already had supporters. One such place was the Hotel and Restaurant section of the Amalgamated Food Workers of New York, an independent union, which began an organizing drive and called a general strike of hotel workers in early 1934, before the Minneapolis strikes. One Trotskyist particularly, B. J. Field, was propelled into the strike leadership, and the Trotskyists launched vigorously into the struggle. Putting the *Militant* on a special, three-times-a-week basis, they called on the Stalinists to merge their small "red" union into the AFW, urged a united-front policy aimed at the AFL, warned the workers against reliance on Roosevelt's "New Deal," and singled out recognition of the union as the key goal.

In the middle of the strike, however, Field began to pull away from the Trotskyists Communist League (CLA) and showed signs of opportunism. He collaborated too closely with trade-union bureaucrats and government mediators, caved in to red-baiting launched by the bosses, and ignored his party comrades. As Cannon put it, "He disregarded the fraction of his own party in the union—which is always the sign of a man who has lost his head" (*History of American Trotskyism*). With the national spotlight on the "Trotskyist" strike, the CLA expelled Field and denounced his turn to "respectability" in the middle of the struggle. While opportunists howled, the Trotskyists had demonstrated the strength of their principles to serious observers: no matter how temporarily important, mass leaders were always to be subordinated to the general will of the party and its guiding principles.

If the hotel strike had been a disappointment, the Trotskyists soon had another chance to demonstrate that they could lead mass struggle. In the Minneapolis Communist League of about 40 members and sympathizers, they had a core of experienced trade unionists from the CP—with backgrounds stretching back into the pre-CP left wing of the Socialist Party and Wobblies (IWW)—headed by Ray Dunne and Carl Skoglund. Both had been delegates to the Central Labor Union (local AFL council), and had been expelled from their unions in the red purges of the 1920's. In the CP, Dunne had been aligned with the Cannon group while Skoglund had been closer to Foster, but both (along with two of Dunne's three brothers) were summarily expelled simply for questioning the expulsion of the leading Trotskyists. Subsequently they did pioneer work organizing the CLA in Minneapolis, and by the turn to mass work in 1933, they were ready to begin a campaign to organize an industrial truck drivers' union which they had planned before their expulsion from the CP in 1928.

Three Strikes That Transformed the Northwest

They began by recognizing that even though the AFL had failed to win a strike in Minneapolis in decades (the city was a notorious citadel of the open shop), it was necessary to work through the established unions. Orienting toward General Drivers' Local 574, they made a bloc with a minority of the Local exec board, headed by President Bill Brown, which was willing to aid them in a militant organizing drive. Purposefully avoiding an immediate confrontation with the rest of the local bureaucracy, they planned to flood the local with newly-organized workers, cutting across craft divisions, and conduct a strike for recognition of the union by the trucking industry on an industrial basis. The question of leadership would be resolved in the process, through the test of the class struggle.

Since Dunne and Skoglund were working in the coal yards at the time, they began with a coal yard drivers' strike in February 1934, picking the middle of winter, when it would be most effective. Through meticulous attention to detail and advance planning, they took the bosses by surprise, shutting the yards down completely and involving masses of workers in picketing. The strike won union recognition in three days.

This increased their base and authority within the union and laid the groundwork for a general strike of drivers and warehousemen throughout Minneapolis in May, which was equally well prepared, also took the bosses by surprise, and won fairly quickly. The Trotskyists insisted on the inclusion of the warehousemen ("inside workers"), since this made the union truly industrial in nature, including everyone in the companies concerned except office workers.

The bosses retaliated and provoked a third strike in July which lasted over a month. International Brotherhood of Teamsters' President Daniel Tobin, an arch-reactionary craft unionist, aided the bosses by starting a red-baiting campaign against the strike leadership. Despite the imposition of martial law by Farmer-Labor Governor Olson and the virtual exhaustion of the strikers in a war of attrition, the third strike solidly established the union and the legitimacy of the strike leadership. The bosses didn't dare try again to smash the former, and Tobin, though he kept trying, couldn't drive out the latter. It took a full scale war-crisis and government prosecution for "communism" to drive the Trotskyists from the leadership in the Minneapolis Teamsters in the 1940's. Before then, Minneapolis had become a highly-organized union town, and the Teamsters had spread throughout the Northwest. Farrell Dobbs' campaign to organize the over-the-road drivers provided the basis for transforming the Teamsters into an industrial union.

Bill Brown, Miles and Ray Dunne released from the stockade after Local 574 called a "general protest strike." Leadership of the Minneapolis strikes was based on a united front between militant trade unionists like Brown and Trotskyists to organize an industrial union.

MONAD

Strong Words From the Fourth Marx Brother

The Stalinists immediately attempted to discredit the Trotskyists' role in the Minneapolis strikes. William F. Dunne, an old friend of Cannon and the one Dunne brother who had become a Stalinist, was selected by the Browder leadership of the CP to prove his loyalty by doing the "job" on the Trotskyists, including his brothers. This he did with a vengeance, even going to the point of likening his three brothers in Minneapolis to "the three Marx Bros." His articles reflected the ultra-left phase the Stalinists were only beginning to abandon. Calling the Trotskyists "a group of strikebreakers in the service of the bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy," Dunne characterized the Minneapolis settlements as betrayals caused by cowardice, subservience to local AFL bureaucrats and Olson, and general covering up for the "fascist" "New Deal" on the part of the Trotskyists. Dunne claimed that the Trotskyists prevented the development of a full general strike, purposefully holding back the revolutionary thrust of the masses.

In following up these criticisms on the scene, the local Stalinists were severely handicapped by their total lack of any supporters directly involved in the strike, despite the fact that District 9 of the CP, covering Minneapolis, had been the third largest in the Party in 1928. The CP had completely isolated itself from the mass movement. As it attempted to present inflammatory criticism from the outside, the Trotskyists had to oppose physical assaults by angry workers on CP supporters on more than one occassion. Despite the fact that the union had an elected rank-and-file strike committee of 100, the Stalinists demanded "rank and file control" of the strike, and representation for their paper organizations on the strike committee. Only a short time later, when the CP dropped its characterization of the "New Deal" as fascist in favor of a popular-front alliance with Roosevelt and union bureaucrats, the Minneapolis CP lined up with the reactionary Tobin as the latter attempted to smash Local 574 by setting up a paper rival, "Local 500," and launching gangland thug attacks on 574 members.

NCLC Echoes "Third Period"

The CP's "Third Period" criticisms were echoed recently, with a distinctly Marcusite crackpot twist, by the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) in its review of Dobbs' *Teamster Rebellion* (*New Solidarity*, 31 July-4 August 1972). "Dobbs sees only the military aspects of the strikes," says the NCLC:

> "...He fails to understand that it was the role of outside forces supporting the Teamsters which was decisive—the embryonic never-realized United Front....
>
> "The failure of the Trotskyists to adequately conceptualize the process of organizing the class-for-itself led them to constantly blunt the revolutionary dynamic of the situation."

These proponents of substitutionalism through fraudulent "united fronts" criticize the SWP for being bogged down in "militant trade unionism," to the point that they "aborted" the "development of a genuine mass strike movement." Magically, the incorporation of "outsiders" (who? the CP's paper unemployed organizations? farmers?) in the strike leadership on an equal basis with union members would have changed all this. The NCLC claims that the American Trotskyists ignored the "class-for-itself" model provided by Trotsky in his writings on the German crisis, citing (incredibly!) Trotsky's "What Next?" (1932).

Hardly intending to renounce the qualitatively leading role of the employed proletariat as does the Labor Committee, Trotsky (who never used the "class-for-itself" hocus-pocus schematisms of the NCLC) pointed out in "What Next?" that simple trade-union strikes could accomplish nothing in the presence of mass unemployment unless the workers addressed themselves to this question, "drawing the unemployed into the struggle hand in hand with the employed." But the American Trotskyists understood this very well. They raised the question of unemployment in the *Militant*, fought for a shorter work week, and counterposed the united-front tactic to the CP's sectarianism in the unemployed movement. In Minneapolis, before the strikes, Trotskyist intervention to this effect in an unemployed conference was followed by a CP walkout.

Furthermore, the Minneapolis strikes were one of the most dramatic examples of broad-based organizing in American history. The leadership took meticulous care at all stages of the struggle to keep tabs on and mobilize support from other unions as well as women, petty bourgeois, professionals, farmers. The unemployed got particular attention. The Trotskyists successfully drew them into the strike struggle and attempted to organize them and support their struggles for better benefits and against grievances. After the strikes, a special unemployed organization, affiliated to the union, was constituted, and part of the leadership assigned to help run it. Relief benefits in Minneapolis were soon the best in the country, and the chances of unemployed workers being mobilized to scab on strikes were slim.

MONAD

22 August 1934 Issue of the Organizer, the daily strike bulletin initiated by the leadership. It was vital in countering the constant lies of the bosses' press and paid for itself through donations from workers.

THE ORGANIZER

VICTORY!

Settlement Goes Through!

Vote for 574 in the Elections
Make Minneapolis a Union Town

The strike leaders had a good sense of the mood of the workers and the relationship of class forces. If there were some aspects in which they erred slightly on the side of tactical conservatism, this was certainly not a major characteristic of their leadership. Far from "holding back" the struggle or consciousness of the workers, they advanced both to an entirely new level. Shachtman and Cannon came to Minneapolis to help put out a daily strike bulletin, the *Organizer*, which explained everything in terms of the basic conflict between worker and capitalist. Settlement terms were never overrated, but recognized clearly as temporary stopping points, involving necessary compromises, in the ongoing class struggle. Propaganda struggles were waged against backward attitudes, e.g., male chauvinism. The

continued on page 12

Healy/Wohlforth and "The Crisis"

The socialist movement repeatedly throughout its history has had to struggle against the abandonment of Marxist principles by tendencies and individual leaders who were adapting to pressure from the bourgeoisie. Thus although the *Communist Manifesto* unambiguously declares that "the workers have no country," the reformist Social Democrats voted for national defense of their respective bourgeoisies in World War I. Without a determined struggle against this betrayal the workers movement could not go forward.

The abandonment of proletarian politics is usually accompanied by a "theoretical" justification, in the form of a new "discovery" which "corrects" or "brings up-to-date" central propositions of Marxism. This is what is meant by revisionism—an attempt to attack the substance of Marxism-Leninism without openly coming into conflict with its great authority. Therefore revisionism often takes the form of maintaining lip-service to traditional Marxist terminology but redefining (usually broadening) certain key concepts to insinuate a different political line. For example, the Socialist Workers Party has transformed Lenin's concept of "self-determination" for oppressed nations into the thoroughly utopian-reformist concept of freedom from all forms of oppression through real or illusory separatism.

A central facet of the revisionism of Gerry Healy's "International Committee" and his U.S. satellite, Tim Wohlforth's Workers League, has been the redefinition of the term "crisis." The Marxist use of this term is fairly conventional—meaning an abrupt change in a situation or a sharp transitional period. However, Marx, Lenin and Trotsky were always careful to distinguish different types of crises. There are for instance the epochal crisis of the capitalist order since World War I, a parliamentary crisis (e.g., Watergate), a crisis of class rule (e.g., Chile) or a revolutionary crisis (Russia in October 1917). For a Marxist, an *economic crisis* has a precise and limited meaning. It is that phase in the business cycle between the boom and the bust, between expanding and declining production, and is accompanied by mass layoffs, widespread bankruptcies and the contraction of money and credit.

Contrary to the fantasies of the proponents of Kondratieff long waves (Mandel) or a post-war boom which according to different versions lasted from 15 to 27 years (Healy), the phases of the business cycle are limited in duration. This is doubly true of the transitional, crisis phase. In the entire four volumes of *Capital*, Marx never mentions a crisis involving more than two years. Of course, depressed conditions can last many years. However, in contrast to the IC, Marx clearly distinguishes a "crisis" from "stagnation." ("In the period of stagnation following a crisis, circulation is smallest...." *Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 33). The concept of a fifteen-year-old never-ending economic crisis is a fundamental revision of Marxism.

Where Marxists are careful to distinguish the different types of crises, the IC amalgamates everything into one omnipresent super-crisis. The Watergate scandal, resurgent Peronism in Argentina, the rising price of gold, Heath's economic policies in Britain, are all an expression of The Crisis. Moreover, this cataclysmic event is also The Worst Crisis Ever:

> *"The latest moves by the Nixon administration in devaluing the dollar mark a rapid acceleration of the capitalist system towards a breakdown and crisis deeper than at any time in its history....*
>
> "In no way could the implications of the crisis alter August 1971 be likened to those of 1931. Despite the depth of the earlier crisis, it was one in which the world's major trading currency, sterling was replaced by another currency, the dollar. The blunt fact today is that *nothing* can replace the dollar." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Development of the Post-War Economic Crisis—Draft Resolution of the Socialist Labour League," *Workers Press*, 24 February 1973

In fact, The Crisis is the Healyite term for the Pablolst conception of a "New World Reality," in which the question of proletarian leadership is no longer the key issue facing the workers movement, due to the changed objective conditions. The purpose of this terminological revisionism is to justify a revision of the Trotskyist program, particularly the methods of constructing a proletarian vanguard party. According to Pablo in 1951 the "New World Reality" would force erstwhile reformists to take revolutionary measures, thereby justifying liquidation of the Trotskyist parties into the local Stalinist, social-democratic or even petty-bourgeois nationalist parties. Today Healy/Wohlforth assert that traditional trade-union economic demands are *now* objectively revolutionary and that there are new short-cuts to creating a mass revolutionary party.

Crisis Magic: Trade-Union Reformism Becomes Revolutionary

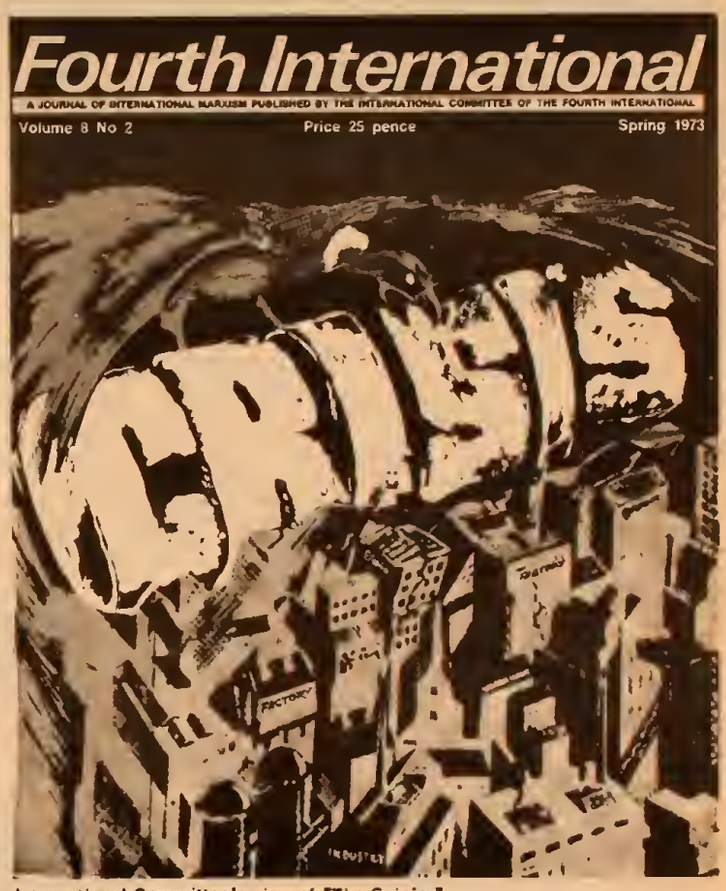
The consequences of the IC's crisis-mongering are starkly revealed in a recent polemic by the Workers League against the Spartacist League on the question of whether wage demands by themselves are revolutionary. According to the WL:

> "But the fact is that the fundamental contradiction within capitalism, suppressed for an entire historical period through wild inflation, is radically transforming the relations between classes....
>
> "This is why simple trade union demands are so profoundly revolutionary today."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 16 April 1973

This is reformist hogwash. An economic downturn does of course weaken the power of the trade unions and make wage increases more difficult to win. Moreover, in the epoch of imperialism, the decaying stage of capitalism, there is no possibility of substantial and lasting reforms in the conditions of the workers. But the impossibility of *successful* reformism on a systematic scale does not at all imply the impossibility of reformist misleaders taking the working class down to defeat.

Moreover, since the capitalists do not confront the working class in a unified way, they can always temporarily improve the conditions of certain groups of workers at the expense of others and then try to reverse the process. For example, even during the Great Depression those workers who remained employed and were relatively insulated from the market (e.g., government employees) had their real wages rise, as prices fell faster than their money wages. Communists must fight against reformist illusions in the workers movement under *all* political and economic conditions. In a period of actual economic crisis in the Marxist sense, to limit the struggle to reform demands, thereby failing to raise the consciousness of the masses to the understanding of the need to fight the entire capitalist system, means preparing even *worse* defeats.

The most important way in which capitalists play off different sections of the working class is along national lines. In recent years this was manifested in the systematic effort by bourgeois politicians and the labor bureaucracy to build support for the Vietnam war. With the end of the U.S.' post-World War II imperialist hegemony, codified in Nixon's August 1971 wage freeze/devaluation measures, the heightened inter-imperialist rivalry has led to a wave of social-chauvinist economic protectionism in the labor movement. During this period, the Spartacist League has been *unique* on the American left in consistently raising the need for a class opposition to the Vietnam war and economic protectionism in its trade union work. In marked contrast, the Workers League, precisely by asserting the objective impossibility of reformism, has adapted to the social-patriotic union bureaucracy. In 1968 the WL set up Trade Unionists for a Labor Party whose program did not even mention the Vietnam war; in 1972 these pseudo-Trotskyists hailed Buy-American, No-Strike I.W. Abel's right-wing opposition to McGovern as a step toward a labor party.



International Committee's view of "The Crisis."

The Jeremiah Theory of the Proletarian Vanguard

It seems that Healy/Wohlforth (together with Lyn Marcus) believe that the essential qualification for proletarian leadership is the same as that for an astrologer or religious mystic—the ability to miraculously foretell the future. And like successful astrologers, Healy/Wohlforth/Marcus are careful to couch their prophesies in obscure formulations which allow them to claim vindication no matter what happens. This fortune-teller blueprint for building a communist vanguard consists of: (1) asserting that the final crisis will appear imminently; (2) redefining the term "crisis" to render it meaningless; (3) then proclaiming at what appears to be an auspicious moment that the crisis is now occurring; and finally (4) asserting the right to lead the working class on the basis of credentials as a successful crystal-ball gazer.

These intreped "revolutionary" prognosticators will doubtless reply that their wisdom is based on Marxist science (or in the case of Marcus, on superhuman powers of "creative mentation"). But what kind of Marxism is it that announces week-in and week-out for the last *twelve years* that The Crisis is imminent or already here; that talks of a period of boom (during which the law of value was denied!) lasting either until 1961, 1968 or, in the most recent version, until 1971; and that consistently refuses to print any concrete economic statistics of the real evolution of production to back up their ravings?

There is only one way a communist organization can genuinely prepare for a revolutionary crisis, regardless of the factors which precipitate it. This is by establishing its cadre as recognized leaders in the labor movement and mass organizations of the oppressed on the basis of a revolutionary program. But this is predisely what the IC and Labor Committee do *not* do. According to their method one does not need a party whose cadre have *won* authority in the labor movement. All one needs is a genius-leader and effective publicity gimmicks.

A hallmark of Pabloism is the view that the changed objective conditions (The Crisis) will solve the tasks of the proletarian vanguard. Thus the perspectives document of the European majority of the so-called "United Secretariat" comments that recent changes in economic conditions place revolution on the order of the day (as opposed to earlier, when, presumably, it was not).

> "The socialist revolution is once again on the agenda in Europe, not just in a broad historical perspective (in this sense, it has been on the agenda since 1914), but even from a conjunctural point of view."
>
> —"The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe," 1972

Similarly, in the recent statement of Healy's Socialist Labour League on The Crisis reprinted in the WL pamphlet, "The Dollar Crisis" (1973) we read:

"The building of a mass revolutionary party is no longer a propaganda demand, as it has always been for the revisionists. It is the urgent burning question of the hour."

The building of a revolutionary party is *never* a demand, propagandistic or otherwise. Who is it to be demanded of—the bourgeoisie, the labor bureaucracy, the entire working class? The creation of a mass revolutionary party is the result of the lengthy struggle to root an organized communist cadre in the workers movement. If a revolutionary situation occurs when the communist vanguard does not yet have significant authority in the proletariat, that revolution will fail and no amount of wishful thinking, hysterical posturing or gimmicks can change that. The Healyites believe in every kind of crisis except the decisive one—the crisis of proletarian leadership.

Economic Analysis as Subjective Idealism

In the article "Myth of Neo-Capitalism" (*RCY Newsletter*, No. 10, January-February 1972) we wrote:

"All theories of fundamental post-war capitalist change assume that post-war capitalism has performed extraordinarily well. This exceptional performance can only be explained if major structural reforms have taken place. Bourgeois and revisionist theorists then search for the structural changes behind this otherwise inexplicable boom—Keynesian-type stabilization policy, capitalist planning, increased government expenditure, "the permanent arms economy," etc. The first, and in some ways most important, myth of neo-capitalism is the post-war boom."

The IC accepts the *essential* theoretical premise of neo-capitalism. This is that after World War II, the advanced capitalist countries enjoyed a lengthy, extraordinary economic boom as a result of some form of state activity.

"The fact that after the Bretton Woods 1944 conference it [the ruling class] was forced to establish a series of agencies through which the economy was artificially stimulated by means of inflation was its recognition that the working class was too strong to be dealt with at that stage."
—"The Dollar Crisis"

This credit-inflation boom is nothing other than a monetarist variant of the theory of neo-capitalism. This is now clearly demonstrated by the fact that just when the Healyites declare the boom has generated the definitive crisis, the Mandelites have also declared the end of neo-capitalist expansion! ("For the first time since the Second World War, attempts to reduce these crises of over-production through stepped-up inflation ran into obstacles...." ["The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe"]). Healy and Mandel have reinvented the famous Bukharin-Stalin "period" analysis—the "Second Period" of absolute capitalist stabilization is followed by the "Third Period" of terminal economic collapse and immediate revolutionary situations everywhere.

Common to all these final-crisis enthusiasts is the desire to give a pseudo-Marxist explanation to their impressionistically-derived organizational ambitions. Thus in the articles "Myth of Neo-Capitalism" and "Boom Heads Toward Bust" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 25, 20 July 1973) we scientifically demonstrated that the 1950's was definitely not a period of exceptional capitalist prosperity. For the U.S., 1953-61 was the second worst economic period in this century, with three recessions, a per capita growth rate of only one percent a year and an average unemployment rate of over five percent. In addition to the U.S., France and Japan had distinctly higher growth rates in the 1960's than in the 1950's, while Britain stagnated at the same rate in both decades. The IC theorists have never produced a single statistic to demonstrate that the 1950's was a boom period because it simply was not!

Instead, Wohlforth counters our concrete refutation of their thesis with the following incredibly un-Marxist argument: "To deny the boom of the 1950's is simply a way to assert that today is the same as the 1950's, that it requires no more of the revolutionary than was possible to do in the 1950's" (*Bulletin*, 9 July 1973). The state of production is here deduced from a subjective evaluation of organizational prospects! We think we can do much better now than in the 1950's, says Wohlforth. Therefore, there must have been a boom in the 1950's and a great crisis now. Marxists have a term for this method of reasoning. It is called subjective idealism. If Wohlforth thinks he can fly now but could not in the 1950's, do we then conclude that he was a human then and a pigeon now?

Behind Wohlforth's impressionistic idealism there is an element of truth. The organizational perspectives for Trotskyists are more favorable now than in the 1950's. The reason, however, is not the end of the mythical boom. Rather the relative quiescence of the workers movement in the major advanced countries in the 1950's was the result of demoralization produced by recent defeats engineered by the solidly entrenched Stalinist bureaucracies and conditioned by the direct military might of U.S. imperialism. Now a new generation is coming to the fore, uncowed by past defeats, but also unaware of the crucial lessons of the past betrayals. A crucial task of the Trotskyist vanguard is to bring to the new generation of militants the knowledge of these lessons. It will not accomplish this by constantly screaming "Crisis!" but rather through struggling for the program of permanent revolution which represents the distillation of this past history.

Marxism vs. Monetarism

As a supposedly definitive statement, the WL pamphlet "The Dollar Crisis" is most peculiar. Supposedly analyzing the "post-war economic crisis," it contains virtually no statistics on production, labor imput, wages or profits. Despite Peter Jeffries' two theoretical appendices, the central document is journalistic and makes no attempt to present the analysis within the Marxist theoretical framework or even terminology. Particularly peculiar in a supposedly Marxist work, there is no treatment of the changing conditions for the buying and selling of labor power (the labor market)—the point of intersection between the organized working class and capitalism as a system of production. Thus while the Profumo scandal is mentioned, the absolutely strategic importance of cheap foreign labor for the West European economy is not!

However, the strangest fact of all is that there is no detailed, theoretical analysis of the pamphlet's central theme—how the expansion of money and credit could stimulate a prolonged period of expanded production. The term "Bretton Woods agreement" is used like abracadabra as if it were obvious that the gold-convertability of the dollar could generate an international economic boom. A brief, clear explanation of the IC analysis appears to the following: There exists a fixed relation between the supply of money and total circulation and, therefore, production. By setting up a dollar-backed reserve currency system in 1944, the world bourgeoisie temporarily created a kind of pseudo-money. The expansion of dollar capital caused an economic boom which lasted until the late 1950's in some IC versions, and until 1971 in others. In any case, with the dollar devaluation in 1971, world production must contract to the point where it can be circulated by gold alone. This contraction creates the conditions for immediate proletarian revolution or the universal victory of fascism.

There is an important bourgeois economic school which, like the IC, regards the stock of money as the *active, causal* element in determining the general level of production. Running from J.B. Say and the British Currency School in the nineteenth century to Milton Friedman today, it is called the quantity theory of money. This theory holds that there is a fixed relationship between the stock of primary money (gold) and the flow of money expenditures. Until Lyn Marcus and Peter Jeffries, all erstwhile Marxists regarded the quantity theory of money as one of the most reactionary-utopian schools of bourgeois economics, since it asserts that the bourgeois state can control the level of economic activity through its traditional control over bank reserves, or that total production is limited by the physical supply of gold, a kind of bullionist Malthusianism.

Jeffries is no doubt aware of Marx's attitude toward the quantity theory of money so he doesn't explicitly identify it as the basis of the IC analysis. However, the assertion of a fixed relation between the stock of monetary gold and production *is* the basis of the IC analysis.

"With gold now supporting perhaps only 10 per cent of the value of world trade, the implications of the crisis must be a collapse of much of the other 90 per cent.... Here again, however, the limits to the expansion of credit (which the revisionists such as Mandel saw as the means of indefinite capitalist expansion) are strictly limited by the available money supply."
—"The Dollar Crisis"

A good deal of Marx's writings on money, particularly in Volume III of *Capital*, is a direct attack on the quantity theory of money. Marx asserted that the money supply adjusted to the *demands* of industrial and commercial capital through changes in the amount of credit and the *velocity of circulation*. In the following passage Marx explicitly attacks the notion that the stock of monetary gold or level of bank reserves can determine production. We could cite fifty similar passages.

"So long as the condition of business is such, that the *returns* on the loans given come in regularly and credit remains unshaken, the expansion and contraction of the currency depends simply on the *requirements* of the industrialists and merchants. Since gold does not enter into consideration in the wholesale trade, at least in England, and the circulation of gold aside from the fluctuations with the seasons, may be regarded as a rather constant magnitude for a long time, the circulation of the notes of the Bank of England forms a sufficiently accurate measure of these changes. In a period of stagnation following a crisis circulation is smallest, with the recovery of demand comes also a greater *demand* for currency, which increases with the rising prosperity; the quantity of currency reaches its culminating point in the period of overtension and overspeculation...." [our emphasis]
—*Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 33

The availability of loanable money capital *cannot* stimulate production if expanded output is considered insufficiently profitable. As Marx observed:

"Not every augmentation of loanable capital indicates a real accumulation of capital or expansion of re-production. This becomes most evident in the phase of the industrial cycle following immediately after a crisis, when loanable capital lies idle in great masses."
—*Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 30

The highest level of excess bank reserves (an index of the difference between actual bank loans and legally authorized lending capacity) in U.S. history occurred in the late 1930's, when interest rates were also abnormally low! If what is needed to bring the economy out of stagnation is simply an infusion of more money, à la Keynes and Healy, why was this available money not used to immediately end the depression instead of letting it drag on until World War II? Precisely because it is the rate of profit and not the supply of money which is the immediate determinant of the level of production. The credit expansion of the New Deal policies was a total failure. Conversely, the "shortage" of money and credit during a crisis is not because the stock of gold is too small in relation to total circulation. It is because financiers are *hoarding* money since they do not think loans can be repaid under conditions of rapidly contracting production and falling commodity prices.

The Role of Credit

One of the most characteristic features of petty-bourgeois socialism has been to emphasize the supposedly key role of "unproductive" financial capital and credit, rather than the productive system which Marx emphasized was the key to capitalism. From Proudhon to Lyn Marcus their battle-cry has been, "Tax the Banks!" To complement this reformist program, they produce a theoretical analysis emphasizing "fictitious" capital. Thus Marcus writes:

"Under capitalism, however, expanded production tends increasingly to obstruct itself and to turn into stagnation, increasing misery and decay.... Its cause lies in the contradiction between expanded social production and the largely fictitious values associated with individual property-titles in the means

continued on page 17

WORKERS PRESS

Healy/Wohlforth have monetarist theory of neo-capitalism, view cause of crisis in surplus of paper money. This view contradicts Marx's position that economic crises are rooted in production. Cartoon from 7 April 1973 Workers Press.

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

4/ THE POPULAR FRONT

(Editor's Note: The recent wave of virulent anti-Trotskyism being spread by various Maoist groups relies on the standard Stalinist weapons of lies and distortion, and above all on ignorance about the true history of the communist movement. The present series, replying to the articles on "Trotsky's Heritage" in the New Left/Maoist Guardian, *serves as an introduction to this history and a brief summary of the principal political issues separating Trotskyism from Stalinism.)*

The turn toward the "Popular Front" came toward the end of 1933 as the Stalinized Communist International made a quick about-face from its ultra-left "Third Period" policies. With the triumph of Hitler and the renewed threat of imperialist attack the panic-stricken Soviet bureaucracy set about lining up allies for defense of the Soviet fatherland. Russia entered the League of Nations and signed a Franco-Soviet military assistance pact. Throughout this period the Comintern sought to ingratiate itself with the bourgeoisies of the democratic imperialist powers through calculated containment of revolutionary proletarian movements in Europe. The method: class-collaborationist alliances with and participation in the governments of the bourgeoisie. The cover: the struggle against fascism.

The popular front found theoretical expression in the report of Georgi Dimitrov to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in August 1935. According to Dimitrov the main danger now threatening the workers was fascism. But fascism threatened not only the working class, but also the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie in general and even sections of the bourgeoisie. In consequence, the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism are removed from the agenda during the present period:

> "Now the toiling masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a *definite* choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism."

To defend bourgeois democracy, the proletariat must aim to ally with all other social groups threatened by fascism, including the "anti-fascist" sections of the bourgeoisie in a vast "People's Front":

> "Under certain conditions, we can and must bend our efforts to the task of drawing these parties and organizations or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist people's front, despite their bourgeois leadership. Such, for instance, is today the situation in France with the Radical Party...."
>
> —G. Dimitrov, "Report to the Seventh Comintern Congress," 1935

During the Third Period the Communists refused to bloc with the German Social Democrats in a united front against Hitler, dubbing them "social-fascists." Now the Communists are not only willing to make ongoing alliances with the social democracy, but to form a government with the anti-fascist sectors of the bourgeoisie itself! Subsequently, in Italy during the late 1930's this "broad alliance" was still further broadened to include appeals to "honest" fascists!

The popular front is nothing more than an expression of the theories and practices of class collaboration—a bloc of organizations and parties representing various classes on the basis of a common program, the defense of bourgeois democracy. Though the name was new, the content was not. The German Social Democrats formed "left bloc" coalition governments with the democratic bourgeoisie (in the form of the Center Party) throughout the 1920's. The only difference was that the Communists occasionally made a pretense of being revolutionary, while the Social Democrats were more open about their reformism.

The Stalinists try to claim that the popular front is simply the logical extension of the united front to a higher plane. Nothing could be further from the truth. The "working-class united front" was formed under the banner of "class against class" and was raised precisely in order to break the Social Democrats away from their perennial class-collaborationist alliances with the "democratic" bourgeoisie:

> "The tactic of the United Front is the call for the united struggle of Communists and of all other workers, either belonging to other parties and groups, or belonging to no party whatever, for the defense of the elementary and vital interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie."
>
> —Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI), "Theses on the United Front," 1922

The united front served both to join the forces of the various workers organizations in action and also to expose the reformists who would participate in struggles for working-class interests only when forced to do so by pressure from their base, and who would desert at the earliest possible moment. Since the Bolshevik party *alone* represented the true historical interests of the working class, it was crucial that there be no common program with the reformists, since this could only mean the abandonment of the Leninist program. Nor could there be any restrictions on the right to criticize the other parties to the front. Hence the second main slogan of the united front, "freedom of criticism, unity in action" or, as Trotsky put it, "march separately, strike together."

In the popular front, however, the proletarian parties renounce their class independence and give up their working-class program. Earl Browder summed this up succinctly in his report to the Central Committee of the CPUSA on 4 December 1936:

> "We can organize and rouse them [the majority of "the people"] provided we do not demand of them that they agree with our socialist program, but unite with them on the basis of their program which we also make our own." [!]

The popular front conformed with the Menshevik theory of the "two-stage revolution." First the struggle for bourgeois democracy, then the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The Stalinists proceeded from the absolutely false conception that a basic social conflict existed between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Fascism appeared in Europe following World War I as a necessary development of bourgeois rule in a period of severe economic decline. It is a last resort of the capitalists to preserve their system when it is no longer possible through normal parliamentary measures. The Stalinists at one point even tried to justify their two-stage schema by claiming that fascism actually had its roots in feudalism, not capitalism!

In point of fact, the popular front was simply another bourgeois solution to the conditions which led to fascism. The Communists or Social Democrats are invited to participate in a capitalist government under conditions in which no existing bourgeois parliamentary combination can effectively rule over a restive mass of workers and peasants. The price of the coalition is Communist support to strikebreaking and similar measures by the governments in which they participate.

During the 1930's popular-front governments were realized during pre-revolutionary periods in France and Spain. There the coalition with the "democratic" bourgeoisie was able to head off powerful mass upsurges by diverting the general strikes and even insurrections into the dead-end of defending bourgeois democracy. In colonial countries, such as Vietnam, the popular-front policies led to dropping the demand for independence! To the Stalinists' class collaboration, the Trotskyists counterposed a working-class united front to smash the fascists. Instead of depending on the republican generals and the police, they called for the formation of workers militias based on the trade unions. Weak in numbers and subject to vicious slander campaigns by the Comintern, the Trotskyists were unable to gain sufficient influence to break through the reformist stranglehold on the workers movement. Time and again the positions of the Bolshevik-Leninists were proved correct, but in a negative way, by the ignominious defeat of promising revolutionary situations. Stalin certainly earned the nickname Trotsky had given him—the Great Organizer of Defeats.

France 1934-1936

In France fascist agitation made more headway than in any other of the "great democracies." Fascist leagues appeared in open imitation of the Italian and German fascist organizations. After years of ignoring or downplaying the fascist danger the Communist (PCF) and Socialist (SFIO) leaders panicked after the February 1934 attack on parliament by the Croix de Feu (Cross of Fire) band. Under tremendous pressure from the ranks, the Socialist- and Communist-led trade-union federations held a massive joint demonstration on 12 February whose very size served effectively to throw back the fascists for months. Trotsky's struggle of the past four years for a workers united front against fascism had been vindicated against the sectarian-defeatist idiocies of the Third Period.

In June 1934 PCF leader Maurice Thorez proposed a united front with the SFIO. The united front did not adopt the Leninist slogan of "march together, strike separately," but instead took the form of a "non-agression pact." Both parties renounced their programmatic independence and ceased to criticize each other. Trotsky criticized the united front for limiting its actions to parliamentary maneuvers and electoral alliances and refusing to seek to arouse the workers in extra-parliamentary struggle against fascism, a struggle which might have opened up the prospect for proletarian revolution.

In the midst of acute social crisis, mass strike waves and readiness to fight of the workers, the PCF refused to struggle for power on the basis that the situation was "not revolutionary." Instead, the PCF put forth a program of "immediate economic demands" which served to disorient and disorganize the proletariat and speed the growth of fascism since the capitalists felt increasing threat from the working class. The PCF renounced the struggle for nationalization, opposed the call for workers militias as provocative and refused arms to the workers, while trying to preserve a fig-leaf of revolutionism by absurdly calling for "soviets everywhere," the immediate precondition for an armed insurrection.

In July 1935 the French Stalinists expanded the coalition to include the bourgeois Radical Socialists. The Radical Socialists, based on the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, advocated progressive social changes but were firmly committed to private enterprise and private ownership. In order to save unity with the Radicals the PCF insisted that the popular-front program be restricted to defense of the republic against fascism, measures against the depression and labor reforms. The popular front swept the March 1936 elections. The SFIO became the leading party in the Chamber of Deputies, and their chief, Leon Blum, became premier of a coalition cabinet of Socialists and Radical Socialists. The Communists refused to enter the government in order to avoid scaring the bourgeoisie but supported it in parliament.

Barcelona workers pour out of factories in July 1936 to fight Franco forces. The Communist Party smashed workers militias, collective farms, workers control of factories. GPU agents murdered ex-Trotskyist leader Nin. Stalin opposed revolution in Spain, hoping to achieve alliance with British, French imperialists.

As frequently occurs at the beginning of a popular-front government, the masses saw the elections as a victory for the working class and unleashed a tremendous wave of militancy culminating in the May-June general strike. While the initial demands were mainly defensive, centering on a 15 percent wage increase, the strikes almost all involved the militant sit-down tactic. The bourgeoisie panicked, demanding that the Blum government take office immediately in order to contain the strike. Blum and the CGT labor bureaucrats negotiated an initial settlement which provided some gains, but on the condition of the immediate evacuation of the factories. The pact was solidly voted down by Parisian metal workers.

Fearing that, as Trotsky wrote,

Radical Daladier (left) and Communist Thorez (center) reviewing Bastille Day parade, 1936. During French general strike of May-June 1936, Thorez declared "one must know how to end a strike." The CP opposed arming of the workers as provocative, saw popular front with "democratic" capitalists as answer to fascists.

"the French Revolution has begun," the PCF ordered its militants to support the agreements. Thorez declared, "There can be no question of taking power at this time" and "one must know how to end a strike." The Socialist-Radical government did its part by seizing the issue of the Trotskyist newspaper (*Lutte Ouvrière*) which called for extending the strike. By the middle of June the combined efforts of the reformists had succeeded in scuttling the resistance.

This was the high point of the popular front, for it was in breaking the 1936 general strike that the Blum government accomplished the basic task set for it by the bourgeoisie—stopping the drift toward revolution. The few significant social reforms, such as the 40-hour week, were soon reversed. In 1937, after a year in office and having lost the confidence of the working masses, the Blum government was toppled by the Senate. In mid-1938 the Radical Socialists formed a conservative ministry under Edouard Daladier. Daladier's announcement that fall of a return to the 48-hour week provoked a new mass strike wave. The response of the PCF: a call for a one-day protest strike! Daladier declared martial law and sent troops to the factories. The labor movement collapsed, millions of workers tore up their union cards in disgust. By January the PCF had been banned, and all Communist-led unions were banned from the UGT labor federation. In June 1940 the bourgeois parties, as well as some SFIO delegates, voted to create the Vichy regime. Thus, far from stopping fascism, the popular front proved to be just one more "peaceful road" to barbarism.

The Popular Front in Spain, 1936-1939

The consequences of the Stalin-Dimitrov popular-front policies were equally counterrevolutionary in Spain. The overthrow of the monarchy in 1931 had led to the establishment of a bourgeois republic, but the social policies of the Radical/Socialist coalition government were hardly more liberal than those of the military dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera during the late 1920's (also supported by the Socialists). In October 1934 an insurrection broke out in the mining region of Asturias in reaction to the rightist policies of the government. Despite bloody repression (thousands of miners were machine-gunned by the military), the heroic uprising awakened the Spanish working masses and led to the widespread formation of united-front workers committees (alianzas obreras).

In response, the leaders of the major workers parties moved to set up a popular front similar to that in France, including the Socialists (right and left wings), the Communists and also the POUM (the Workers Party of Marxist Unification). The POUM had been formed by the fusion of a right split-off from the CP (Maurin's "Workers and Peasants Bloc" which Trotsky had referred to as the "Spanish Kuomintang," i.e., a two-class party) and the former Communist Left headed by Nin. As a result of forming an unprincipled bloc with Maurin and signing the popular-front agreement, the ties between Nin and the Trotskyist movement were broken.

The popular-front agreement signed in January 1936 was a classic document of the abandonment of working-class politics. It pledged:

> "The republicans do not accept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free reversion to the peasants. . . . The republican parties do not accept measures for nationalization of the banks . . . [and] workers control claimed by the delegation of the Socialist Party."

The republican/worker alliance won a plurality in the February 1936 elections, however, and formed a government under the bourgeois lawyer Azaña. As in France, the masses interpreted this as a victory and began a wave of land and factory occupations which the government was unable to contain. In consequence, on 17 July General Franco and a group of leading military officers issued a proclamation for an authoritarian Catholic state and went into rebellion. The response of the Azaña government was to attempt to negotiate with the insurgent generals, meanwhile refusing to arm the masses!

This temporizing might have succeeded if the masses of workers had not taken matters into their own hands. In Barcelona, a stronghold of the Anarchists and the POUM, workers took over numerous factories and stormed the army barracks with pistols. In less than a day they had complete control of the city. This sparked similar revolts elsewhere, and the republican government was forced to reverse itself, arm the masses and attempt a half-hearted struggle against Franco.

The alternative was a proletarian revolution which was possible at any moment. In Catalonia transport and industry were almost entirely in the hands of the CNT (Anarchist) workers committees, while in much of the northeast (Catalonia and Aragon) the peasant associations and agricultural workers unions had set up collective farms. The old municipal governments disappeared, replaced by committees giving representation to all anti-fascist parties and unions. The most important was the Central Committee of Anti-Fascist Militias of Catalonia which, although it had bourgeois members, was thoroughly dominated by the workers organizations. Yet on top of this sat the "shadow of the bourgeoisie," a popular-front government of Catalonia headed by another bourgeois lawyer, Companys. As in Russia from February to October 1917 there was a situation of dual power, but with the workers still giving tacit support to the shaky bourgeois government.

In this situation, Lenin and the Bolsheviks had demanded, "Down with the Provisional Government, All Power to the Soviets"! The Spanish workers parties, however, from the Stalinists to the POUM and even the Anarchists (who supposedly opposed even a workers government!) joined the bourgeois government in September 1936. The Stalinists assured their bourgeois friends that they had no intention of leading the workers to power. In August 1936 the PCF newspaper *L'Humanité* stated:

> "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain requests us to inform the public . . . that the Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defense of the republican order while respecting private property."

With support of the Stalinists and Socialists guaranteed, Azaña and Companys began moving to re-establish bourgeois law and order. The first step was censorship of the workers press. The Catalan government followed this up with a decree dissolving the revolutionary committees which had arisen in July, and in late October it ordered the disarming the the workers in the rear. The POUM and CNT leaders were subsequently expelled from the cabinet, even though they had gone along with all these anti-worker measures. A secret police was organized, under the control of the Stalinists and GPU agents from the Soviet Union.

But this was not enough to break the back of the workers resistance. A provocation was required. This came on 3 May 1937 when the Stalinists attacked the Barcelona telephone exchange held by CNT workers. Within hours barricades were erected throughout the city and the workers were once again in a position to take power. Instead the POUM and Anarchist leaders capitulated to the central government, trusting in Azaña's pledge of no reprisals. Two days later the Assault Guards arrived and occupied the exchange, killing hundreds and jailing tens of thousands. Within a month the POUM was outlawed, at the demand of the Stalinists, and its leaders arrested and eventually shot. In short order the CP led the assault guards in dissolving the collective farms and workers militias. Although the war dragged on for another year and one-half, the result was already decided—since the workers and peasants no longer had anything to fight for, they became rapidly demoralized and the superior armaments of the fascists carried the day.

In all this the Spanish CP bad acted as the guarantor of bourgeois order, leading the offensive against the Anarchists and the POUM, the collective farms and the workers militias. In his desperate desire to achieve an alliance with the "democratic" imperialist powers, Stalin was absolutely opposed to revolution in Spain—even if this meant that fascist victory was the alternative. The Great Organizer of Defeats was also the Butcher of the Spanish Revolution.

But the responsibility for the debacle does not stop here. Nin and the other leaders of the Communist Left had once fought for the class independence of the proletariat. At one time they were a larger party than the Spanish CP itself. But by capitulating to the popular front, these centrists were as responsible for the defeat of the Spanish revolution as Stalin. Had they known how to swim against the stream in moments when the popular front had mass support they could have earned the leadership of the workers movement when the masses later came to see that they had been betrayed. As it was the POUM went along with the betrayals, protesting only when it was too late.

The Popular Front in World War II

It is remarkable that in Davidson's attack on Trotskyism, in addition to virtually ignoring the October 1917 Russian Revolution and the ignominious defeat of Stalin's policies in Germany, he does not mention Stalin's policies in Spain and France at all. And with good reason! But as a good Stalinist he must defend the popular front somehow, preferably with a more popular example. He chose World War II. According to the Stalinists, this was a war against fascism and in defense of the Soviet fatherland. Their political conclusion was a broad popular front "including even the temporary and wavering allies to be found in the camp of the bourgeois-democratic capitalist governments" (*Guardian*, 9 May 1973).

Davidson gives a somewhat accurate account of the Trotskyist position on the war, presuming that nobody could have opposed the great anti-fascist crusade except counterrevolutionary Trotskyists. But while the Stalinist policy was certainly more popular at the time, it will not wash so easily with a new generation of worker-militants who have far less illusions about the "democratic" character of U.S. imperialism. The Trotskyist position on the war was revolutionary defeatism in the capitalist countries in this *inter-imperialist* war. At the same time they gave unconditional support to the military defense of the Soviet Union. This was no academic question, for Trotsky fought a sharp battle against the Shachtman group (in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party) which was opposed to defense of the USSR, and eventually left the SWP taking 40 percent of the membership with it.

During the war the numerically weak Trotskyist cadre by and large carried out an internationalist line, despite social-patriotic bulges in some of the sections. The French section, for instance, organized a Trotskyist cell in the German navy. In the process, however, many of the leaders of the Fourth International were executed either by the Nazis or, like Nin in Spain, at the hands of the Stalinists. In the U.S. the SWP concentrated its work on fighting the no-strike agreement supported by the CIO leadership and the CP.

The Stalinists had the opposite policy. According to CPUSA leader Earl Browder:

> "In the United States we have to win the war under the capitalist system. . . . Therefore, we have to find out how to make the capitalist system work. . . . We have to help the capitalists to learn how to run their system."

The *Daily Worker* of 25 December 1941 implemented this policy by bailing the CIO no-strike pledge as a "definite contribution to national unity." What this meant in practice was strike-breaking. During the 1943 mine workers' strike, CP labor leader William Z. Foster traveled the Pennsylvania mining districts trying to organize scabs and a "back-to-work" movement. On the West Coast, CP-sympathizer Bridges of the ILWU called for speed-up.

Thus throughout the 1930's and 1940's the popular-front policy led to the identical practical result: strike-breaking and counterrevolution. The strangulation of the Spanish revolution, the defeat of the French general strike, scabbing in the U.S. miners' strike—these were the fruits of class collaboration. Drawing the logical conclusion, Stalin made another concession to his bourgeois friends by dissolving the Communist International in 1943 because it hindered a united effort to win the war!

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Notice

The next issue of WORKERS VANGUARD, No. 27, will be dated 31 August 1973.

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General Strike

following point, written by Cannon, appeared in the *Organizer* for 18 August:

> "We see the issue between capital and labor as an unceasing struggle between the class of exploited workers and the class of exploiting parasites. It is a war. What decides in this war, as in all others, is power. The exploiters are organized to grindus down into the dust. We must organize our class to fight back. *And the women are half of the working class.* Their interests are the same as ours and they are ready to fight for them. Therefore: organize them to take part in the class battle. This is the idea behind the wonderful organization of the Ladies Auxiliary, and its effective cooperation with the union in the struggle.
>
> "Of course, Local 574 cannot claim to be the pioneer in grasping this idea and carrying it into practice. There have been numerous examples of attempts along this line...one that did much to inspire us—belongs to the Progressive Miners of Illinois." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Notebook of an Agitator*

The General Strike Question

At the end of the May strike, the CP claimed that the Trotskyists reneged on their call for a city-wide general strike by accepting a settlement, thereby holding back the struggle. What the Stalinists ignored was that the main goal of the struggle up to that point—recognition of the union—was achieved. To press forward arbitrarily would have left the objectives unclear and been an adventurous risk of everything that had been gained. The Stalinists wanted a general strike against Olson. But in their ultra-left haste to denounce the Farmer-Labor governor as a "fascist," they forgot one small detail: the workers, who had voted him into power, had the illusion that he was on their side. Furthermore, he controlled the bulk of the AFL leadership through F-LP affiliation. An adventurous move at the wrong time could have isolated 574 and led to its destruction. As Trotsky pointed out in "What Next?" (merely one of many, many points the NCLC forgot to read):

> "Even though Rosa Luxemburg overestimated the *independent* importance of the general strike in the question of power, she understood quite well that a general strike could not be declared arbitrarily, that it must be prepared for by the whole preceding course of the workers' movement, by the policies of the party and the trade unions." [emphasis in original]

The Trotskyists worked to expose Olson's real role, but they knew it would take events in the class struggle to do it. When Olson moved in troops in July, the workers thought he was protecting their interests and began cooperating with the troops. The leadership knew better, and at the risk of some initial unpopularity, the *Organizer* worked to expel these illusions. This was necessarily a slow process of education, but Olson himself speeded it up considerably by raiding the union headquarters and throwing the strike leaders in the stockade. The *Organizer* could then call for a "general protest strike" without the fear of isolation of the leadership at the hands of Olson and his AFL friends. The mere call for a general strike was sufficient to get the headquarters back and the leaders out of jail.

The worst the Trotskyists can be accused of with regard to Olson in the strike events is lack of prior warning as to the role he would play, i.e., an over-adaptation at first to the backward consciousness of the workers. In their organizing drive before the May strike, the leadership built a mass meeting at which they demanded that Olson address the workers. This was correct, but building the meeting without simultaneous warnings as to Olson's real nature as the head of a section of the capitalist state was an opportunist tactical error.

> "The organizing committee also started a pressure campaign to line up Governor Olson as a speaker at the meeting. This was done for two reasons: advance publicity listing the governor as a speaker would help in getting a big turnout for the meeting; and if Olson addressed the workers, he would have to go on record in support of the union campaign."
>
> —Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion*

Thus the organizers used Olson's name without, at the same time, attempting to expose him as a faker; thereby they helped create some of the illusions that plagued them. This error flowed in part from a theoretical misunderstanding of the Farmer-Labor Party—a bloc of two classes—as a working-class party (this will be taken up further in Part 3). That this error was subordinate within the general thrust of the Trotskyists' practice is indicated by the fact that they didn't hesitate to attack Olson in the heat of the crisis, even though it went against the stream to do so.

Hardly "holding back" the struggle, the leadership held out to the point of exhaustion of the ranks. At the end, the strike had become a war of attrition, and there was a small but dangerous back-to-work trickle. Nevertheless, the main objectives were won. As Cannon pointed out to the Stalinists after the May strike, these "quack doctors whose patients always die," (referring to the record of disastrous, Stalinist-led ultra-left "strikes") could not point to a single example of newly-organized workers having achieved so much (*Militant*, 16 June 1934).

The Toledo Auto-Lite strike, which peaked after the May strike in Minneapolis, is held up as an "alternative" to Minneapolis by the NCLC on the absurd grounds that the revolutionary leaders were the heads of unemployed leagues, and had to be brought in from "outside" (*New Solidarity*, 16-20 October 1972). In fact, the only difference this made was that the Minneapolis strikes had better and more conscious advance planning, and afterwards the leadership, having worked inside the union from the beginning, was in a better position to thoroughly displace the craft-minded reactionaries. Both strikes used essentially the same revolutionary methods of mass struggle and achieved similar goals. The same can be said of the San Francisco waterfront strike, in which the Stalinists were involved. This strike was successful because the Stalinists opportunistically worked with leaders like Bridges who were *inside* the AFL longshoremen's union, which was tech-technically "social-fascist" at the time! The Stalinists did have a dual union on the scene, but it was essentially a useless hindrance and a potentially dangerous divisive factor. When the police raided it along with the Wobblies, arresting hundreds, the workers on strike were not moved to defend it as their own.

Workers Party Formed, NCLC Notwithstanding

The NCLC complains that the Trotskyists spent too much time being militant trade unionists and thus failed to build "a significant revolutionary force in the Thirties." Holding up ex-preacher Muste's American Workers Party as conscious followers of Trotsky's German writings, the NCLC "forgets" that shortly after the Minneapolis and Toledo strikes, the AWP and the CLA *fused* to form the Workers Party! This fusion came about because the Trotskyists correctly saw the AWP as a leftward-moving centrist force and aggressively approached it, seeking to separate the sound, proletarian elements from the rootless petty-bourgeois dilettantes and other Marcuslike garbage which the AWP had picked up in its long history of unpolitical unemployed work. It was the American Trotskyists that supplied the better Musteites with a program, not the other way around. The work of the two groups in similar strikes hastened this process. Afterwards, the fused organization worked jointly to consolidate the earlier Toledo victory in the Chevrolet transmission strike in Toledo in 1935, which they almost succeeded in spreading throughout the GM empire. (This was the first successful GM strike, and was a vital precursor to the later organization of auto.)

The period of the 1933-1934 upsurge required exactly the kind of trade-union tactics Cannon advocated: a broad but principled united-front bloc around the key burning issues. In 1934, organization of the unorganized was such an issue. It clearly separated those willing to follow revolutionary leadership from the vast bulk of the trade-union bureaucracy of the time, and the Trotskyists were correct to bloc on this issue and struggle to lead successful organizing campaigns. Precisely this kind of activity in Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco threatened to solve the crisis of leadership in favor of the revolutionists, but the Trotskyists were too small to carry it through. The betrayals of the much larger Communist Party were responsible for the fact that when industrial workers were fully organized, reactionaries controlled their unions. The later blocs of the Stalinists with these CIO reactionaries—for the popular front with Roosevelt—has nothing at all in common with the Trotskyist united front in Minneapolis to achieve union recognition.

The Trotskyists' mistake (besides the theoretical misconception on the nature of the F-LP two-class party) was that they lacked different tactical weapons in their arsenal for different conditions and periods. An independent, Trotskyist-led caucus, expressing a full program of transitional demands for the unions, wasn't so important in 1934 as later, since in 1934 the Trotskyists were in a position to implement their most important demands in practice (although consciousness of the need for political caucuses might have gone hand-in-hand with greater consciousness of the need to make political warnings and criticisms in advance of the crisis, as in the case of Olson at the mass meeting). Later, however, when they weren't in a position to provide direct leadership of the class, the Trotskyists showed inflexibility. They never betrayed the workers as did the Stalinists, but they did miss opportunities and commit some opportunist errors through a policy of blocking too frequently and almost always working through united fronts many of which lacked the clarity of the blocs to organize the unorganized of 1934. Instead of emphasizing their program, they used organizational weakness as an excuse to overconcentrate on alliances around minimum demands.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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... ILA Wildcat

in the area could have been a historic event for the class struggle in the South. Instead, under Joseph's leadership, it turned out to be very different. Acting as spokesman for the strikers, Joseph demanded that Landrieu use his influence with the local federal prosecutor to investigate the ILA bureaucracy! No doubt Joseph is partly reflecting the democratic illusions of the ranks. However, because of Joseph's role in actively maintaining those illusions, militants must be highly critical of his leadership.

Faced with a successful wildcat in a major port, ILA President Thomas Gleason flew down to conciliate the strikers. Claiming ignorance of what was happening with the royalty fund, Gleason promised that they would get 90 and not just 25 percent of the royalties due them. Distrustful of Gleason, the strikers decided to hold out for 100 percent of the royalties as a sign of their victory over the company and bureaucracy. However, Gleason's maneuvering was partly effective as about 40 workers led by Plaisance returned to work the next day. Immediately realizing that they had been tricked into breaking the strike unity, these workers quickly walked out again.

Thus far the strike leadership has consisted of a self-appointed, informal group around Joseph and Plaisance. The wildcatting longshoremen should democratically elect a racially-united strike committee. Such a committee emerging out of a successful wildcat could play a valuable role in a militant rank-and-file revolt against the corrupt Gleason/Henry/Chittenden bureaucracy.

Black Workers Play Vanguard Role

As important as any other aspect of the New Orleans longshore wildcat has been the leading role of blacks, particularly in a region which racism has made into a bastion of political reaction. The numerical weight of black dockers would give them the decisive role in any strike. Significantly, however, white longshoremen have also participated in the wildcat and have accepted a racially united leadership, with Joseph being the principal public spokesman. This strike demonstrates that in periods of intense struggle, class unity can overcome racist consciousness. The ruling class also realizes that racism can be an important weapon in breaking this strike. Thus, the five workers named in the Shipping Association's charges to the NLRB are all black, despite Plaisance's prominent role in the strike. It is necessary that the sense of black-white unity achieved in this strike be transformed into a *conscious* attack on the racist system. The New Orleans ILA members must merge their two segregated locals into a single racially-united one.

Suffering special opperssion and having fewer illusions about American "democracy," blacks are generally the most radical, most militant elements in the working class. Unfortunately, for the past several years this greater radicalism has manifested itself primarily through nationalism and separatism. Black workers' organizations, like DRUM and the Black Workers Congress, have considered themselves the enemies of "white trade unionism." The successful wildcat in this Deep Southern city demonstrates that black workers can and must *lead* more backward whites in the struggle against the capitalists and their labor bureaucratic henchmen.

The New Orleans longshore wildcat deserves the support of the entire labor movement, particularly New Orleans trade unions and other ILA locals. In addition, we call upon all socialists and trade unionists to defend Joseph and the other leaders against victimization by the shipping companies, government and ILA bureaucracy. ■

IS Explodes

The International Socialists have suffered a deep split following a savage, abortive faction fight. Approximately a third of the IS' several hundred members broke away in an ill-defined, impulsive leftist direction, and are now organized as the "Revolutionary Socialist League" (RSL). The split was formalized on July 7, having been irreversibly precipated a few weeks before.

Following a several-year period of factional instability which resolved itself into a right wing led by Geier, a center led by Mackenzie and a left wing led by Landy-Tabor, the final struggle (precipatated by the collapse of the left wing's bid at the April 1973 National Committee meeting for a clear majority in the leadership, and its consequent abrupt removal from the central administration) developed so rapidly and explosively that neither side sought to bring it to the projected Labor Day convention.

Once the battle had been joined, the left wing moved with lightening speed toward a split. Landy's "National Report" to the left wing charged "that [the IS leadership tendency] is doomed to walk along the same path as its [Shachtmanite] forebears and that it will one day liquidate itself into reformism outright." Clarity over the issues was precluded by the mood of factional hysteria on both sides as much as by the unjelled quality of the left wing's views, but the main issue was trade-union policy. The expulsion motion put forward by the Geierite majority demanded that all IS-ers repudiate "in particular the contention that IS politics—the politics of revolutionary democratic centralism from below, the fight to build broad political rank and file opposition movements in the unions, the championing of all struggles of oppressed groups—are adaptationist and counterrevolutionary."

Origins of the IS

The IS' immediate organizational history goes back to the early 1960's when a section of "third camp" socialists (i.e. supporters of the old Shachtmanite formula, "neither Washington nor Moscow") centered on Hal Draper drifted in quiet revulsion out of the Socialist Party/Social-Democratic Federation into which they had followed Max Shachtman some years before, in 1958. The SP/SDF had in a few short years fulfilled Shachtman's dream of the new, broad "Debsian" party of American socialism by becoming—with plenty of help from Shachtman—an unspeakable caricature of garden-variety reformism: a narrow sect dominated by Cold War liberal professors and a few peculiarly ossified trade-union bureaucrats. Its justifications for the grossest excesses of American imperialism were typified by Shachtman's support to the Bay of Pigs invasion, and it was deeply involved in CIA-backed anti-Communist schemes, such as Mike Harrington's international junkets as spokesman for the "democratic alternative to Communism" and Norman Thomas' sponsorship of sundry CIA front groups.

But by the early 1960's the times had changed. The post-war witchhunt was over and the Vietnam war was beginning to become an issue—an issue which was to propel substantial sections of the disenchanted petty-bourgeoisie into liberal opposition to the "establishment." Cold War "socialism" was passé. And so Hal Draper and those who followed him drifted toward the formation of a political milieu outside the SP, maintaining however their SP memberships and insisting that their "Independent Socialist Clubs" were not a faction, not a party, just an educational association. In the years that followed, this tendency (which along the way became the "International Socialists") committed every convenient act of opportunism, recoiling only from those in the direct and explicit service of American imperialism.

One could recite as atrocity stories a seemingly endless list. Thus for example IS trade unionist Anne Draper blocked with the Stalinists (yes, the terrible totalitarian Communist Party!) to support "negotiations now" on the Vietnam war, against the struggle of Spartacist supporters and other militants to swing sections of the labor movement over to the principled demand for unconditional withdrawal. And the IS went from advocating a presidential ticket of Rev. Martin Luther King/Dr. Spock to organizing the petty-bourgeois radical Peace and Freedom Party, again blocking with the CP against our insistence that PFP could merit critical support only if it adopted an explicit socialist perspective and/or an explicit call for a labor party—i.e. only if it acknowledged the centrality of the class question in political struggle.

The IS' Stan Weir spent years trying to get the federal courts to send the police to compel Bridges' West Coast longshore union to readmit him and other unjustly dropped workers. And the IS abased itself before black nationalism and was notable in its attempt to destroy the New York teachers' union in the 1968 strike, advocating and practicing scabbing. The constant characteristic of the IS' practice was chasing after every passing radical middle-class fad, thereby accumulating a record so shameful as to be a motive in the present split.

IS De-Stabilizes

Toward the end of the 1960's, in response (as always) to changes in the petty-bourgeois mood—in this case the considerable social radicalization among American students—the IS acquired several new political positions decidedly to the left (for a change!) of its nominal program. Without explicitly repudiating its established view of the Viet Cong as an agent of Sino-Soviet "imperialism," the IS came out for the military victory of the NLF. Caught up in the delayed shock wave of the massive French general strike of 1968 and other sharp working-class struggles elsewhere, including a 1969-71 strike wave in the U.S., the IS turned ideologically sharply to the industrial working class as the latest oppressed group to be tail-ended, and to work in the labor movement. The spirit of the times, producing a desire for a facade of seriousness, even led to the formal espousal, at Geier's instigation, of a version of democratic centralism, even if the application was sometimes hilariously nominal (in one instance, three factionally conflicting leaflets threatened to appear at one antiwar demonstration).

Meanwhile back at the historic originating center of the IS, the proletarian stronghold Berkeley, Hal Draper and a few others found themselves isolated in the far right wing of the organization and departed, followed by a continuing trickle of kindred spirits. At the same time, when the SDS blew apart at its June 1969 convention the IS acquired a layer of SDSers, most prominently Tabor and Hobson. This Chicago-based grouping already constituted a loose "third camp" tendency in SDS. At the time of its adhesion to IS several of its positions (e.g., on black nationalism) were formally to the right of those of the existing IS leadership, but it gravitated to the left, largely in the search for a solution to the frustrations of existence in the dilettantish IS swamp. Thus the IS acquired a central contradiction between its Shachtmanite reformism and the associated cadre on the one hand and new partial programmatic elements associated with its new membership component on the other.

By the 1971 IS convention this contradiction had matured a bit, but its implications were subordinated in the confused emergence of shifting clique-blocs, with names which reflected the mood of the IS: "the Band," "the Big Red," "the Theory-Action Caucus." The impulse to political differentiation was there but it was sublimated into the personal animosities and petty maneuverings.

In July 1972 Landy supplanted Geier as National Secretary through piecing together a "left" power bloc which included sundry currents (including the clique around one East Coast unionist notorious even within the IS for his opportunism). Muttering in the corridors that the organization was centrist, Landy began to congeal around himself the left-wing elements for the express purpose of bolshevizing the IS from the top down. (Is this how the RSL intends to build a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions?) This ambitious scheme was dealt its death blow when Landy's unstable web of alliances fell apart; the Mackenzie grouping threw its support to Geier, sweeping Landy out of power and precipitating into the open a faction fight, which rapidly began to run out of control.

To the ex-SDS grouping, the slick organizational operators of the IS had probably appeared as an eminently sane "Marxist" alternative to the dogmatic Little Red Book-waving Maoists in the convulsive SDS split. The Tabor-Hobson current undoubtedly believed that the IS' sophisticated maneuverism could organize the masses, particularly in the trade unions. But the past few years have not been kind to the IS. Their "broad" "rank-and-file" "movements" have disintegrated. Peace and Freedom was a debacle and PFP's labor movement analogues have fared no better. TURF (Teamsters) is dead and the UNC (auto) appears to be in terminal coma.

Highlighting these failures has been the rapid growth of those organizations claiming to be hard communist formations. It appears as if every New Left activist who hasn't turned to liberated communes, religious mysticism or academic careerism has turned to the working class in the name of Leninism. It must be excruciating for the IS to discover that its soft-sell Menshevism is less attractive to its hoped-for base than a hard ("sectarian") communist image. The Geierites are probably correct in observing that the left wing is reacting to the impressive growth of such organizations as the SL. The quadrupling of the SL's membership in the past few years and the resulting increase in our capacity to intervene in social struggles must be particularly infuriating to the IS since our growth cannot be attributed to the reflected glory of some deformed work-

continued on next page

"THIRD CAMPISM" IN ACTION—On June 23 the New York IS demonstrated outside the USSR mission demanding freedom for all political prisoners. Right-wing East European nationalist groups chose the same time and place to publicize their "Captive Nations Week," providing a living horrible example of one of the "dissenting movements in the Eastern bloc" to which the IS leaflet gave blanket uncritical support. Though the demonstrations were separate they had a common impact—no doubt embarrassing to the IS, but a logical result of the "third camp" equation of U.S. and "Soviet imperialism."

ers state nor to the demagogic exploitation of political backwardness (à la WL or NCLC).

Enter the Transitional Program

As the IS swamp underwent polarization, some elements—particularly those not strongly subjectively locked into mainstream ISism—began slowly, painfully to call into question the Shachtmanite heritage. All contenders began to speak in more "Marxist" terms, Trotsky underwent increasing rehabilitation and early this year Tabor (re)discovered the Transitional Program. And he wrote beautifully on it:

> "As distinct from immediate, partial and democratic demands, which speak to the specific needs of one or another sector of the class or which do not pose the fundamental reordering of society, transitional demands represent aspects of the economy of a workers' state formulated in terms intelligible to workers who are not yet revolutionaries. In other words, these slogans represent the interests of the entire working class and oppressed masses, reconciling the often conflicting claims of various sectors within capitalist society.... the program, as the key to the agitation and propaganda of the revolutionary organization, functions at all levels of struggle, from the education and training of the revolutionary cadres, to the mobilization of the broadest masses by the vanguard. Seen this way, the Transitional Program is not a manipulative tool to be whipped out on the eve of the revolution to mobilize the masses, as Comrade Geier argues, but the chief means by which the working class becomes conscious of itself, of its needs and interests, and struggles for its rule....
>
> "In our agitational work, our job is to initiate and intervene in the workers' struggles around trade union, partial and democratic demands, seeking to relate these to class-wide demands... to fight within the labor movement for a fighting policy addressing the needs of the class as a whole, for a struggle against the state, against the wage controls and restrictions on the right to strike, for a struggle to build a labor party based on our program. It obliges us to fight within the democratic and middle-class-led movements...to champion the special demands of these movements and to demonstrate that their needs are bound up with the struggle of the entire class, that is, to fight for an explicitly working class program, and more generally to raise the demands and slogans of the Transitional Program, even when these may be unpopular...."
>
> —Ron Tabor, "On the Transitional Program," (undated [1973])

But while Tabor was writing the above, the issue being argued about in the IS was the United Mine Workers election contest between incumbent Tony Boyle and Arnold Miller of the "Miners for Democracy" (see *WV* No. 17, March 1973, "Labor Department Wins in Mine Workers Election" for our position). The IS right wing essentially wanted to support Miller with criticisms. Tabor wanted to give Miller *critical support*.

Tabor's adherence to the Transitional Program thus flunked its first concrete test. The Miller program was saturated with class collaboration. It was also very popular, as against the faltering Boyle machine, which was deeply implicated in corruption and murder and no longer able to control the miners, who were beginning to wildcat heavily. Miller's campaign, heavily braintrusted by Joseph Rauh (a prominent Washington lawyer and long-time head of Americans for Democratic Action), pursued as its central thrust appeals to liberal public opinion and direct reliance on the capitalist courts to intervene into the union in Miller's favor. The Labor Department did an about-face, took control of the election procedures; the *Wall Street Journal* endorsed Miller. (Boyle, now abandoned on all sides, still pulled 40 percent of the votes, by campaigning for union traditionalism against Washington lawyers and "outsiders" generally and playing upon the miners' well-developed instinct as to just how "neutral" the courts are.)

Miller campaigned as an honest, democratic, militant unionist—i.e. without a single class-struggle aspect in his program. All oppositionists are "honest" and "democratic" (they have never had a chance to steal and suppress) and promise to be "militant." Talk is cheap. The condition for the possibility of principled critical support is the presence of even one concrete class-struggle plank, however minimal—i.e., a contradiction between a supportable programmatic element around which the ranks are mobilized and the leadership's limitations and potential for betrayal.

Enter the Fourth International

For all the table-thumping RRRevolutionary embracing of the Transitional Program of really real Trotskyism, the left wing has not managed to qualitatively separate itself politically from mainstream "third campism." Some of the abstract polemical material is really excellent. For example, in a major document, "Trotskyism, Centrism and the International Socialists," written for the left wing we read:

> "The Trotskyist movement was not the only tendency to organize independently of the two renegade Internationals. A ssa of centrist groupings appeared as well, each proclaiming itself to be revolutionary-socialist, Marxist, even Leninist. Some even declared themselves in support of the theory of the Permanent Revolution, like the Spanish POUM.
>
> "The centrists were distinguished from the Trotskyist movement in at least one critical respect, however; they refused to 'say what is' to the working class. To avoid the appearance of 'sectarianism,' these parties tailored their political programs to reflect—not the inescapable tasks facing the proletariat—but the current illusions of their audiences. Trotsky insisted that revolutionaries frankly chart the road forward in their program and then patiently explain their program in the most persuasive, dynamic, and comprehensible way possible—joining in and drawing upon the struggles of the masses to do so....
>
> "The centrists, in contrast, transformed their program itself in the interests of 'comprehensibility.'
>
> "... Thousands of advanced workers today are rejecting the Stalinist and social-democratic parties. Whose works can serve as a true guide for them?
>
> "Those of the centrists? Hardly. Who even remembers them—the SAP, ILP, PUP, PSOP? The POUM—the most 'successful' and left-wing centrist party of the 1930s—is permanently draped in the miserable banner of the bourgeois Popular Front.
>
> "No, it is to the Trotskyist tradition and literature that today's revolutionaries must turn. Only Trotsky's writings and those of his comrades provide us today with an understanding of the entire revolutionary experience from 1923 to 1940. During this entire period, no other tendency mustered the courage to 'say what is'; no other tendency, consequently, left behind a tradition from which we can learn. And that is precisely why our attempts today to reconstruct a revolutionary-socialist movement depend so heavily upon the works of Trotsky himself. So thorough indeed is the eclipse of the centrist 'realists' of the 1930s that one must go to Trotsky again even to learn of the centrists' very existence and to discover what they said!...
>
> "Only the banner of Trotskyism appears to the best workers today as one worth grasping hold of. And that is precisely why even modern-day centrists and even Stalinoids find it necessary to drape themselves in the Trotskyist banner in order to get themselves a hearing."
>
> —Bruce Landau, "Trotskyism, Centrism and the International Socialists," (undated [1973])

The left wing now rejects Shachtmanism as a fundamentally flawed tradition, condemns the Shachtmanites' 1940 split from the SWP and proclaims its solidarity (indeed, its virtual identity) with Trotskyism and the founding of the Fourth International. But what was Shachtmanism?

For instance on the organizational question, Landy appears to endorse a recent "rediscovery" of the early Lenin conception of democratic centralism ("freedom of criticism, unity in action") which is in its evolved outcome appropriate to a united front, not to a combat party. In this the RSL recapitulates Shachtman's rightward motion when he embraced this conception upon leaving the SWP.

In the field of program Shachtmanism was above all a break from Trotskyism on the Russian question. And on the Russian question the left wing—as the Geiserites were only too happy to point out—was agnostic! The RSL comrades have stated that they expect to determine the Soviet Union and other deformed worker states as some kind of "state capitalism" (although not of the Tony Cliff/British IS variety, Cliff's political track record being that of a long-time, too-thinly disguised reformist who, moreover, gave the Geiserites substantial political support in the faction fight).

The Russian Question

The Trotskyists, in their analysis of the degeneration of the state issuing from the Russian October Revolution, never capitulated before that combination of the pressures of simple liberal-bourgeois hostility to the Soviet Union reinforced on occasion by impressionistic radical outrage at the bureaucratic brutalities and barbarities of the Stalin regime. They insisted that at no point—and despite a continuing pressure of strong polar tendencies—did the Stalinist bureaucracy acquire a characteristic role in the economy (nor any corresponding ideological or traditionalized elaboration and sanctification in the societal superstructure).

The Marxian understanding of class centers at bottom upon the characteristic counterposed roles of human beings in the means of production, one pole the exploiter, the other the exploited. In all aspects of Russian Stalinist society, and in the corresponding states created since the Second World War, the bureaucratic stratum remains deeply shot with inner contradiction and always compelled to hide its own parasitic existence behind vulgarizations of the ideology of proletarian socialism.

The Trotskyists, correspondingly, have struggled to carry out the dual policy of *political revolution*—to place the actual, organized proletariat at the administrative center of power, shattering the nationalist, capitulatory stranglehold of the bureaucracy—and *unconditional military defense* of these states against assault by capitalist imperialism. "Third camp" socialism stands aside, but (...but!...) under the umbrella of "democratic" imperialism.

The RSL comrades do not know what they are. They believe that their abstract Trotskyism, enormous self-confidence, expectation of displaying great organizational energy and pervasive contempt for other erstwhile revolutionary Marxists make them (with the possible exception of L.D. Trotsky himself) manifestly the very best Trotskyists ever. They reject Shachtmanism without knowing what it is. The Landau article notes: "The weaknesses of the IS are inherited weaknesses. They can be traced back to the SWP of the 1930's and especially to the Workers Party and the Independent Socialist League of the 1940's and the 1950's...." The document criticizes the Cannon-led SWP for adaptationism in the labor movement to pro-Roosevelt elements and states that "the Shachtmanite Workers Party (product of the 1940 split in the SWP) epitomized this policy of adaptationism."

Leftist Shachtmanism

The documents of the left wing seem to identify Shachtmanism as capitulation to trade-union reformism and social democracy in general. They have managed to so telescope the history of their forebears as to disappear the real character and practices of the Workers Party during the wartime years. In fact, that organization proudly proclaimed itself then to be a militant Trotskyist organization adhering to the transitional program and the Fourth International, and on some important issues attacking the SWP from the left. If anything the trade-union policy of the WP was more radical, more adventurous and more outspokenly socialist than that of the SWP! By the RSL's present standards, the early Shachtmanite trade-union policy would have to be condemned as hopelessly ultra-left.

Nor did the early Shachtmanites come on as mealy-mouthed reformists with appetites for liquidation into social democracy. As a look at Shachtman's

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1940 document, "The War and Bureaucratic Conservatism," will show, the older authority figure Shachtman backed up by the energetic younger YPSL leadership (suggestive of Landy and the ex-SDSers, although possessing far more seniority and capacity) were supposed to go straight out and build a real slam-bang revolutionary party. Their energy, audacity and combativeness were supposed to put the old SWP in the shade, reduced to a kind of Trotskyist SLP. They denounced the SWP for "bureaucratic conservatism," prompting Trotsky to reply:

> "But on what base does 'bureaucratic conservatism' rest in the SWP? Obviously not on material interests but on a selection of bureaucratic types in contrast to another camp where innovators, initiators and dynamic spirits have been gathered together.... All hopes of the Minority leaders are based on their literary capacities. They assure one another that their paper would surely excel that of the Majority. Such was always the hope of the Russian Mensheviks who as a petty-bourgeois faction had more intellectuals and able journalists. But their hopes were vain. A fluent pen is not sufficient to create a revolutionary party: a granite theoretical base is necessary, a scientific program, a consistency in political thinking and firm organizational principles."
> —*In Defense of Marxism*

The early Shachtmanites insisted that "what is needed is, in its general outline, clear enough: in place of conservative politics, we must put bold, flexible, critical and experimental politics—in a word scientific politics..." ("The War and Bureaucratic Conservatism"). And they had a trained young cadre to go at it full blast for a few years, before the combination of rotten programmatic elements (their view of the Russian question leading to profound depression at what they viewed as the expansion of totalitarian Stalinism after the war), frustration at their failure to achieve a mass revolutionary party straight off, and the turn in the objective situation in the early post-war years highly favorable to petty-bourgeois careerist appetites—all these combined to shove the WP/ISL into the long downward spiral which led Shachtman, Draper and Landy into the SP-SDF.

Where Is the "Third Camp"?

By telescoping this history and identifying Shachtmanism of 1940-46 with the Norman Thomas "socialism" of the late 1950's, the RSL evades consideration of the relationship between the Russian question and social democracy. But a myriad of tendencies which broke from Trotskyism over the military defense of the Soviet Union rapidly abandoned the Leninist program on all fundamental questions, despite an initial subjective commitment to the bolshevik tradition excepting only the Russian question. Some tendencies (Munis, Johnson) moved toward classic ultra-leftism; others (Shachtman, Cliff) moved right in the direction of reformism. The impossibility of maintaining a "third camp" position on Soviet defensism and a correct Leninist position on all other questions has been demonstrated by life itself. The abandonment of the defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism, and the anti-materialist redefinition of the concept of class which this requires, are in such powerful opposition to the Trotskyist world-view that the acid of "third camp" rapidly corrodes all semblance of Leninism.

The central factor impelling Shachtman toward social democracy was not trade-union policy but his concept of the role of Stalinism in contemporary world history. With the failure of proletarian revolutionary upheavals at the end of World War II, Shachtman envisioned a period in which the fundamental threat to capitalism came from expansionist Stalinism. He saw that Stalinism commanded not only the resources of Russia and Eastern Europe, but also the loyalty of the most advanced section of the working class in the capitalist world. By the late 1940's, Shachtman felt it necessary to take a position on how the expansion of Stalinist states at the expense of capitalism would affect the future of socialism. At that point, he reached the fatal conclusion—always implicit in the "third camp" analysis which locates the essence of state power in ideology rather that at the point of production—that bourgeois democracy was progressive relative to Stalinism because it did not as directly oppress the workers or impede the development of a socialist movement. It was the fundamental Shachtmanite position that capitalist "democracy" was preferable to Stalinist totalitarianism that drove him and his followers into the arms of the Socialist Party and the CIA.

In fact, a precondition for the existence of a "third camp" tendency which simultaneously claims to be orthodox Leninist, like the RSL, in the most powerful imperialist nation in the world is that U.S. imperialism is not currently in acute and open conflict with the Soviet Union. An important factor conditioning the relatively left-wing nature of the WP in 1940-46 was the U.S.-USSR wartime alliance. At a time when the broad masses of American working people are again mobilized into virulent and active anti-Sovietism on the basis of bourgeois-democratic illusions and national chauvinism, it becomes impossible for any tendency to maintain "third campism" while adhering to other central Leninist programmatic positions. Thus it was the Korean war which split the Johnsonites out of the SWP and the Cliff group out of the British Trotskyists. Whether they know it or not, the RSL can enjoy the luxury of agnosticism on the Russian question because of the Nixon-Brezhnev detente. In its own way, "third camp" "Leninism" is based on peaceful coexistance—and its future is about as promising.

Historical Seriousness

The former IS left wing has moved subjectively very far to the left of the IS mainstream. Freed now from its organizational shackles, it proclaims that it has left the political heritage of Shachtmanism far behind as well and refuses to be held accountable for any aspect of the IS' gross opportunism which it has presumably entirely transcended. In his "National Report" to his faction, Landy dismissed the criticisms of the IS "Leninist Tendency" of Shapiro-Hayes as employing "the pot-shot technique of the Spartacists—who did what when etc."

An organization's political history is not something to be shrugged off lightly. Following in the approach of Trotsky in dealing with myriad centrist currents during the 1930's, we do not desire to consign any tendency or individual to political oblivion on the basis of its "track record"—even one as grossly flawed as that of Landy, for instance—when such a grouping protests that it has learned from its errors and repudiates its former course, and when there is real evidence of motion in the direction of Bolshevism. The SL had consistently pursued the tactic of principled regroupment, seeking to intersect, polarize and win over leftward-moving centrist currents.

But, again as Trotsky recognized, the simple affirmation of new-found principles is not sufficient. A typical characteristic of opportunism is that it is "smart" in the short term and incredibly stupid in the long run; thus the great opportunist coup of the moment will require a lot of acrobatics tomorrow. Centrist currents, by their very nature unstable and impressionistic, will in a changed situation repudiate their former positions without fundamentally altering their method. (As the Landau document noted, "even modern-day centrists and even Stalinoids find it necessary to drape themselves in the Trotskyist banner....") Thus for example only a hopeless child or a cynic could have considered that the POUM's self-criticism, after the fact, for having entered a bourgeois government had really changed anything.

In fact, a rejection of the importance of "who did what when" is hardly new to the IS. This tendency was always centrally characterized by the sloughing off of its old skin: the Spartacist League's exhumation of the ISC's old King/Spock line was contemptuously dismissed by ISers as the relic of a superseded organization, as they bragged of their efforts in organizing the PFP; Anne Draper's "negotiations now" trade-union stand was written off as the rightist line of an ex-member, while the contemporary members chased the economist, social-chauvinist UNC. The IS was never one to continue defending a now-outmoded opportunism!

The RSL has pragmatically taken some big strides away from the Shachtmanite mire, but it is not now determined whether these constitute a qualitative leap or simply the same impressionistic and tailist impulse which has led even some of the more improbable variants of New Leftism to throw themselves into "organizing at the point of production" in simple reflexive response to the decline of the petty-bourgeois poly-vanguardist movements and the demonstrable upsurge in working-class militancy internationally.

In any case it is more than a little disingenuous for Landy to once again dismiss his past out of hand. After years of "Don't blame me for the SP; this is the IS!" it is now "Don't blame me for the IS; this is the RSL!" Even the bourgeois courts make you wait seven years minimum before you can declare bankruptcy again.

RSL Confronts the SL

The acid test of the authenticity of the RSL's claim to have fundamentally broken with Shachtmanism at last is in fact the existence and record of the Spartacist League. It is not enough that the RSL proclaims itself Trotskyist, as if Trotskyism had existed in suspended animation since 1940, simply awaiting the birth of the RSL. The RSL must critically confront its history and determine what were the political positions which Trotskyists—had they existed during this presumed vacuum—should have taken, and whether there was not in fact a tendency whose main thrust was consistently correct: the Spartacist tendency.

In a letter to Judith Shapiro (of the Leninist Tendency), Landy charged that the SL is "frightened of the real working class...a tendency that will never have any culmination in the class itself. Even when they are in, they build a wall around themselves."

In the same theme, the Landau document charged that groups like the SL "carry the program with them in a mobile arc-of-the-covenant. When they encounter a member of the uninitiated, they fling open the arc's doors wide. Whoever does not instantly make obeisance to every word in the Scripture is given up as forever lost, a hopeless sinner." And Tabor wrote in explicating his position on the Transitional Program: "Contrary to the approach of the Spartacists and other wooden heads, the method of the transitional program does not consist of raising the entire program everywhere and always...."

These characterizations are notable for their vagueness, with the partial exception of Tabor's charge, which consists of attributing to the SL the position that one must raise "the entire program everywhere and always." Unfortunately for Tabor, this is not the SL's position (see for example "Trade Union Tactics and the Transitional Program" in *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973). The RSL's view of the SL is little more than the prejudices acquired in the service of mainstream ISism—the attempt to dismiss a principled political approach as sectarian ultimatism.

It is not an accident that the IS left wing was the target of the same characterization emanating from the Geierite majority: "The revolutionary rhetoric of the RT ["Revolutionary Tendency"—Landy-Tabor faction] is nothing more than a cover for their isolation and conservatism. They fear the real live struggles of the workers and look for every excuse to remain isolated from them" ("The Crisis in the IS and the Road Forward," undated).

The RSL insists that it has rejected the maximum/minimum, step-at-a-time social-democratic practice of the IS in favor of the transitional program—i.e., the insistence that the program around which the revolutionary party propagandizes and agitates is not determined primarily by the existing mood of the masses but by the objective needs of the class struggle. But the RSL's ability to transcend Shachtmanism is fundamentally called into question by its inability, or refusal, to recognize that its view of the SL is lifted straight from the old IS—and that its purpose was precisely to defend against SL criticism the opportunist practices which the RSL now rejects.

When Landy stood up at a founding meeting of New York PFP and called the SL "sectarian" and "utopian" for our insistence that PFP did not represent a class alternative to Gene McCarthy liberalism ("We're tired of talking to ourselves and to the other sects," said Landy); when leading ISers in the women's movement solidarized with "independents" who—when SL supporters raised the need for a class-struggle program—mocked the concept of program as "the catechism" and "alphabet soup"; when the SL raised the question of labor strikes against the war as a means for drawing the class line in the antiwar movement and was termed "unrealistic"; when our opposition to black nationalism was attributed to sectarian purism and self-imposed isolation from the struggles of the oppressed—these were not descriptions of the SL, but political attacks on the very concept of the transitional program, in the service of *another* program, the reformist minimum/maximum program of capitulationism which the RSL now claims to reject.

For in fact "the approach of the Spartacists" does not consist "of raising the entire program everywhere and always." When the ISC undertook, in conjunction with the CP and Progressive Labor Stalintsts, to build the Peace and Freedom Party as a middle-class protest group based on two demands (immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and black liberation), the SL intervened, not by simply insisting that the PFP endorse the full program of the SL, but by struggling for the main thrust of that program: we explained that, in order to merit critical support, such a formation had to at least recognize the centrality of the class question in the fight against imperialist war and racial oppression.

continued on page 18

Proposal to the RSL

Back last Spring when Sy Landy was National Secretary of the International Socialists the IS proposed a debate between Landy and James Robertson, Spartacist League National Chairman. Then Landy and the IS abruptly abandoned the proposition. We hereby renew the proposal. From August 11 to 19 the SL will hold a summer camp outside Chicago, attended by roughly two hundred Trotskyists. We invite Comrade Landy (and any of his political colleagues who care to attend) to participate in a full, wide-ranging symposium—to be scheduled at our mutual convenience—covering all disputed questions, centering on the building of the revolutionary workers party. We await your response with great anticipation, comrades of the RSL.

Bridges Tails Pay Board, ILWU "Lefts" Tail Bridges

No-Strike Promises Result in Contract Sellout

OAKLAND, Calif.—Two contracts covering 13,000 West Coast longshoremen and 22,000 northern California ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) and Teamster warehousemen were signed this month. Although minor economic gains were made in negotiations, both settlements ignore the most crucial questions facing workers in these industries.

Hailed by union officials as victories, in reality these pacts are defeats—the fruits of a long series of maneuvers designed to disorient a partially-demoralized rank and file by union bureaucrats in collusion with the employers. These sellouts were aided by the lack of critical opposition from supposed left militants, most notably supporters of the reformist Communist Party and the opportunist Revolutionary Union, in the ILWU.

The pact covering the warehouse workers was negotiated by the Northern California Warehouse Council, an alliance composed of two ILWU and eleven IBT (International Brotherhood of Teamsters) warehouse locals. While the NCWC could be a formidable bargaining unit if based on a united mobilization of the membership, in fact it is used by the union officials to keep ILWU and IBT ranks apart and to stultify initiative and opposition from the membership. In ILWU Warehouse Local 6 this strategy has met with some success.

Throughout the pre-negotiation period the union bureaucracy complained that the demands adopted at the ILWU February contract convention of Locals 6 and 17 were too militant for the Teamsters, that the Teamsters would never accept them, and that for the sake of preserving the ILWU/IBT alliance the demands had to be "modified." Thus those demands adopted by the membership in opposition to the leadership's desires at the contract convention were to be scuttled. The thrust of these demands was aimed at the problems faced by workers nationally—against speed-up, forced overtime, company abuse of probationary periods, etc. Most important among them was the elimination of "no-strike" sections from the contract.

After joint meetings between ILWU and Teamster leaders this demand was conspicuously dropped. The announcement came in the form of an official "Officer's Report" at the April membership meeting and as such was not open to amendment. Local 6 President Curtis McClain argued against reinclusion of the aborted demand as well as against the necessity for a warehouse strike that would include longshoremen and Teamster drivers, fearing mobilization of the ranks and that the strike might spread to other sectors of the transport industry.

After one unsuccessful attempt was made from the floor to have the demand re-included, a CP supporter spoke to eay that he thought the demands as reported were *superior* to those adopted at the convention! Throughout the negotiation period CP supporters in Local 6 praised the "fine job" the leaderehip was doing. In actuality the "fine job" was being done on the memberehip. The mid-June strike-vote meeting, held several weeks *after* the expiration of the contract, the officere attempted to preserve their rapidly deteriorating "militant" face before a rank and file that was increasingly disaffected with the developing sellout. McClain called on the membership to reject the employers' blatantly defective offer and to give the officers a etrong strike vote with which to reenter negotiations. At this point such talk was cheap because the officers had already themselves jettisoned the key demands.

A leaflet had been issued signed by supporters of the RU, a CPer and various militants, calling for the reinclusion of the demands dealing with compulsory overtime, restrictions on discharges, introduction of new machinery, and the probationary period. When the bureaucrats announced that the only issue on the floor was the strike vote, again in the form of an unamendable report, in a typical display of capitulating abstentionism not one person who had signed the leaflet rose to speak against the sellout. The strike vote passed overwhelmingly.

At the final contract meeting, attended by 500 people, on 29 June at the Airport Hilton in Oakland, the officers recommended acceptance of a new offer by the employers. The offer, while providing minor increases in wages and fringe benefits, included a vague promise of speedier grievance settlements as a concession to sentiment for the elimination of the no-strike provisions. Actually, this was an attempt to contain growing on-the-job militancy and sabotage effective action against speed-up, layoffs and numerous other attacks faced by warehousemen.

The sellout was crowned with the so-called "re-opener clause," which the leadership had been talking up as the guarantee of action if the pay board cut the settlement. What this clause actually provides for is:

> "If as a result of Government controls, a part of the settlement is not allowed to be put into effect, and if as a result of relaxation of those controls, those parts which were disallowed become allowable, then they shall go into effect immediately and if permitted by law can be put into effect retroactively up to six (6) months."

This is a cowardly admission that the bureaucrats will do no*thing* in the face of government action to scuttle the contract, just as they knuckled under when the pay board knocked down the settlement after the 1971-72 strike.

At the meeting criticisms of the contract were raised including a denunciation of the role the bureaucrats played in sabotaging any preparations for a strike—their refusal to unify the strike efforts of warehousemen with longshoremen on the Coast and in Hawaii, as well as with Teamster drivers, all of whose contracts expired within a month of each other.

International Vice President Lou Goldblatt responded by denying that acceptance of the offer represented defeat, and resorting to his favorite justification for inaction, the argument that it is impossible to build socialism in one union. Keith Eickman, secretary-treasurer of Local 6, followed with a vicious red-baiting speech attacking "those who would sacrifice this union in order to build some new social order." The membership burst into prolonged boos and jeers, forcing Eickman to cut short his remarks, but then proceeded to accept the offer by a four-to-one vote. Approximately 1,000 out of 8,000 members voted.

Longshore—More of the Same

Sellout in the longshore division of the ILWU followed that in warehouse. Although traditionally the more militant section of the ILWU, the betrayal of the dockers met even less opposition from the ranks than did the warehouse settlement. Many of the longshoremen euffer demoralization due to the defeat of the 134-day strike in 1971-72 and the series of betrayals eince.

Like the warehouse eettlement, the ILWU/PMA (Pacific Maritime Association) West Coast pact does not deal with the crucial questions facing workers in an industry where the work force is being decimated by containerization and automation. In the ILWU questions of job security, protection against layoffs, maintenance of working conditions and gains such as the hiring hall are crucial to the very survival of the union against the combined onslaught of the government and the shipowners. The agreement was hailed by many as a victory simply because for the first time in thirteen years, the longshoremen did not give up conditions. In fact there is really very little left for the dockers to give up: this has been seen to by the shipowners' best friend, Harry Bridges.

> **"It seems to us at this stage that PMA really wants to reach a settlement without a strike. So do we. Well, that makes two of us and that's the way the union will continue to operate."**
>
> —Harry Bridges, THE DISPATCHER, 11 May 1973

The die was cast by 10 May when Bridges and Ed Flynn of the PMA announced a tentative settlement aimed at averting a possible repeat of the 1971-72 strike. The no-strike agreement took place six weeks before the longshore contract was set to expire (see *WV* No. 22). The following day Bridges stated in the union paper, the *Dispatcher*:

> "Our rank and file doesn't enjoy strikes—and here I exclude those few so-called hot shots and radicals who preach that a strike is a good thing because it brings rank and file workers face-to-face with the class struggle. Our policy is that strikes are weapons to be used with great caution and then only as a last resort."

Unfortunately, Bridges' fears of "radicals" were superfluous as effective, organized opposition was nowhere to be seen. The longshoremen ratified the contract in mid-July.

The Bridges bureaucracy followed the example of the warehouse settlement and agreed to a clause that says in effect that if the government intervenes to cut the settlement, union and management will meet to make plans to "comply with the rulings." No, Harry Bridges would not stoop to bring the workers "face-to-face with the class struggle"!

Right and "Left" Stalinists Cover for Bridges

Bridges is able to maintain pretenses of militancy and radicalism for two reasons—first, the glaring lack of any serious, programmatically-based opposition within the ILWU, and second, the excellent public relations job performed for him by the Communist Party and the *People's World*. The CP, long associated with both the ILWU and Bridges, has always sought to act as his cover (both left and right!) despite their regular public quarrels. These quarrels have never brought forth any serious, consistent criticism of the Bridges bureaucracy because the CP could not do so without exposing its own past support for every rotten sellout by the ILWU bureaucracy.

The opportunism and hypocrisy of the Maoist Revolutionary Union were exposed in the July issue of its paper, *Revolution*, in which it criticizes the CP because the latter "builds no real rank and file organization and puts forth no independent communist line, explaining the connection between strikes and other immediate struggles and the long range goal of socialist revolution." But even though they themselves are members of a caucus in Local 6, RU supporters have never put forward any "line" or program beyond the most basic economism and *tactical* criticism of the bureaucrats.

The article goes on to praise *Longshore Victory*, a newspaper published by assorted radicals and militants which is widely read on the San Francisco-Oakland docks:

> "...the LONGSHORE VICTORY organization will play an increasingly important role in organizing and mobilizing rank and file resistance to the PMA and the Bridges machine."

In actual fact *Longshore Victory* from its inception *has never criticized* the Bridges bureaucracy, much less put forward an "independent communist line"!

Rather than intervene programmatically in the ILWU, demanding political clarity on all questions facing the labor movement and seeking to win the politically most advanced elements in the union to the perspective of building a class-struggle leadership in opposition to the Bridges bureaucracy, the RU tails after militants and even the bureaucrats. "Mobilizing rank and file resistance" and "independent communist lines" are simply decorations to take up space in its press.

An article in the July issue of *Longshore Victory* demonstrates where its gross shortcomings lead: the new contract is hailed as a victory. Speaking of the 1971-72 strike it says:

> "A lot of brothers were demoralized by those 134 days when we emerged with very little, and even that was cut by the government. But an old slogan goes 'a strike is never lost'...Now we're finally reaping the benefits of those 134 days."

Needless to say the inability to tell defeat from victory is a serious failure in a group whose claimed concern is the interests of the rank and file. The PMA had good reason to be pleased with the avoidance of a strike: during the last ten years "mechanization and modernization" agreements have allowed it to cut the work force in half and save $900 million in wages. The new contract does nothing to protect jobs: the promised guarantee against layoffs was qualified to the point of its negation—the eligibility requirements for the promised weekly pay guarantee were made for the most part prohibitive, besides providing only $115,385 to cover 11,700 workers. The contract maintains the "steady man" system (Section 9.43) by which men work regularly for one employer, thereby undermining job assignment through the hiring hall. Even the wage settlement was far too little to be considered a gain at the current rate of inflation. And just in case the employers' interests should need any more protection, the government stands waiting in the wings. The whole scenario of the recent ILA negotiations once again shows the need for a *political* struggle in defense of the workers' interests, a struggle directed against the capitalist class, their government and their agents in the labor bureaucracy. Simple trade-union militancy leads straight into the arms of the Bridges bureaucracy, as the various "lefts" in the ILWU have so amply proved. ■

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Cambodia

vice-premier and Sihanouk as head of state. Sihanouk first maneuvered the Lon Nol clique into power while expelling his former left-wing supporters from the government and, as recently revealed, at the same time actively courting a renewal of U.S. aid which he had previously broken off in 1963. He also tacitly approved of (i.e., never publicly objected to) the U.S.' clandestine bombing of Cambodia, which by May 1970 had dropped more than 100,000 tons of bombs on the "neutral" kingdom.

His about-face came on the heels of a series of peasant rebellions originating in Battambang province, the only Cambodian province with a high degree of tenancy and long a Khmer Rouge stronghold. At the same time corruption, bad harvests and a downturn in the world rubber market wreaked havoc with Cambodia's economy. In late 1967 Jackie Kennedy paid an "unofficial" visit to Cambodia and Sihanouk approached the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank for aid and credits. However, not until Sirik Matak began to denationalize Cambodian industry and banking in late 1969 was aid actually forthcoming.

Sihanouk is currently talking with great intransigence and truculence about being willing to fight for his throne to the last drop of Khmer Rouge blood. But as Peking's kept prince, he will do their bidding just as he was once the faithful servent of French and American imperialism. His current job is apparently to see if a Nixon-Mao-Sihanouk alliance can be patched together, at the expense of the Vietnamese-oriented Khmer Rouge. The 1 July *New York Times* quotes Senator Mansfield as reporting that as soon as the prince finishes his current spate of globetrotting, "the tempo for possible negotiations will be stepped up, and I believe that in this respect, the People's Republic of China and our government are in close contact."

Thus history has come full circle. In 1954 at Geneva the Soviet Union and particularly China forced the Viet Minh to drop their demand to have the Khmer Rouge seated as the official representatives of Cambodia. Instead they got the anti-communist playboy-prince, Sihanouk, the Bao Dai of Cambodia. In an important dispatch by Robert Keatley, their chief diplomatic correspondent, the 27 July *Wall Street Journal* (obviously speaking for the U.S. government) wrote:

> "For example, analysts believe that China wants a friendly, neutral Cambodia not under North Vietnamese control (China fears the Russians might gain too much influence if Hanoi ran things outright). Thus Premier Chou En-lai seems willing to help seek a settlement to a degree. A compromise acceptable to Washington could be either a de facto partition of Cambodia, with unity talks promised, or a coalition government that would in fact give the Communists the major role."

The U.S. is clearly grasping at straws at this point. What it hopes to achieve by this proposal for a Communist-dominated coalition government, which it has always opposed in Vietnam, is to temporarily stave off the outright military defeat of the tottering Cambodian army. It is not impossible that Chou will, in fact, enable the FUNK to grasp defeat from the jaws of victory. If the U.S. is able to put a Sihanouk-Lon Nol regime together with the aid of Peking, while isolating the prince from his Khmer Rouge alliance and maintaining the threat of B-52's in Thailand, then the civil war will continue, although with the Khmer Rouge stripped of the legitimacy of the Throne of Angkor. Sihanouk certainly leaves this option open when he stated in a recent interview: "If Congress can help us have peace in obliging Mr. Nixon to disengage, it is possible, it is even probable that the Cambodia of tomorrow can be reconciled with the United States of America" (*New York Times*, 1 July 1973).

If, however, the GRUNK takes power through the defeat of the Lon Nol regime by Khmer Rouge forces and the U.S. government is too paralyzed by domestic crisis to intervene, the Stalinist component of this unstable popular front could very well shed its monarchic shell, leading to a deformed workers state.

The bombing of Cambodia has not only been the main prop of the Lon Nol regime, but a blackmail threat aimed at North Vietnam. A key demand of the struggle against the war within the U.S. must be for the complete removal of U.S. imperialism's entire military apparatus from Southeast Asia—including the B-52's in Thailand, the aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin, etc. We call for a military defense of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, as well as the Pathet Lao in Laos and the People's Liberation Army/NLF forces in Vietnam. We also call for Moscow-Peking to supply the most modern weapons to the guerrilla forces, particularly surface-to-air missiles, which have been systematically withheld by the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies in their efforts to force a negotiated settlement in Indochina, allowing the U.S. to continue its terror-bombing raids using antiquated B-52's with impunity. We likewise call on the Khmer Rouge to break with the monarchic popular front (FUNK/GRUNK) and in conjunction with the Stalinists of South Vietnam and Laos to take power in its own name. The Cambodian workers and peasants, on the other hand, must place no confidence in the Stalinist leadership of the Khmer Rouge, which is responsible for the present popular front with Sihanouk and for not having openly organized against him during most of the time he was in power. Rather than a "democratic" monarchy, workers and peasants must struggle for a Cambodian workers state, destroying the present oppressive capitalist army and government and replacing it with the rule of the working masses, led by the proletariat. All Indochina Must Go Communist! ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

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...Crisis

> of production and other income-producing property forms."
>
> —"Economism or Socialism, Part II," *The Campaigner*, October 1970

Wohlforth is not so blatant in his revisions of Marx as is the guru of the NCLC. So in his current series on "What Is Spartacist Today?" he spends part four in attacking the SL for allegedly ignoring the question of circulation, listing several quotes from Marx which point out how the crisis of overproduction is expressed in the process of circulation. But Wohlforth is saddled with an insurmountable difficulty: namely that the IC monetary crisis theory is rooted in circulation, not production, and is precisely the kind of monetarist theory Marx polemicized against in Vol. III, Part 5 of *Capital*. So in the next installment we discover that crises in Marx's time were, it is true, production crises but *now things are different:*

> "Marx wrote of [capitalism] under conditions in which it was still capable of expansion of the productive forces of mankind. Crises in his period were more limited in impact and largely of a commodity or commercial nature. Today the overall expansion of capital with its corresponding change in the organic composition of capital producing a falling rate of profit means that capitalism has reached its general historical limit....
>
> "This is also why questions of the monetary system and credit become so vital as well. As Lenin explained, the epoch of imperialism is a period in which finance capital triumphs over manufacturing capital....
>
> "If forms of credit, of extended credit, are entered into this process both through bank loans and through the introduction of paper currency quite out of proportion to the money (gold) backing of the currency, then we can immediately see how the problem of overproduction can be momentarily overcome and, along with the problems related to the falling rate of profit...."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 23 July 1973

Thus, you see, *today* the crisis takes place in circulation, *today* it is possible to solve economic crises of overproduction by artificially creating credit! Keynesianism works according to Wohlforth, although only "momentarily." On the other hand, according to the 28 May *Bulletin*, Wohlforth's Hegelian "moment" when the law of value was "denied" lasted for "27 years"! Even more explicitly, the "Dollar Crisis" pamphlet exclaims: "The crisis of the capitalist system, in any case is not fundamentally a crisis of commodity over-production, but one involving the over-production of capital." Wohlforth just can't keep that Marcus ghost hidden in the closet! As if in anticipation, Marx entitled one of the sections of chapter 17 of the *Theories of Surplus Value* "Absurd Denial of the Overproduction of Commodities, Accompanied by a Recognition of the Over-Abundance of Capital." But then, of course, that was in *his* day. As far as the substance of the matter is concerned, commodities are capital and capital in turn takes the form of commodities and even money at different points in the process of circulation. And the triumph of finance capital over manufacturing spoken of by Lenin was achieved by the *absorption* of the latter by the former. The opposition of financial and manufacturing capital is a myth of Stalinism concocted to justify the theory of a people's front with the "progressive" capitalists against the reactionary, unproductive sector, variously known as the Robber Barons, the 200 Families or Wall Street.

Not the Credit System, But the National State

Although the IC keeps insisting that the present crisis is insoluble, if their analysis was correct there could be an easy solution. If world trade must collapse because the value of monetary gold is too small to circulate it, all that is necessary is to raise the price of gold. And this is precisely what is now happening. Within a year, most governments will probably be buying and selling gold on the open market. When this happens, the IC will have to come up with another explanation for the final crisis.

In general, *The Dollar Crisis* raises an obvious question which it does not answer. Why didn't the ruling class restore the pre-1914 gold standard after World War I, or World War II, or why don't they do so now? Under the pre-1914 gold standard the *only* way a national bourgeoisie could improve its international competitiveness was by lowering the domestic price level. This, in turn, could only be brought about through unemployment, cutting money wages and temporarily sacrificing profits. Under nineteenth century conditions of generally expanding world production and a weak labor movement, the advanced capitalist countries were prepared to play by the gold-standard rules of the game. But backward capitalist countries (e.g., Argentina) did not adhere to the gold standard even in the nineteenth century.

After World War I the qualitatively greater instability in the world economy, the strengthening of the labor movement and development of powerful revolutionary proletarian tendencies made domestic deflation to correct a balance of payments deficit too *politically* dangerous. Significantly, the only contemporary bourgeois political tendency which even contemplated a return to the pre-1914 gold standard was semi-bonapartist French Gaullism in the early 1960's. After World War I, the conflicts between the national bourgeoisies produced international financial anarchy because this condition enabled a national bourgeoisie to maintain or increase its share of world trade and capital at the expense of other nations through permanent borrowing, competitive devaluation and direct control over foreign exchange transactions. That this did not occur after World

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...Crisis

War II was the result of the absolute economic and political hegemony of the U.S. in the capitalist world, a condition which lasted until the late 1960's. Even today the U.S. produces roughly 45 percent of total goods and services of capitalist countries, and its still considerable power has enabled it to force upward valuations of its major competitors' currencies (Japan, Germany). The endless crises of international finance are arenas of struggle between the imperialist powers over markets and spheres of exploitation. The decisive arena is war.

Despite its lip service to Lenin's "Imperialism," the SLL negates the Leninist-Trotskyist view of contemporary capitalism. Written during World War I, "Imperialism" has two major themes. The first is that a decaying world economy intensifies inter-imperialist conflicts leading to a war over the division of world markets and spheres of exploitation. The second is that labor reformism necessarily leads to social-patriotic support for one's own imperialist bourgeoisie. In contrast to Lenin, the IC ignores the question of imperialist war and denies the possibility of labor reformism, even in its virulent social-chauvinist form. Instead what is projected is a *uniform* world economic collapse whose result could be the international victory of fascism:

> "Either the working class, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, takes the power and puts an end to capitalist anarchy, or the ruling class will be forced to impose brutal dictatorship on the European, Japanese and American working class."
> —"The Dollar Crisis"

Such a view dangerously miscomprehends the nature of fascism. A fascist bourgeoisie is not content merely to intensify the exploitation of its own working class. Fascism is, above all, the mobilization of the masses for imperialist war. Fascists come to power by proclaiming that the "people" need a "strong leadership" to defend them against their national enemies. It is precisely by social chauvinist demogogy that fascism attains its mase base and disorients and splits the workers movement. After Hitler came to power, the German Social Democrats announced their *support* for Nazi *foreign* policy. Labor reformism prepares the way for fascism through its social chauvinist policies. Because the IC rejects the *centrality* of the struggle against social-chauvinism and labor reformism in this epoch, the politics of international Healyism are essentially *economist* —which because they fail to go beyond the limits of capitalism ultimately lead to outright support for the bourgeoisie. Healy/Wohlforth have not yet had their 4 August 1914 (the day the German Social Democrats voted for war credits), but they have one in their future. It is only a question of time.

Healyism and Pabloism Drift Together

For the past several years we have called attention to the rightward degeneration of international Healyism, and its increasing adoption of Pabloist methodology. The parallelism of the IC and USec Majority's present economic analysis and particularly the organizational perspectives they draw from it further strengthens this view. It is now clear that Mandel's neo-capitalism and the Healyites' credit-inflation boom were objectivist explanations for the organizational stagnation of the erstwhile Trotskyist movement in the 1950's-early 1960's. Likewise, their present catastrophic economic analysis is an objectivist projection of their get-rich-quick organizational ambitions. These ambitions are simultaneously associated with both sectarian posturing and adventurism and with opportunist tailism. On the one hand, we have the Healyites boy-scout-type hikes against unemployment and ever-more-frequent press or the USec's experimentation with guerilla terrorism in Latin America and confrontation with the police in France. On the other hand we have the WL's campaign to pressure the Meanyite union bureaucracy into building a reformist labor party and the Ligue Communiste's and the WL's support to the French popular front, the Union of the Left. What sectarian posturing, adventurism and tailism have in common is that they are apparent short cuts to building a mass party.

The Spartacist League does not pretend to be able to foretell the pattern of future economic cycles and their precise effect on the international class struggle. On the value of such predictions, we can do no better than to quote comrade Lenin.

> "We cannot tell—no one can tell in advance—how soon a real proletarian revolution will flare up there, and what *immediate cause* will most serve to rouse, kindle and impel into struggle the very wide masses, who are still dormant." [emphasis in original]
> —"Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder," 1920

We assert that in this epoch of the death agony of capitalism many revolutionary situations will occur. They can only be resolved in favor of socialism if led by a revolutionary proletarian party. And the *only* way to successfully prepare for a revolutionary situation is a constant struggle to establish a cadre as recognized leaders in the labor movement and mass organizations of the oppressed on the basis of the Transitional Program. ■

Correction

The "Preferential Hiring Is Not the Answer" article in *WV* No. 25 of 20 July 1973 states in reference to the 1968 NYC teachers' strike, "This strike lined up almost every left group, with the exception of the Spartacist League and the NCLC, behind the school board and its cynical Ford Foundation backers." In addition to the two organizations mentioned, the Workers League and Socialist Party also supported that strike.

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IS Explodes

We codified this in the proposal that PFP must declare itself for a socialist perspective and/or for a labor party.

Now Tabor can write of the PFP experience:

> "...the middle classes...by virtue of their class position cannot develop an independent alternative to capitalism, but can only follow the working class or one or another wing of the ruling class....By trying to position the PFP some imaginary 'one step to the left' of McCarthy, the ISC placed it between two stools, and as a result it became a hollow shell and eventually collapsed. And the ISC, because it did not make it clear that the PFP could not end the war, that only the Vietnamese people or the U.S. working class could end the war, but that no radical party based on the middle classes could do it, did not clearly pose itself, that is, its *ideas* as an alternate perspective.... In other words, by refusing to expose the radical illusions of the majority of the PFP, the ISC could not pose the necessary *class* alternative...."
> —"On the Transitional Program"

Whither the RSL?

History never repeats itself exactly. But the RSL comrades have managed to unwind the film of their tendency's evolution in reverse to become akin to the early Shachtmanites of vintage 1941. The RSL still remains trapped within the framework of its historic origins as a break away from Trotskyism, i.e. the revolutionary Marxism of our time. Politically its future, though not necessarily now determined, is not promising. Organizationally its perspectives, objectively considered, are suggestive of early disintegration. Its prior shaping experience in the welter of IS personality bloce is poor preparation for the crystallization of a cadre capable of class-struggle combat; and a grouping of under a hundred comrades had better have a characteristic and vital programmatic quality if it is reasonably to expect to exist and grow.

Yet the RSL does represent the outcome of the painful accumulation, over four years, of a leftist bulge in the IS. Revolutionary Marxists must not lightly or indifferently write off the possibility for the winning, not merely of individuals (which occurs in any case) but of whole leftward-moving currents.

And what about the traditionalist IS majority? Politically, the murky and quantitative political separation which emerged within the IS permitted the Geierites the opportunity to play at a bit of radical demagoguery. In their statement just prior to the final break, "The Crisis in the IS and the Road Forward," these classical Kautskian step-at-a-time pressure-group politicians declared:

> "It is the IS [majority] which will continue the struggle of the early American Trotskyists to defend the politics of the October Revolution. It is the IS which has the hope for developing an American cadre of worker-Bolsheviks...."

Ye gods, worker-Bolsheviks! Well, when in extremis in the 1920's, the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce came out for the world proletarian revolution! In order to avoid giving a leftist cover to the right wing, the small "Leninist Tendency" of Shapiro-Hayes—which had fought for Marxian clarity midst the factional frenzy—resigned from the IS at the plenum which expelled the RSL comrades, although the LT itself was not in the direct line of the Geierites' fire.

We trust that the right wing will soon settle back politically into its minimum/maximum niche. Organizationally, the Geierite IS has suffered a blow—the loss of a substantial chunk of members which leaves them formally somewhat smaller than the SL and significantly smaller in terms of active cadres. But if they can pull together a cohesive cadre on the basis of political homogeneity, they may have the possibility—given the super-rightist oseification of the SP and the SWP's present uninvolvement in labor struggles—of playing for a period a successful political role as the virulently Stalinophobic variant of left reformism. ■

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Sitdown Victory...

production: the power plant. Minutes after their shift started, they climbed into the wire cage containing the electrical controls for a feeder line and shut off the controls. Immediately, 150 to 200 workers surrounded the area to protect their action. Sometime after 10 a.m., all the lines throughout the giant plant of over 5,000 workers were down. The company then sent the shift home.

When the second shift arrived that afternoon, they were locked out for about an hour. Then the company called the shift in and tried to run some of the other lines, but with the feeder line still down, they couldn't keep going, so they sent the second shift home as well. Many workers remained to provide support for the sit-down strikers, since an attempt might be made to remove them with police, who were gathering outside the plant.

The sit-down action was a success because Carter, Shorter and their supporters in the metal shop were prepared to fight for their position and not be cowed or tricked by the company. Their demands were simple: fire Woolsey and no reprisals. After about nine hours, the company finally decided against any attempt to evict the pair with security forces and agreed verbally to the demands. The workers said they wanted it in writing. The company submitted a statement which said there would be no reprisals "if the second shift were not disrupted," but since the second shift had already been disrupted, this "guarantee" was meaningless. It was refused. Finally, top management, all smiles, being very "friendly" for a change, was forced to come down and talk to the workers. Wooleey was fired, and a statement was signed which unambiguously guaranteed no reprisals. Carter and Shorter were carried out of the plant as heros. Chrysler had lost about 950 cars during the day.

Bureaucrats Laugh at "Joke"

The union officials—the supposed "leaders" of the workers—did not know what was happening, of course. If they had, they certainly would have put a stop to it, or tried to. The committeemen on the scene advocated going to work for the most part, but ran into heavy criticism from the workers. Douglas Fraser, head of the UAW's Chrysler division, joked with the press afterwards. "This is the first plant hijacking of my experience," cracked Fraser, "They get an 'A' for ingenuity" (*Detroit Free Press*, 25 July).

We're glad Fraser enjoyed the "joke." He and his fellow officers have the power to mobilize all auto workers to do the same thing, thereby making sure of winning *all* such grievances and avoiding *all* reprisals, not to mention the contract demands in September. Will they do it, now that Carter and Shorter have shown them how? Of course not. They have not forgotten that the UAW was built by the Carters and Shorters in massive sit-down strikes in the thirties. Their job is to use their position as union "leaders" *to prevent such things as the big sit-down strikes again.* Their goal is to keep the capitalist system functioning smoothly so they can reap their small rewards (their favorites are dues money, large salaries and political connections).

A Foreman Is Dispensible, But Production Is Not

Woolsey was seen by the workers as an *extra* bit of oppression which, on top of everything else, was the "last straw." The nine-hour shifts, the particularly heavy, hot and dirty conditions of the metal shop and all

the other abuses that necessarily go along with production for profit will remain. In fact, the company got off cheap: they settled relatively quickly in order to prevent the sit-down strike from spreading and the workers' demands from becoming more fundamental.

A particularly abusive individual superintendent is not, of course, ultimately important to management. Like individual cops, one foreman is a despicable rodent that can be discarded if it is not performing well. Foremen shootings by enraged workers occur fairly frequently in Detroit auto plants, but such actions do not hurt the company or eliminate the constant abuse of the workers by company officials. The action taken by the workers at Jefferson was important not because another particularly abusive foreman got eliminated one way or another (although this way is better!), but because it demonstrated that militant, determined workers can apply their power to shut down production and win their demands. After the half-hearted UAW strikes in 1967 and 1970 (and particularly the demoralizing Lordstown strike last year) which the Reuther-Woodcock gang allowed to drag on inconclusively in order to draw off steam and prepare the way for ramming sellout settlements down the members' throats, this lesson is extremely important. The same methods applied on a larger scale could win larger demands: an end to speed-up and layoffs, a shorter work week at no loss in pay, etc. In fact, by using militant methods, which take advantage of labor's numbers, organization and power to halt production, the working class can eliminate not just all abusive foremen, but the entire system of exploitation that creates them.

But other elements are necessary along the way. No organizations were involved directly in planning the action. A leaflet was put out through the efforts of the United Justice Caucus, a grouping at the plant, signed "Concerned Workers, Local 7," which told what was happening (but neglected to urge the workers to join or support the sit-downers!). While this was better than nothing, it did not reach many workers in other departments of the plant. An organized caucus, with a base and efficient network throughout the plant, is necessary.

Need To Beat the Bureaucracy Politically

But the system cannot be overthrown in just one plant. Organization is needed throughout whole industries and unions. This raises the question of the trade-union bureaucracy, which stands between the workers and their organizations, distorting those organizations into agencies of the capitalists for keeping production rolling and preventing precisely what the Jefferson workers did. An organization must be formed in the unions to beat the trade-union bureaucracy politically and put in a new leadership dedicated to a policy of class struggle. The militant struggles which built the UAW, and in the early years of the union gave the workers substantial control over the shop floor (for a time reducing the problem of abusive foremen), has been abandoned because the labor bureaucracy is dedicated not to class struggle but to class collaboration with the companies and the government. What better proof than Woodcock's participation on Nixon's Pay Board, meekly going along even with the vicious slashing of the terms of the UAW's own aerospace contracts? To return the UAW to a fighting organization against the companies, the workers must deal with Fraser, Woodcock & Co.

The United Justice Caucus (UJC) at Jefferson is an example of trying to beat the bureaucracy by joining it. Before the last local elections, it merged with the Action Slate, an opportunist crew of vote-getters, in order to improve its vote-getting ability. The UJC and the other caucuses linked with it through the United National Caucus (UNC) have no *program* to separate *opposing* the bureaucracy from *joining* it. They have a program all right, but it is a contradictory mish-mash which allows the worst, most opportunist office-seekers to rub shoulders in the same organization with people who claim to be revolutionists. One of its "demands" is to let the office-seekers sue the union in the capitalist courts in order to get their way! The supporters of the social-democratic International Socialists (IS) and the reformist Communist Party merely serve to give the office-seekers the appearance of having some principles. The truth of the matter, however, is that these fakers bend their principles just enough to avoid having a real fight-to-the-finish with the office-seekers. Thus the IS complains that the UJC made a mistake in merging with the Action Slate and calls for a new split (see *Workers Power*, June 1973), but it defends the UNC as a whole and argues against a split there, even though the UNC is a small-time office-seekers' clique with practically no influence anywhere. The IS would rather bury itself in a small opportunist swamp than independently raise a full program of what it thinks the unions should do. In case of the Communist Party, it has been bending its principles for so long, it long ago had no principles left to bend.

Running for office in the union is a perfectly acceptable tactic, but it must be seen as a tactic, subordinated to the over-all goal of returning the unions to class-struggle policies. But this cannot be done without the answers to the important questions facing the working class. What should the workers do about inflation?... about layoffs and unemployment?... about wars like Vietnam and Cambodia? What should they do about the capitalists' shifting investments and plants to other countries to find cheaper labor? (Should they scream "Buy American!" or do the same thing by calling for "restrictions on the export of capital"—the slogan of Woodcock and the UNC?) What should they do about the threat of the capitalist trade war leading to a new inter-imperialist world war? Any leadership thrown up by the class struggle will have to have answers to these questions almost immediately. The trade-union bureaucracy faces them every day, and *it* has answers—the wrong ones!

The trade-union bureaucracy, for instance, is not against politics. It is very much *for* politics—*capitalist* politics. It sees the importance, to it, of backing the "right" horse in the elections, since the question of who gets into office might—*might*—make a small difference in obtaining small favors. What the bureaucracy is against is *working-class* politics; it is against a labor party and a fight for a workers government and the elimination of capitalism because it has placed all its bets on getting a few favors from capitalism. You can't do that and fight the system at the same time.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership

A class-struggle leadership has to have answers before it starts out, or it will be outmaneuvered or sucked into the bureaucracy. To wrest control from the Meanys and Woodcocks, any oppositional formation must demonstrate that it has the answers it would need if it became the leadership. It must be armed with a full program of transitional demands: demands which, as they are struggled for, lead inevitably from where we are now to the struggle to overthrow th whole capitalist system.

Fight inflation and unemployment with a sliding scale of wages and hours, so that available work is divided among those who need it at a stable, high real wage! Not "Buy American"-ism or "restrictions on the export of capital," but international strike solidarity, including strikes against plant closures and layoffs and a struggle to organize the unorganized! "No!" to colonial wars, trade wars, and new world wars! For labor strikes against war—turn the imperialist wars into civil wars! Oppose all government intervention in the labor movement—we don't need the courts to run our affairs! We have our own answer to bureaucracy and racial and sexual discrimination—workers democracy! Not capitalist horse-trading, but a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government!

Oust the bureaucrats! Build the revolutionary leadership! ■

Trade Union Tactics and the Transitional Program

Trinity Methodist Church
13100 Woodward

5 AUGUST 1973 7:30 p.m.

Speaker:
SUE ADRIAN
SL Central Committee

DETROIT

Continued from page 3

...Coast Elections

challenge Bradley directly, instead concentrating on its reformist campaign of Bill Taylor for comptroller. Yorty was frequently attacked in *People's World* but there was only the slightest criticism of Bradley. The CP lauded Bradley's election in the following official statement:

> "This election represents an important victory in the fight against racism and for democracy.... Yorty has been a brazen mouthpiece of the monopoly banking, oil and industrial interests that control the LA basin. Thus the vote against him represents an increase in anti-monopoly sentiment... Communists played an important role in exposing and defeating Yortyism.... Bradley was supported by important sections of monopoly, and without popular pressure, will tend to reflect these interests."
>
> —*People's World*, 9 June

The CP was critical of County Federation leaders for refusing to really materially support Bradley. CP labor spokesman George Morris claimed that "the labor movement nationally has lots to learn from the LA experience if we are to ever have a real popular coalition" (*People's World*, 16 June). The Bradley election highlights the reality of the CP's strategy of "anti-monopoly coalitions." In L. A., the CP seeks a coalition of moderate Democrats (preferably black), so-called community leaders (such as Bert Corona of CASA, the darling of the SWP) and the "progressive" wing of the union bureaucracy (e.g., Chavez) around a reformist program.

At the University of California at Los Angeles the Revolutionary Communist Youth (youth section of the Spartacist League) fought to pose a working-class alternative to the reformist hullabaloo about black Democrats by raising motions at a meeting of Fanshen, a local new-left/Maoist organization, to 1) give absolutely no support to either Yorty or Bradley; and 2) fight for a workers party, dump the bureaucrats! The first part of the motion was accepted, the second defeated, reflecting the Maoists' inability to clearly draw the class line and provide an alternative to liberal capitalists and the union bureaucrats.

Erstwhile "revolutionary" Huey Newton tried to bolster his new moderate image by endorsing Bradley, further demonstrating the hopeless degeneration of the Black Panther Party. Readers may recall that not long ago this same party spoke of the overthrow of capitalism and refused to give support to black Democratic Party candidates. Now the BPP cannot do enough to show its docile subservience to the capitalists. Newton's endorsement was rejected by Bradley who noted, "I don't need or want help from a man who has promoted these kinds of ideas. Having Huey Newton endorse me would be like having the Nazi Party endorse Sam Yorty." Not easily denied, Newton sent Bradley congratulations on his victory!

Black Panthers Become Black Democrats In Oakland

Meanwhile, in Oakland, the BPP leadership capped its drive to the right in Bobby Seale's campaign for mayor against Republican John Reading. Running on virtually nothing except rhetoric about being the "people's candidate," Seale was careful to emphasize on radio and billboards that "I am a Democrat."

The main problem for Seale and the BPP was to erase their radical history and assure the local ruling class of their loyalty to capitalism. The BPP did not find quick endorsement from the usual sources of liberal support: the AFL-CIO's COPE made no endorsement for the Democratic primary in April, while the ILWU and other liberal unions endorsed Otho Green, a well-established local black Democratic. In the runoff the Alameda County Central Labor Council decided to make no endorsement.

Although Seale lost the mayoral election of May 15 by 30,000 votes, he did beat the other Democrats in the primary, thereby increasing his influence in the Democratic Party apparatus by demonstrating his vote-getting power. This fact was not lost on the BPP, which gloated in the 19 May issue of the *Black Panther*: "The Peoples' Campaign organized the Democratic Party in Oakland, an accomplishment that cannot easily be lived down by establishment Democrats."

It did not take long for Seale to consolidate his machine in the best traditions of ward politics. The 30 June *Black Panther* was headlined, "New Oakland Democratic Organization Launched," and was filled with descriptions of a lavish banquet for 1500 campaign workers, "a gala banquet... at Nikkole International, a well-known club in Oakland... at which... the formation of the New Oakland Democratic Organizing Committee was announced." The paper went on to explain that the New Democratic Organization "...will join hands and hearts with honest, committed and dedicated citizens of Oakland from all strata and walks of life, to win elective power for those who represent the best interest of all the people, the best that exists within the truly democratic ideals of this land."

The *People's World* of 19 May was not far behind in seeing the potential here for another reformist "people's coalition." Under the headline, "Seale doubles vote in Oakland," the paper noted that the big vote for Seale "indicates at least a strong potential for an opposition in Oakland to the Republican-dominated administration. If it is organized beyond election day." No doubt the CP will do its best to see that Oakland's black population is "organized"—into the Democratic Party!

The Panthers, defeated by government repression, disillusioned and disunited, are with CP encouragement enthusiastically following a policy of class collaboration with the liberal bourgeoisie. Thus the distinction evaporates between "revolutionary" nationalism and its "pork-chop" varieties. While Bradley represents a victory for a strategy of one section of the ruling class, the BPP policy of class collaboration is a betrayal of the working class, particularly of the most oppressed black sector whose revolutionary aspirations the BPP once expressed in a distorted form. Even in their more militant days the Panthers were unable to transcend black nationalism. Their later degeneration is simply a working-out of the bourgeois logic of nationalism. ■

Detroit News

Leaders of Detroit sit-down strike being carried from plant after recent victory.

Sitdown Victory in Detroit Auto

Using a militant tactic which had not been seen in U.S. labor struggles for years, workers at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue assembly plant in Detroit on July 24 sat down on the job, immediately stopping production and winning their demands within 24 hours. The sit-down strike was planned and spearheaded by two workers and immediately joined by more than 150 others in their department. The one-day action solved a nagging grievance which the union officials, with all their top-heavy bureaucracy and formal negotiations, had been unable to settle for weeks.

The sit-downers not only won their grievance, but forced a written statement from the company guaranteeing total amnesty.

The two workers, Larry Carter and Isaac Shorter, showed what could be done by auto workers (and *all* workers) to win their demands, if only the proper planning, organization and leadership could be provided. Their act gave auto workers a reminder of the power of the militant tactics which built the UAW, but which auto union bureaucrats have since abandoned as too revolutionary.

Normal Channels Failed To Get Rid of Racist Foreman

The action was a protest against a particularly oppressive foreman, Woolsey, in the metal shop. Woolsey went out of his way to harass people and make life miserable for the workers, and was a notorious racist. He frequently abused black workers with racist epithets. Workers in the metal shop had filed grievances and circulated a petition demanding his termination. The shop committee demanded his removal, but the company refused to act. Normally the most the company would do with an objectionable foreman like Woolsey would be to transfer him to another department, but this had already been done to Woolsey several times. According to newspaper accounts of the incident, Woolsey had helped provoke a walkout earlier in the year. He was universally hated throughout the plant.

Carter and Shorter struck at a key point, where they would be sure to stop

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Response to Gleason/Company Compensation Fund Ripoff:

New Orleans ILA Ranks Wildcat

Since Monday, July 23, wildcatting longshoremen have shut down the port of New Orleans, the second largest in the nation. With up to 1,000 union members showing up to protest at the docks dally, the strike has been so effective that it provoked the direct intervention of ILA President Gleason and Mayor Landrieu of New Orleans. A small group of strikers returned to work Friday, but quickly went out again when they discovered they had been tricked into agreement. As we go to press the wildcat continues to be effective. The Shipping Association has charged five of the strike leaders with organizing an unauthorized action.

Gleason Bureaucracy Sells Job Rights

Containerization represented a major technological change in maritime transportation and, from the shipowners' standpoint, greatly reduced the demand for dock labor. The ILWU and ILA bureaucracy met this challenge by giving up job rights and voluntarily reducing the size of their unions in return for a cash payment. The Spartacist League has always opposed unions accepting technological unemployment in return for money. Rather we demand that the entire working class must benefit from increased labor productivity through a shorter work week with no loss in pay. Under the best conditions, when the currently employed workers get a fairly large money compensation, trading away job rights sacrifices the future interests of the working class. It presents young workers with reduced job opportunities and weakens the trade unions. This should be particularly obvious in unions with a large proportion of blacks since the mass unemployment of black youth is one of the most burning sore spots of American capitalism.

The New Orleans longshore wildcat highlights another reason for opposing unions' selling of their members' job rights. These job-lost compensation funds (called royalties in the ILA) become enormous sources for bureaucratic theft. Last fall and winter, New Orleans ILA members were presented with a document authorizing the union to give them 25 percent of the agreed-upon royalties, while the other 75 percent would go into the pension fund and other bureaucratically controlled honeypots. In protest many members did not sign. So far no one has been getting any royalties. The striking workers believe that upwards of $10 million is involved (one of the major demands is to open the companies' books on royalty payments) and that the bureaucrats may have gotten their hands on a lot of it. The demand that the workers immediately get the full royalties due them is the central issue in the wildcat.

Paralleling the royalty rip-off, only nine of the 3,300 workers have gotten the guaranteed annual income won in the last contract. The company is deducting any outside earnings from the "guaranteed income." It is also making the payment of the "guaranteed" income conditional upon the elimination of the traditional job categories of grain and freight handlers. This of course further reduces the labor force. Other factors provoking the walkout are one company's using non-union labor, failure to receive all of their due vacation pay and the lack of any work breaks other than lunch.

For a Democratically Elected, Racially-United Strike Committee

The New Orleans ILA consists of two traditionally segregated locals, with the black one (1419) having about 75 percent of the total membership. The strike has shattered these racist divisions and produced exceptional black-white worker unity. The most prominent leader of the wildcat is Irvin Joseph, a black activist. Joseph has played a moderating role throughout the strike emphasizing the need for respectability. The best known white activist in the strike is Norris Plaisance, perennial and unsuccessful candidate for Local office. (Following one of his defeats, Plaisance sued the union to have the election results thrown out.) However, the wildcat has not had strong leadership. Rather the strike has demonstrated a powerful spontaneous but undirected outpouring of hostility to the Gleason-backed Local regime.

A major impulse in the strike has been to "take back" the union from the corrupt Henry/Chittenden regimes. When Joseph suggested they move the meetings from the company shape-up area to a public park to avoid legal problems, a number of workers countered that the strike meetings be held in "our" union hall. There has been a lot of feeling to impeach 1419 President Clarence Henry, which Joseph deflected by suggesting court action.

A few days after the strike began, 300 longshoremen massed at the City Council chambers and pressured Mayor Landrieu into meeting with them. This confrontation between wildcatting, mostly black, dockers and the responsible representative of capitalist rule

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THE TIMES-PICAYUNE

Ships tied up in New Orleans harbor during dockworkers' wildcat strike.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 27 31 August 1973

Strikers at Mack Stamping plant try to stop supply trucks during wildcat.

DETROIT NEWS

Auto workers arguing with Local Pres. Ghant (right), who opposed Mack strike.

Solidarity House Runs Amok as

Wildcats Explode in Detroit Auto

An upsurge of wildcat strikes in Detroit, culminating in the second sit-down strike in three weeks, has upset the normal pattern of contract bargaining in the auto industry and caused the UAW tops to reveal themselves as virtual shock troops for the companies, preserving labor-force discipline by mobilizing goon squads of functionaries against strikers and radicals. The strikes also revealed the extreme isolation of the union bureaucracy from the ranks. These developments have demonstrated more sharply than at any time since the red purges of the late forties and fifties both the degeneration of existing working-class "leadership" and the need for a new, revolutionary leadership of the unions and for a vanguard party.

Since the dramatic victory of a one-day sit-down strike at Chrysler's Jefferson Ave. assembly plant (see *WV* No. 26, 3 August 1973), two more strikes have erupted, prompting vicious red-baiting and strikebreaking by UAW goons. On 8 August a strike at the Detroit Forge plant, part of Chrysler's Lynch Road complex, was spearheaded by workers on the third shift who refused to go into work and began mass picketing which kept the ptant shut down for five days. Since this forge plant is the largest of only two such plants in the Chrysler system making axles, crankshafts, torsion bars, gears and other parts, the strike threatened to shut down the entire system in a matter of days.

Both Chrysler management and UAW officials panicked, called off the negotiations then in progress and began a frantic drive to get the workers back to work. While the company raced to court to get an injunction against picketing and denounced the UAW for not being able to control its members (i.e., not doing its job), the union leadership, hypocritically complaining about safety and clean-up in the plants, went all out to force the strikers back to work with nothing gained except meaningless promises about future "improvements."

The strike was sparked by arbitrary firings of 13 workers over the past few months, which the workers said were a conscious company ploy to raise the slakes at the bargaining lable, putting the union on the defensive and perhaps forcing it, in the interest of getting the workers rehired, to abandon demands (such as a denial plan) which it might otherwise have won. The workers were angered by open company hypocrisy. Thus while the company was arbitrarily firing workers, it reinslated (after only a one month's suspension) a foreman who had been caught stealing.

In addition to the firings, hazardous working conditions and a backlog of grievances which had been building up for years (since the last wildcat strike two years ago) drove the workers to strike. UAW officials revealed how inadequate and ponderous is their "representation" of the auto workers when they declared they were "stunned" by the strike, since there were "only 17 grievances in process in the plant" (*Detroit Free Press*, 9 August 1973)! It is hardly surprising that the workers decided to represent themselves, electing a rank-and-file strike committee, which presented three demands (reinstatement of the fired men, settlement of the backlog of grievances, no reprisals), and hiring tawyers themselves to fight the company's anti-picketing injunction in the courts.

Sit-Down Strike

No sooner had UAW Chrysler department head Fraser managed to talk the Forge workers back to work with promises of an official strike vote to be held in a few days than a sit-down strike broke out at Chrysler's Mack Ave. Slamping Plant, which has a reputation as the dirtiest and most dangerous plant in the Chrysler system. Accidents are frequent, as workers are tempted to dispense with the use of safety tools in order to speed up their handling of the pieces in the giant presses so as to meet hourly quolas. Failure to meet the quotas results in loss of break time.

The sit-down was started by one worker, William Gilbreth, who had been fired for participation in an earlier work stoppage and had returned to the plant to seek reinslatement. In a planned action, Gilbreth sat down on the line. Chrysler sent the bulk of the workers home immediately, but a dwindling crew of militants continued to occupy the plant. The strike was ended the following day as police entered the plant and led out 15 workers under arrest. Of these, Gilbreth and another worker were charged with assaulting plant guards the previous day.

The Mack Ave. strike sparked a panic reaction in the Detroit ruling class and UAW bureaucracy both because it followed immediately on the heels of the Jefferson Ave. and Detroit Forge strikes and because Gilbreth was identified as a member of Workers Action Movement (WAM) and Progressive Labor Party. WAM spokesmen made no secret of this—their claim to have ptanned the sit-down in advance was splashed across the front pages of the bourgeois press. Mentioned also were the Sparlacist League and such ostensibly revolutionary organizations as the Labor Committee and the International Socialists.

Panic in the ruling class—prompting the immediate police mobilization against the Mack strike—quickly had its reflection in the UAW bureaucracy. Until this point, Fraser and other bureaucrats, while working to end the strikes without settlement of the issues, had been using the wildcats to "warn" Chrysler of possible strikes over health and safety and of other retribution (i.e., more wildcats) if the intolerable plant conditions were not improved. Thus the UAW bureaucrats were simply advising their friends in the ruling class that a few piecemeal "reforms" were necessary if the bureaucracy's job of keeping the workers in line were not to become impossible.

With the eruption at Mack Ave., however, the bureaucracy dropped all pretense of being on the side of the workers and led a drive against "reds" which threatened in one city to take on the proportions of the purges of the McCarthy era. Fraser denounced radicals and chastised the company for having given in to the Jefferson Ave. strikers. "If you surrender to this type of blackmail, there is no end to it," said Fraser, who then mobilized 1,000 UAW functionaries, mostly from other plants, to show up at Mack to make sure no "radicals" would keep out workers who wanted to work! Working hand-in-glove with the police, this giant goon squad, which was obscenely likened in the bourgeois press to the historic "flying squads" of strikers that helped build the CIO in the thirties, was the union leadership's strikebreaking answer to the Mack workers' grievances. While the bureaucracy was able to temporarily halt the snowballing wildcat movement by such tactics, it is significant that in order to do this it was forced to rely on bureaucrats, largely from other plants. The return to work had been prepared for the previous night by hourly UAW-sponsored media announcements ordering the workers back, on the grounds that the strike wasn't official.

In the following days Fraser mobilized his bureaucratic goons to attack left-wing paper salesmen in front of the plants. Members of the *Spark* group, a small pseudo-Trotskyist grouping which sponsors factory bulletins in some plants, were told not to sell their paper in front of the Dodge Main plant and were physically assaulted. The Revolutionary Socialist League, a left-Shachtmanite grouping which recently got itself expelled from the International Socialists, was also chased away from Dodge Main. And "union" goons, armed with clubs, were seen looking for "radicals" in front of a Dodge truck plant.

United Front to Defend the Left

These incidents have tapered off, but they represent a dangerous trend. In defiance of the most basic principles of workers democracy, not to mention bourgeois legality, the UAW bureau-

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Stalinists Sabotage Australian Ford Strike

The ten-week strike of auto workers at the Broadmeadows Ford plant in Melbourne, Australia, which ended on July 23, clearly demonstrated the limitations of militant reformism and the treachery of the Stalinist Communist Party of Australia (CPA). Despite the combativity of the workers, the trade-union bureaucrats, both Stalinist and right-wing, were able to divert the strike into isolated impotence in the absence of an alternative revolutionary leadership.

The automobile indusrty in Australia employs a high percentage of immigrant workers (about 75percent of the strikers at Broadmeadows were immigrants), mainly Southern European, Turkish and Lebanese, who have recently arrived in Australia. Many production workers take home only 64 Australian dollars (roughly $80 in U.S. currency) a week. In the recent period they have been faced with speed-up, deterioration of working conditions and a 15 percent annual inflation rate. However, the buoyant market for automobiles and a shortage of cheap labor caused by immigration restrictions meanwhile tended to strengthen the workers' position and thus encouraged militant resistance to the companies.

Last November the federal leaderships of the four unions in the auto industry, the Vehicle Building Employees Federation (VBEF), the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union (AMWU), Australian Society of Engineers (ASE) and the Electrical Trades Union (ETU) agreed to a common national campaign. They called for an "overaward rate" (i.e., wages above the industry-wide rate) of 45 percent, the removal of all penalties from the overaward wage and vacation pay totaling 17 1/2 percent of the total annual wage earned.

The union leadership decided that a strategy of "guerrilla action" would be most appropriate and that General Motors-Holden (GMH) should be singled out "for treatment first as the most arrogant and possibly the most vulnerable due to market considerations" (*Tribune*, 19-25 June). The most vociferous exponent of this approach of isolated and fragmentary struggles was Laurie Carmichael, assistant federal secretary of the 180,000 member AMWU and National Committee member of the CPA. Only last year Carmichael played a major role in defeating the oil workers' strike, and despite his and his party's militant posturing, he again fulfilled his job as a labor lieutenant of capitalism.

General Motors' refusal to negotiate on the log of claims (union bargaining demands) initiated a series of rolling strikes in early May at GMH plants in three states. Mass meetings endorsed the union leaderships' proposal for guerrilla strikes if GMH did not act on the demands for negotiations. In an attempt to stem the workers' militancy and to undermine the union strategy GMH threatened to dock the entire weekly overaward payments of those workers participating in any stop-work meeting.

This attempt to divide the workers from the union leadership produced a sharp reaction in the plants, shifting the initiative away from the union bureaucracy to the shop floor. Workers at General Motors' plant at Pagewood, South Australia, for example, voted to continue their half-day stoppage for an extended six-day period. GMH, apparently more attuned to the volatile situation that existed on the shop floors than was the union bureaucracy, backed off from its threat of penalties in order to ensure continued production.

The bureaucracy's schemes really began to fall apart when a lunch-time mass meeting on May 18 at the Ford Broadmeadows plant erupted into an indefinite strike of 3,000 workers. Such actions had not been conceived as part of the master plan, and the union bureaucracy immediately sought to contain this unwanted militancy by refusing to extend the strike, in particular by refusing to call out the 2,000 workers at the Ford Geelong plant who VBEF assistant secretary Townsend boasted were ready to respond to the call for industrial action. Attempting to cover for Carmichael, its chief industrial strategist, the CPA paper, *Tribune* (12-18 June), cited language difficulties, industrial inexperience and relative insecurity as newcomers as explanations why the largely migrant workers at Ford Broadmeadows had rejected the union proposal for guerrilla tactics and had opted for an all-out strike. This was to be only the first of several "explanations" of "General" Carmichael's strikebreaking antics.

The shop stewards put forward a series of demands for improved conditions, mainly relating to line speed and manning ratios. At the same time the union leadership was having trouble trying to control rank-and-file militancy. When in late May the Broadmeadows workers voted to continue their strike, Ford made the "final" offer of a five percent increase in overaward payments and a reduction in penalties.

But the union leadership was still intent upon playing guerrilla warfare with the companies and in the face of the threat of a lockout of workers at Ford Geelong thought it might maneuver by recommending a return to work at Broadmeadows. Townsend appealed to the companies on behalf of the "responsible" officials: "We have had to hold them back, and they are accusing us of being weak for not encouraging stronger action earlier. There is no doubt that there will be very strong action taken if there is no agreement reached on Monday. But I certainly hope we can work something out" (*Melbourne Age*, 9 June).

At a mass meeting of the Broadmeadows workers on Monday, June 11, union officials tried to get the workers to return to work on the basis of the company's terms. The meeting ended in uproar when Carmichael declared that a small majority had voted to return to work. Carmichael and other officials were attacked and roughed up by angry workers who had a very different opinion on the outcome of the vote. Subsequently, the *Tribune* claimed that the union recommendation in favor of a return swayed "what was probably a majority of workers at the Broadmeadows plant as a whole, but most of those in the car assembly plant did not want to return" (*Tribune*, 19-25 June).

The following Wednesday when a return-to-work attempt was made, dissident workers gathered outside the plant and a mass picket line was soon established. The anger of the workers exploded as fire hoses were turned on those who tried to cross the picket line and on the plant itself. A truck laden with fruit was wrecked and its contents used as ammunition. The windows of the plant and its office block were smashed, a decorative brick wall pushed over and cyclone fences flattened. Over 100 police and mounted troopers were rushed to the scene, but kept their distance until the storm had abated. The head shop steward Ron Gent was quoted in the *Melbourne Age* as saying that "We don't want the union officials here, they'd get killed." The Ford management complained that the "hooligans" bad done $10,000 worth of damage and soon after began publishing full page advertisements in the local press full of pious statements about "violence" and "majority rule."

At this stage the union bureaucracy was completely isolated from the Ford workers, and the shop stewards (a number of wbom were close to the CPA) had been unable to control the workers. Thus the situation was very tense on Friday morning at the mass meeting held in the plant car park. Carmichael, Townsend and the shop stewards addressed the workers from the back of a truck, while contingents of police waited out of sight but not too far away. Carmichael's words are now famous: "I made a mistake," he said. "The workers taught me a lesson. We had a plan, but we did not listen sufficiently to the workers and change that plan in accordance with your wishes" (*Tribune*, 31 July-6 August).

And indeed Carmichael had made a mistake: he had allowed himself to become isolated from his base. But neither he nor the other bureaucrats, nor the CPA, which assiduously sought to explain away his treachery, for one moment questioned their fundamental strategy of betrayal. For them all, the mistakes were simply matters of poor communications between the rank and file and the union leadership, the failure of the "master plan" to take adequate account of the emotions of the workers (in particular the immigrants) and the failure to place enough emphasis on the CPA's elixir of "workers control." In the absence of an alternative revolutionary leadership, "honest" Laurie Carmichael and the other bureaucrats were able to soothe the workers and with few modifications continue their capitulatory policies. Carmichael's "new plan" included a proposal to broaden the negotiating committee to take in "your representatives from the shop floor."

Nevertheless the Stalinists required new explanations for what had happened, so that whereas before the failure to accept the "guerrilla campaign" had been due to the company's pressure on the poor migrant workers, the *Tribune* now "discovered" in a front-page headline that "Ford Men Reject the System" (*Tribune*, 19-25 June). Carmichael himself, however, was still a little out of step with his party's cover-up. In a letter to *The Australian*, Carmichael insisted that it was Ford's fault that the men did not return to work. Ford had vindicated those who had voted against accepting the five percent offer by closing its gates, because this was "treating all those who had returned to work the same as those who had not" (*The Australian*, 28 June). If only the Ford company had not been so irresponsible, the Ford workers might not have been so thoughtless as to "reject the system"!

In keeping with their original strategy the bureaucrats refused to extend the strike. Other plants were not kept fully informed of developments at Broadmeadows, and the union officials made no effort to call them out. The bureaucrats claimed that the Geelong plant remained at work at the request

THE AGE

Australian auto workers at Broadmeadows Ford plant on June 13 protesting effort by Stalinist bureaucrats to force them back to work. Workers turned fire hoses on scabs, smashed plant windows, knocked over wall and flattened cyclone fence. Led by militant immigrants, the wildcat strike lasted ten weeks.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

of the Broadmeadows workers, that they were the most ready source of strike support funds and that workers at other plants did not want to strike anyway. Rather than fighting to win the strike by extending it, Carmichael and the other bureaucrats prolonged and ultimately defeated the struggle by effectively isolating it.

In the meantime the Australian Labor Party government was demagogically putting on a nationalist left face against the "foreign octopus." Minister of Labour Clyde Cameron remarked from London:

> "I don't like a situation in which Australian workers have to fight an industrial contest against somebody whose decisions are being made in the boardrooms of New York.
> "This is something that is very bad—it is a foreign company, it is owned by foreigners, its policy is being made by foreigners, and Australian workers have become the meat in the sandwich."
> —*Labour Press*, 2 July

Meanwhile his colleagues back home were trying to force the rebellious workers to accept company terms!

The CPA for its part was making efforts to explain how especially alienated and frustrated the auto workers were and thereby promote its reformist version of "workers control." While originally GMH was the most arrogant company, now Ford Broadmeadows was declared "one of the worst, if not *the* worst example in Australia of an inhuman production line" (*Tribune*, 17-23 July). For several weeks the *Tribune* excelled itself explaining how undignified, inhuman, wasteful and inefficient the assembly line "monster" was. This reached a peak in an article entitled "Production Line Blues," which argued that better cars could be produced and that the system would be more efficient if there were no speedup. "Even in the U.S., line workers are not pushed to the same extent. All this proves that the Ford-GMH system is not a reasoned attempt to extract the greatest profit, but an outcome of the limited thinking of men to whom swinging the lash has become a way of life." Thus, you see, it was a particularly bad employer and CPA union leader Carmichael could perhaps be excused for not realizing just how angry the Broadmeadows workers had become. Similarly, if only Ford would compromise by becoming just an "average" exploiter, by raising the minimum wage, then "everybody will gain" (*Tribune*, 3-9 July)!

After ten weeks the strikers voted to return to work at a mass meeting on July 23. They agreed to end the strike on the basis that Justice Moore of the Arbitration Court would conduct an inquiry into wage rates and arbitrate on any further increases. The workers had made no gains on wages and only minor concessions on conditions (a six-minute afternoon tea break, increased spaces between cars, an improved system of relief on the line and the repair of leaking roofs and the closing of doors which permitted cold winds in). After trying to sabotage the strike for the past ten weeks the Stalinists now put on a false face of militancy and voted against the terms that Carmichael himself had negotiated. Even the *Tribune* had to admit that virtually nothing had been gained from the ten-week strike, but no matter, for "the real significance here is that the workers have at last staked a claim on what has been considered to be the sacred soil of the boss—the company's exclusive 'right' to determine the speed of the line, its organisation, and the manning scale" (*Tribune*, 31 July-6 August). Who needs a socialist revolution when the CPA is capable of such mighty steps toward making capitalism more humane?!!

The CPA's role as agent of capitalism in the workers movement was clear and unequivocal during the strike, despite the *Tribune's* hypocritical sermonizing about the workers' no longer "submit[ting] meekly to being treated as dumb cattle by capitalist bosses, or accept[ing] manipulation by union officials"—pious words which simply serve as a cover for CPA union leader Carmichael's sellout policies.

Instead of the CPA's vague references to "human dignity" the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand called concretely for the formation of rank-and-file opposition caucuses in the unions to fight the bureaucracy with a revolutionary program. In a leaflet distributed at the Broadmeadows plant, the SL/ANZ called for extending the strike to all car assembly plants, for no state interference in the workers movement, for the establishment of workers' vigilance committees, for opening company books, for 30 for 40 with automatic cost-of-living increases, for equal opportunity and equal pay for women and for nationalization of the car industry under workers' management.

In contrast, both of the groups supporting the "United [!] Secretariat" in Australia, the pro-SWP Socialist Workers League and the pro-Mandel Communist League, simply tailed after the spontaneous militancy of the auto workers. For the CL this meant claiming that "Ford workers are showing the way forward" without providing a revolutionary programmatic alternative to the present union misleaders. The SWL abstractly noted that demands "need to point the way towards" workers control of line speed and nationalization of the car industry (*Direct Action*, 29 June), but failed to indicate a concrete means (such as a programmatically-based caucus) for struggling for such policies in the unions.

The Healyite Socialist Labour League not surprisingly saw the strike as another of its endless "decisive turning points," and consequently raised the urgent need to...force the reformist Whitlam government to act "in the interests of the working class" by implementing "a socialist programme of nationalizing the basic industries, implementing a 35-hour week for all workers, and giving full support to all wage struggles" (*Labour Press*, 2 July). The SLL reinforces the stranglehold of social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucrats by promoting the illusion that the struggle for socialism is simply a matter of pressuring reformist union leaders and Labor Party parliamentarians.

The initial euphoria of the early weeks of the Labor government has worn off as auto workers, as well as brewery, electrical power, steel and aluminum processing workers have struck in defense of their living standards. But (as was amply demonstrated in the Ford strike) between the ranks and victory stands a crucial obstacle, the labor bureacracy, which will continue to betray the struggle until it is swept aside by a new leadership dedicated to a program of class struggle. It is to the solution of this crisis of proletarian leadership that the Spartacist League dedicates its efforts.■

Do We Call on the Bourgeoisie to Outlaw Fascism?

In the last issue (*WV* No. 26, 3 August 1973) there were two errors of considerable political importance. The first was typographical and rather humorous: in the article on "The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited, Part 4: The Popular Front" the Leninist slogan for the workers united front is given as "march together, strike separately." It should, of course, have read "march separately, strike together."

The second is more serious. In the article "Rightest Coup Fails in Chile" (p. 4) a call is made for "the outlawing and disarming of all fascist organizations." The general political line of the article is clearly one of uncompromising class struggle, calling for the distribution of arms to the workers; the formation of workers militias based on the trade unions; the abolition of the standing army and the officer corps and the organization of the troops into soldiers committees allied with the trade unions; the formation of a central committee of workers militias, soldiers councils and workers organizations (unions and parties). Nevertheless, even in this context to call on the *bourgeois* state (even with a popular-front government such as Allende's) to outlaw and disarm fascists is to awaken illusions in the masses. Only the *working class* can smash fascism, through making a proletarian revolution. Fascism is another form of capitalist rule, to which the bourgeoisie may have to resort if more democratic forms prove incapable of repressing the workers movement. Therefore the decisive sectors of the capitalist class cannot permit their government to eliminate this potentially crucial weapon.

Although the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party concentrated during recent demonstrations in defense of the Ligue Communiste on the slogan of "jail the fascists, not the Ligue," Trotsky himself decisively rejected such slogans which were raised by the Stalinists in France. When Cachin, a CP leader, called for a bloc with Daladier's Radical Socialists in 1934, one of his arguments was that the Radicals had called for disarming the fascists. Trotsky replied:

> "Certainly, the Radicals declared themselves for the disarmament of everyone—workers' organizations included. Certainly, in the hands of a Bonapartist state, such a measure would be directed especially against the workers. Certainly, the 'disarmed' Fascists would receive on the morrow double their arms, not without the aid of the police."
> —"Whither France?", November 1934

Trotsky counterposed the disarming of the fascists by workers mititias. In a programmatic sense he dealt with the question in the theses on "War and the Fourth International" (1934), which stated:

> "To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will."

In a more immediate sense, to call on the bourgeois state to disarm and outlaw the fascists is an invitation to the bourgeoisie to pass laws outlawing "extra-legal armed groups of both left and right." Such a law was passed in France during the 1936-38 popular front and was used exclusively against the Trotskyists. Allende is pushing a similar decree today, and while the language sounds impartial, if effectively implemented it would place guns only in the hands of the bourgeois army, leaving the working class totally disarmed; and in practice it is being used exclusively against unions and workers organizations, while fascist organizations such as Patria y Libertad continue to amass huge arms stockpiles.■

Spartacist Local Directory

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
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WORKERS VANGUARD

SL/RCY Summer Camp Report

During August 11-18, over 250 members and friends of the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, attended a summer camp in northern Illinois. In addition to a full schedule of recreational activities and educational classes on the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism, plenary sessions of the SL Central Committee and RCY National Committee were held at the camp.

The recent split in the International Socialists intersected the week's activities in a major way. The SL plenum agreed to fuse with the Leninist Tendency, a grouping of some 8 comrades emerging from the IS split. (A subsequent issue of *Workers Vanguard* will treat the evolution of the Leninist Tendency and its role in the IS factional struggle.) The culminating event of this intensely political week was a debate in Chicago's old Wobbly Hall between spokesmen for the SL and Leninist Tendency and the newly formed left-Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League.

The RCY plenum voted to change the name of the youth paper from *RCY Newsletter* to *Young Spartacus* in recognition of the stabilization of an eight page bi-monthly and in anticipation of a more frequent press.

A discussion of international perspectives at the SL plenum was quite optimistic. The 1971 split in the "International Committee" and imminent rupture in the "United Secretariat" have discredited these groups' claims to be *the* Fourth International. The resulting greater openness and motion in the world movement combined with a deepening of the SL's international involvement raises the possibility of breakthrough in building an international Spartacist tendency. The plenum also engaged in a lively discussion of various aspects of trade-union work. Much of the business of the plenum focused on strengthening the SL's regional and industrial centers, as well as building new locals. Specific commitments were also made to assist fraternal national organizations in other countries and to bolster the international work of the SL.

The Struggle for the Fourth International

Three talks were given on the history of the Trotskyist movement from the Russian Opposition of 1923 to the Second World Congress of the Fourth International in 1948. In the wake of the failure of the widely anticipated German Revolution in 1923, the Stalinist bureaucracy achieved a decisive victory in 1924 with the destruction of inner-party democracy and the adoption of an openly nationalist program around the slogan, "socialism in one country."

Most of the discussion centered on the correctness of Trotsky's tactics in the 1920's. Trotsky's failure to play an active role in inner-party life and the struggle against bureaucracy before late 1923 was noted, as was his failure to form a bloc with the 1925 Zinoviev Opposition against the pro-peasant economic policy and Stalin's ideology of "socialism in one country." However, the speaker affirmed Trotsky's policy of remaining in the Russian CP as the only arena to recruit and organize a communist cadre. He dismissed the possibility of a Trotskyist-Bukharinite bloc by noting that the Stalin faction would not have pursued policies which allowed all of its enemies to unite on a *principled* basis.

The reporter began the second talk by emphasizing the parallelism of Trotsky's tasks in the 1929-34 period with the SL's tasks today in creating an international tendency. By 1929 numerous groups had split or been expelled from the Third International, subsequently gravitating toward all points on the political compass. Trotsky was faced with the difficult task of sorting out the genuine Bolsheviks from the myriad "anti-Stalinist communists." To do this Trotsky put forth the need for programmatic agreement on key historic events of the recent period—the Chinese Revolution of 1926-27, the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. The speaker also stressed the great objective problems in building the international Trotskyist movement—Stalinist agents, bourgeois persecution and petty-bourgeois dilettantism in a movement drawn largely from the intelligentsia.

Focusing on the latter problem, he reviewed the 1931-32 Cannon-Shachtman fight in the Communist League of America as a genuine foreshadowing of the cataclysmic 1940 split. The historic defeat for the Trotskyists in the failure to prevent Andrés Nin's descent into centrism during the Spanish Revolution was also emphasized. As a successful precondition for the founding of the Fourth International in 1938, the speaker pointed to the molding of a thin but homogeneous cadre through factional struggle and the manifest bankruptcy of those non-Trotskyist tendencies claiming to be to the left of Stalinism (e.g., the German Brandlerites and Urbahns group, the Lovestoneites in the U.S., the Spanish POUM and British ILP).

In the final talk, great stress was laid on the physical liquidation of the Trotskyist cadre during World War II, including courageous and experienced leaders such as Lesoil (Belgium), Sneevliet (Netherlands), Blasco (Italy) and countless others. Thus Michel Pablo and his peers who took over the leadership of the international movement after the war had to learn their Trotskyism solely from books. Further disorienting the post-war international movement was a foreshortened view of the death agony of capitalism, partly arising from Trotsky's pre-war projections. The Trotskyist movement believed the outcome of World War II would finally decide the epochal question of socialism or barbarism. However, with the Stalinist betrayal of the post-war revolutionary wave in Western Europe, most of the essential conditions of the inter-war period were re-created. While strengthened through geographical expansion, Stalinism continued to be decisively shaped by imperialist encirclement and capitalist world hegemony. Despite numerical growth, by the end of the 1940's the Trotskyists were effectively isolated from the labor movement and working under manifestly non-revolutionary conditions. In these circumstances Pabloism emerged as a liquidationist tendency denying the capacity of the Trotskyist movement to lead the proletariat to socialism, and relying instead on various petty-bourgeois forces, in the first instance the Stalinist bureaucracies.

The Strategic Importance of the Black Question

The second class series consisted of three talks on the black question centering on the special oppression of blacks and the necessary tasks which flow from that fact for the proletarian vanguard—the need to combine a program of militant class struggle against this special oppression with determined opposition to all forms of black separatism.

The first class was devoted to tracing the material foundations for the special oppression of blacks in the U.S., from chattel slavery to their role as a reserve army of the unemployed in the epoch of capitalist decay. The success of the Knights of Labor in organizing blacks was contrasted to the Jim Crow policies of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party. From the Civil War to World War II, blacks were periodically drawn off southern farms into northern industry during periods of expansion, only to be thrown out of work during periods of crisis and depression. They were used by the capitalists as strikebreakers and as a reserve industrial army to hold down wages. Nonetheless, a black industrial proletariat was formed. However, at the same time the unemployment rate for blacks, particularly urban ghetto youth, has increased dramatically compared to the working class as a whole, thereby accentuating the special oppression of blacks and giving special importance to the sections of the Transitional Program dealing with unemployment: sliding scale of hours, struggle against Jim Crowism in the unions and industry.

The second class dealt with the early efforts of the U.S. Communist Party, prodded into action by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, to recruit black cadre. This included the CP's successful work in the African Blood Brotherhood, its not-so-successful work in the Garvey movement and the formation of the American Negro Labor Congress in 1925. The latter was the first attempt to organize a transitional black organization. The reporter also discussed the work of the Stalinist CP among blacks during the CP's "Third Period," centering upon the theory of a supposed black nation in the South. Trotsky's discussions with the SWP on the black question were examined, noting that his early conditional support for some variant of "black-belt" self-determination was dropped in the later discussions in Mexico when Trotsky was more familiar with the black question in the U.S. Trotsky's main emphasis throughout was the need for the SWP to reach the black masses. Blacks in the U.S. are not a nation, but a race-color caste whose special oppression consists of their simultaneous integration into the political economy and forcible segregation at the bottom of society.

The third class was devoted to the development of the Spartacist tendency and its uniquely revolutionary approach to the black question. As a minority in the Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Tendency opposed the adaptation to black nationalism and called

SL/RSL DEBATE:

RSL Gives "Critical Support" to Trotskyism

WV PHOTO

Sy Landy

On Saturday August 18, Chicago's former IWW meeting hall witnessed a debate between the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Socialist League, a left-Shachtmanite organization which was recently expelled from the IS. More than 200 SL/RCY supporters attended the event, as well as roughly 10 RSLers. And although the debate centered on the question, "What is the RSL?", at the conclusion of four hours of discussion the consensus was that the question remained unanswered—even to the RSL itself.

The debate had a broader significance for the Spartacist League, which issued the challenge. In recent years there have been a number of left splits from Pabloist and Shachtmanite organizations resulting in various centrist groupings which, upon emerging from their respective swamps (SWP, IS, United Secretariat), proclaim that they are the first Trotskyists since Trotsky himself. Examples are the former Communist Tendency of the SWP, the Class Struggle League, Spartacus-BL in Germany and now the RSL, with the Internationalist Tendency of the SWP still in the pipeline. In order to deny the existence of the continuity of the Marxist movement, and thus validate their own immaculate conception, these groups find it necessary to repudiate the banner of the Fourth International (in the case of the Fifth Internationalists in the CSL), the "Cannonite faction of Trotskyism" (in the case of the RSL) and above all the politics and history of the Spartacist League.

The SL has consistently attempted to engage such contradictory and incomplete leftward-moving tendencies in programmatic political discussion as a part of the perspective of revolutionary regroupment. But, as the SL reporter remarked during the debate, with the IT we have an *unprincipled* group (rejecting the SWP because it ignores the proletariat, and then linking up with the USec majority whose "new mass vanguard" theories and student-oriented practice are hardly more proletarian); in the CSL we have a *multi-principled* group (democratic centralism or freedom of criticism? Fourth International or Fifth International? single-issue caucuses or trade-union organizing on the Transitional Program? —who cares, because in the CSL anything goes!); but with the RSL we have something really rare—a *non-principled* group! This was amply confirmed in the debate, as the RSL reporter and speakers either avoided or gave contradictory responses to *all* the programmatic questions raised by the SL.

Main SL reporter James Robertson opened the debate by raising the two key issues over which Shachtman broke with Trotskyism in 1940—the class nature of the Russian state and the organizational question. The RSL claims to have fully rejected Shachtmanism and to have embraced Trotskyism; yet the RSL is ag-

Class session at first SL/RCY summer camp.

for communist intervention in the civil rights movement. Following its expulsion from the SWP in 1963 the Spartacist group immediately plunged into the civil rights movement, both in the South and in the northern ghettoes, and within the limits of its forces carried out exemplary work until being frozen out by the rise of black nationalism in the mid-sixties. The 1968 New York City teachers' strike was emphasized as an acid test of the American left: those currents which adapted to black nationalism supported scabbing while currents adapting to the labor bureaucracy became apologists for the racist Shanker leadership of the teachers union.

Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions

A class on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions," provided an historical overview and critical assessment. The SL does not reject out-of-hand the revolutionary tradition of James P. Cannon and the American Socialist Workers Party from which it emerged, as do the cynical Workers League and Class Struggle League; nor does it claim to have emerged fully grown, as if by magic, from the scattered remains of a non-revolutionary tradition, as does the left-Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (which claims to be the first Trotskyist organization since Trotsky). Rather, Marxists seek to deepen their understanding of, and continuity with, their revolutionary tradition not in order to idolize it, but to learn from it and correct its errors.

Developing correct revolutionary trade-union tactics in the present period depends on avoiding the serious pitfalls into which the Trotskyists fell in the 1930's and 1940's, and the speaker concentrated on summing up the criticisms. The Trotskyists relied chiefly on broad united-front tactics which made for brilliant organizing-drive victories such as the Minneapolis strikes of 1934.

After the rise of the CIO, however, these united fronts, combined with a tendency on the part of the Trotskyists to view the Stalinists as the main enemy, led to an over-identification of the Trotskyists with "progressive" trade unionists. The Trotskyists lacked flexibility in their tactics, and neglected the development of caucus formations based on a revolutionary, transitional program. They thereby deprived themselves of an organizational form for distinguishing themselves politically from, and consolidating militant opposition to, the "progressive" bureaucracy in the unions. These errors were deepened rather than reversed after the Second World War, and were partially responsible for the demoralization and departure from revolutionary politics of the bulk of the SWP's trade-union cadre in the Cochran-Clarke split in 1953.

Labor and Imperialist Conflict Under Post-War Capitalism

A set of two talks on the post-war capitalist economy began with the empirical demonstration of the absence of a generalized and qualitatively different boom period during the 1950's, a fiction maintained by both the "International Committee" and the "United Secretariat." The speaker asserted that such theories as "neo-capitalism" and the "post-war economic boom" are an objectivist projection of the weakness of the Trotskyist movement, akin to Pablo's re-evaluation of Stalinism. Not structural reform (government intervention, "artificial inflation," "permanent arms economy," etc.), but the extreme weakness of the labor movement in Japan and France and the aggressive class collaborationism of the social-democratic unions in Germany account for the relative success of these economies in the post-war period. The necessity of direct state control of wages in contemporary capitalism was also stressed. Reviewing the experiences of Britain and Germany in the 1960's, the speaker pointed out the double-edged aspect of state control—effectively holding down wages, but tending to set the ranks against the openly class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy. The first class concluded on the strategic importance of the black ghetto population in the U.S. and immigrant labor drawn from the Mediterranean basin peasantry in Western Europe as the contemporary reserve army of the unemployed—a necessary element of capitalism.

In the second talk, the reporter pointed out that imperialist conflict arises from the intersection of foreign trade and investment as a counteracting factor to the falling rate of profit, given the nationally-limited character of the bourgeoisie. In contrast to the view of the IC, international financial chaos must be seen as the product of conflicting national states. The speaker traced the history of American imperialism in the post-war period from one of granting economic concessions to Japan and West Europe to the present intense struggles for immediate competitive advantage. The talk was concluded with a discussion of the impact of the increased presence of capitalist firms in the Soviet Union as a source of bureaucratic corruption and a strengthening of restorationist forces. To this increased imperialist pressure, the speaker counterposed the establishment of workers democracy through political revolution leading to the economic, military and political unification of the Sino-Soviet states.

Toward the International Spartacist Tendency

One of the highlights of the camp was an international symposium featuring speakers from the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) and from the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists. A comrade of the SL/ANZ presented a critical history of Ceylonese Trotskyism, pointing out the pervasive tendency toward Sinhalese nationalism and parliamentarianism. The former is particulary reactionary given the importance of Tamil-speaking plantation workers in linking the Ceylonese revolutionary movement to the rest of the subcontinent. The SL/ANZ comrade traced the evolution of the Samarakkody tendency from its opposition to incipient popular frontism by the LSSP in 1956 to the split from the USec in 1968 and the founding of the Revolutionary Workers Party. While noting its vastly differing political experience from that of the Spartacist League, the speaker stressed the RWP's leftward course. Particularly important is its recent decision to enhance the polemical character of its press and to struggle for leadership within the existing unions rather than following the standard Ceylonese practice of organizing its own unions.

A comrade of the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists surveyed the history of revolutionary Marxism in Central Europe, focusing on the struggle to break the working class from the stranglehold of Social Democracy. The speaker explained that his tendency evolved out of a series of New-Left splits from the German and Austrian USec sections whose most characteristic expressions are the German IKD and Spartacus-BL. The Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists were drawn to the Spartacist tendency on the key issues of the contradictory class nature of the mass social-democratic parties and the consequent orientation of the communist vanguard toward them, a rejection of the "freedom-of-criticism" perversion of democratic centralism, a sharp line against capitulation to popular fronts (particularly in the recent French elections and in Vietnam) and rejection of "neo-capitalism."

Another comrade of the SL/ANZ spoke on the recent developments in Australia, stressing that Whitlam's Labor Party government originally enjoyed bourgeois support on the basis of plans for economic rationalization (e.g., incomes policy), while awakening illusions in the working class. Both its working-class and bourgeois support are now dwindling, however. The speaker described the bitter strike at Ford Motors which demonstrated that the Australian CP's "workers control" campaign is simply a new term for old-fashioned reformism. The rapidly-expanding SL/ANZ has established itself as an aggressive propaganda group exposing reformism and revisionism within the ostensibly revolutionary left. Recently the SL was able to force Tariq Ali, a leader of the British USec section, to participate in an organization-to-organization debate during which he stated that the Vietnamese NLF did not act in a Stalinist manner, and defended guerrilla strategy in Latin America.

Reflecting the growing international impact of the Spartacist tendency and the fruitful period opening up as the rotten blocs of the IC and USec split apart, the symposium underlined the urgent necessity of international polemical discussion on key political issues (popular fronts, nature of the social-democratic parties, guerrilla warfare, Pabloism, democratic centralism, etc.) in order to crystallize a Bolshevik-Leninist tendency and work toward the rebirth of a programatically-united democratic-centralist Fourth International. ■

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nostic on precisely these two questions! In Cleveland, RSLers refused to discuss the Russian question, while their New York comrades have several times intervened in SL public classes and argued for a state capitalist view. The SL spokesman attacked the "freedom of criticism, unity of action" line on the organization question (the early Lenin formulation embraced by Shachtman and by several current centrist formations), citing the apparent variation among RSLers on the Russian question as evidence that the RSL maintained Shachtman's "interpretation" of democratic centralism.

The SL reporter pointed out that the state capitalism theory is basically a moral slance—simple impressionistic rejection of Russia—and is ultimately merely silly. Societies are based on class relations determined at the point of production. The fact that the Soviet bureaucrats live well and the workers poorly does not make the former a new class with a historical mission and a characteristic relation to the means of production. Shachtman knew this and tried to come up with a more sophisticated evasion: bureaucratic collectivism. But neither theory can explain the extreme fragility of bureaucratic rule as shown by the Hungarian uprising of 1956, in which the bureaucracy simply fragmented, with the vast majority of its lower levels going over to the side of the workers.

The SL reporter challenged the RSL to explain its positions on the Russian question and democratic centralism—something it never got around to doing. He also charged that on the one issue on which the Revolutionary Tendency did choose to fight the IS majority—trade-union policy—it emerged with the same operational position as the right wing led by Geier: critical support to Arnold Miller, the darling of the Labor Department, in the mine workers' elections.

The other speaker for the SL was a representative of the Leninist Tendency which had resigned from the IS following the expulsion of the RT/RSL. The LT speaker challenged the RSL reporter to reaffirm publicly what he had said previously on the organizational question (namely, support for the "freedom of criticism" position) and to defend his previous repudiation of Lenin's argument (in *What Is To Be Done?*) that socialist consciousness is brought to the working class from outside. (The RSL ducked this one also.) The LT speaker stated that the RSL position on critical support boils down to backing whoever is popular at the time.

The reporter for the RSL was Sy Landy, former national secretary of the IS and a long-time Shachtmanite who followed his former mentor into the Socialist Party in 1958. Accusing the SL of relying on "potshots," he agreed that the RSL's documents were abstract and defended this as necessary in order to explore the methodology and put the final stamp on Shachtmanism, something he insisted the SL had never done. Attempting to reply to the charge that the RSL does not have a consistent position on the Russian question, he stated that the RSL is still incomplete because it was prematurely expelled from the IS before the fight had clarified all the issues.

Landy declared that we are now in a pre-revolutionary period internationally, which has produced an advanced layer of workers who consider themselves revolutionary: the task is to reach this layer. The RSL stands for revolutionary regroupment.

On the question of critical support, Landy charged the SL with having a static, recipe-book approach. The RSL

continued on page 10

Soviet cartoon during Moscow Trials period portraying Trotsky as Nazi agent.

5/ THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(Editor's Note: *The recent wave of virulent anti-Trotskyism being spread by various Maoist groups relies on the standard Stalinist weapons of lies and distortion, and above all on ignorance about the true history of the communist movement. The present series, replying to the articles on "Trotsky's Heritage" in the New Left/Maoist* Guardian, *serves as an introduction to this history and a brief summary of the principal political issues separating Trotskyism from Stalinism.*)

A party that is incapable of defending the conquests already won by the working class will certainly be unable to lead the proletarian revolution. From the time it was formed in 1923 until Stalin ordered the German Communist Party to capitulate to Hitler without a fight almost ten years later, the Left Opposition steadfastly held to the banner of the Third International. In spite of the most incredible bureaucratic rigging, wholesale expulsions, and even exile and deportation, Trotsky held adamantly to his course of *reforming* the Comintern. Bureaucratically expelled Left Oppositionists demanded readmittance to their respective CPs and acted insofar as possible as factions of the Communist International, rather than proclaiming new parties. Critical events inside or outside the Soviet Union could stir the working class into action once again and provide the opportunity for replacing the Stalinist usurpers. Further, the Third International, enjoying the prestige of association with the only successful socialist revolution, had strong ties with the masses which could not be ignored. For the Left Opposition to prematurely renounce the Comintern would abandon hundreds of thousands of revolutionary-minded workers to the bureaucracy and doom the Trotskyists to isolation and irrelevance.

The sectarian-defeatist "Third-Period" policies of the Comintern which led to the victory of fascism in Germany in 1933 forced the Left Opposition to adopt a radical change in its perspective. Ever since 1930 Trotsky had warned that the fate of the international revolutionary movement depended on the outcome of the struggle against the fascist threat in Germany. The Communists (KPD), following Stalin's orders, played directly into the hands of the fascists by refusing to call for a united front with the Social Democracy (SPD) against the Nazis, instead denouncing the SPD as "social fascists."

The Call for a New International

Hitler's peaceful march to power, without even token resistance by the Communists, led Trotsky to correctly conclude that the KPD had decisively degenerated. As a consequence of this world-historical defeat and betrayal, the German working class lay prostrate for more than a decade and the second imperialist world war and Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union were prepared. The Left Opposition now called for a new party in Germany:

> "The question of the open break with the Stalinist bureaucracy in Germany is at the present moment of enormous principled importance. The revolutionary vanguard will not pardon the historical crime committed by the Stalinists. If we support the illusion of the vitality of the party of Thaelmann-Neumann we would appear to the masses as the real defenders of their bankruptcy. That would signify that we ourselves veer toward the road of centrism and putrefaction."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "KPD or New Party?", March 1933

But what about the rest of the CI?

> "Here it is natural to ask how we act toward the other sections of the Comintern and the Third International as a whole. Do we break with them immediately? In my opinion, it would be incorrect to give a rigid answer—yes, we break with them. The collapse of the KPD diminishes the chances for the regeneration of the Comintern. But on the other hand the catastrophe itself could provoke a healthy reaction in some of the sections. We must be ready to help this process. The question has not been settled for the USSR, where proclamation of the second party would be incorrect. We are calling today for the creation of a new party in Germany, to seize the Comintern from the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is not a question of the Fourth International but of salvaging the Third."
>
> —*Ibid.*

However, not a single one of the Comintern sections made the slightest protest to Stalin's claim that the policies of the KPD had been correct from start to finish, or even called for a discussion of the German events. Trotsky responded by declaring that an organization which is not roused by the thunderbolt of fascism and submits docilely to the outrageous acts of the bureaucracy demonstrates that it is dead and that nothing can revive it; Stalinism had had its 4 August (a reference to the definitive betrayal of the reformist German Social Democrats, who voted for the Kaiser's war budget in August 1914, thus siding with "their own" bourgeoisie in the imperialist war). In July 1933 Trotsky called on the Left Opposition to begin working for the creation of a new International and new revolutionary parties throughout the world. In accord with the new perspective, the Left Opposition changed its name to the International Communist League.

Trotsky's analysis was quickly confirmed. After the German debacle the Comintern substituted the capitulatory policy of the "united front" at any price for the adventures of the Third Period. In its international policies, the Soviet Union decided to join the imperialists' League of Nations (which Lenin had denounced as a den of thieves) and turned toward military alliance with French imperialism, openly repudiating revolutionary internationalism. The Stalinists divided the imperialist powers into two categories: the "democratic, peace-loving" on the one hand, and the fascist, war-like on the other. The Third International was subverted into becoming a simple tool for the diplomatic interests of the Russian bureaucracy, with the job of forging alliances with the "peace-loving" imperialists to protect "socialism in one country." Thus the French CP was ordered to vote for the defense budget of its bourgeois rulers. The Stalinist bureaucracy officially declared that Roosevelt was "honestly seeking a democratic and pacifist solution to imperialist conflicts" and consummated popular-front alliances with liberal bourgeois parties in France and Spain in 1936, which led to the victory of the fascists three years later. During World War II Stalin finally declared that the Comintern no longer served any purpose and formally disbanded it.

The ICL and groups sympathetic to it did not simply proclaim themselves to be the new International. Expulsion of the Left Opposition from the Comintern had deprived it of a necessary sphere of political activity, forcing it to develop as an isolated propaganda group. The Left Opposition had been able to train a limited number of cadres but lacked roots in the masses and was numerically weak. Moreover, its organizations had not been tested in serious class battles. The period ahead was to be one of preparation:

> "Propagating the ideas of the Left Opposition, recruiting more and more adherents, individually and in groups, into the ranks of the International Communist League, carrying on an agitation among the masses under the slogan of the Fourth International, educating our own cadres, deepening our theoretical position—such is *our basic work in the historic period immediately ahead of us.*" [emphasis in original]
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "The SAP, the ICL and the Fourth International," January 1934

The principal tactic used by the ICL to recruit new adherents was revolutionary regroupment. Trotsky was the first to recognize the immensity of the task faced by his small, isolated movement. He searched out every opportunity to break out of isolation and find new allies, even temporary ones, so that the first steps could be taken toward the building of a new International.

In a period of tremendous revolutionary opportunities and dangers the oppositionist moods and tendencies of the 1930's bore a predominantly centrist character, vacillating between social patriotism and socialist revolution. The German events (1931-33), the crushing of the "leftist" Austrian Social Democracy together with its supposedly powerful party militia (the Schutzbund) in 1934, caused deep ferment in the working-class movement and a widespread rejection of reformism. A proliferation of centrist currents appeared, as frequently occurs in the early stages of a new upsurge of working-class militancy. The ICL oriented toward these groups in order by example and propaganda to win the healthiest elements to a revolutionary program. But the tactic of revolutionary regroupment is not, as some maintain, a process of political accommodation to centrism. At the same time Trotsky waged a consistent struggle against the vacillating centrist leaderships, mercilessly rejecting the slogan of "unity" of all working-class organizations regardless of program and tactics:

> "...to blur our difference with centrism in the name of facilitating 'unity' would mean not only to commit political suicide, but also to cover up, strengthen, and nourish all the negative features of bureaucratic centrism, and by that fact alone help the reactionary currents within it against the revolutionary tendencies."
>
> —"On the State of the Left Opposition," 16 December 1932

The realignment of forces within the European working class did not bypass the parties of the Second International. Disillusioned with the Comintern, many working-class militants and youth joined the social-democratic parties, resulting in the proliferation of leftward-moving tendencies within them. In France, Spain, Belgium and Switzerland sections of the Socialist Youth became sympathetic to Trotsky's ideas.

In France, the Socialists (SFIO) had split at the end of 1933 with the right wing forming its own organization. This split shifted the SFIO, the largest workers party in France, to the left, and Trotsky advised the small French section of the ICL to enter the Socialists. The formation of a "united front" of the SFIO and CP in July 1934 and talk of

merger of the two reformist parties provided added reason for immediate entry; every tendency outside the united front would become more isolated than ever. Trotsky advocated similar entries (the so-called "French turn") in most of the other sections as well.

The French turn led to deep disputes and even splits within the partisans of the Fourth International, with some ultra-left sectarians such as Oehler in the U.S. rejecting the entry tactic on principle. The French section was split in half over the question, and the Spanish Communist Left (led by Andrés Nin) rejected it outright (only to fuse with a reformist group to form the POUM a year later). Even where it was carried out, however, the French turn and struggles to regroup revolutionaries out of leftward-moving centrist formations brought few recruits to the Trotskyists. The proletariat had a long series of defeats behind it and was in retreat. With the threat of a new world war, the working class was interested in immediate solutions to its problems; the tiny Trotskyist groups were not attractive.

Trotsky Memorial Meeting at Hotel Diplomat, New York, 28 August 1940.

Founding of the Fourth International

But with the impending threat of imperialist war and the drying up of the various centrist currents following the advent of the popular-front governments in France and Spain, the objective need for the foundation of a new International permitted no further delay. In September 1938 the founding conference was held in Paris with 21 delegates representing 11 countries. While the Fourth International was weak in numbers, it represented the continuity of Leninism, expressed above all in its program.

The basic programmatic document adopted at the founding conference, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* ("Transitional Program"), is the single most comprehensive and succinct summary of Trotskyism, representing the distillation of the interests of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism. It is a document that has been willfully misunderstood, both by its opponents and some of its supposed adherents. Above all, it is not a program of reforms but represents marching orders for the seizure of power by the proletariat. It is based on the premise that in the epoch of capitalist decay, the objective prerequisites for socialist revolution are not only ripened, but already beginning to rot. The fundamental factor preventing world revolution is the reformist leadership of the unions and mass workers parties, the agent of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

During the period of progressive capitalism the Social Democracy distinguished its minimum program (trade-union reforms, political democracy) and its maximum program (socialism), postponing the latter to the indefinite future. Now "there can be no discussion of systematic social reforms and the raising of the masses' living standards... every serious demand of the proletariat... inevitably reaches beyond the limits of capitalist property relations and of the bourgeois state." The task of the communist vanguard was to make the proletariat conscious of its tasks, through a series of transitional demands which formulate the objective needs of the working class in such a way as to make clear the need to destroy capitalism:

> "The strategic task of the next period —a prerevolutionary period of agitation, propaganda and organization— consists in overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard (the confusion and disappointment of the older generation, the inexperience of the younger generation). It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of *transitional demands*, stemming from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"The Transitional Program," 1938

Such demands included a sliding scale of wages and hours, opening the books of the capitalists, expropriation of industry under workers control, for the formation of factory committees, workers militias, soviets and a workers government. In the backward countries it called for proletarian revolution, supported by the peasantry, which would solve both democratic (agrarian revolution, national independence) and socialist tasks. In the Soviet Union it called for political revolution, while stressing the commitment of the Fourth International to unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialist attack.

Stalinist Persecution

The Fourth International, at the time of its founding conference, was composed of sections consisting of a few dozen or at the most a few hundred members (with one exception, the U.S. section, the Socialist Workers Party, with 2,500 members). But despite their small numbers, the Trotskyists were a mortal threat to Stalin and his entourage of bureaucratic usurpers. The only answer was political and physical annihilation.

Stalin was, however, increasingly worried about even his own faction, and beginning in 1936 he proceeded to purge the entire leadership of the army; through the medium of the Moscow trials he accused and convicted all nine members of Lenin's Political Bureau (save Stalin himself), as well as virtually the entire Bolshevik Central Committee of 1917. At the third trial (March 1938) Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov were accused of conspiring to sabotage and overthrow the Soviet government and restore capitalism in alliance with Hitler and the Mikado. In his famous secret speech at the 1956 Twentieth Party Congress, Khrushchev officially admitted that the trials and the "confessions" on which they were ostensibly based were a fraud from start to finish. Nevertheless, both Moscow-line and Maoist Stalinists today continue to repeat the slanders that Trotsky cooperated with the fascists even though there was never produced one shred of evidence to "prove" these charges.

Also at this time Stalin unleashed a systematic campaign to exterminate Trotskyist leaders throughout the world and to eliminate the thousands of Russian Left Oppositionists in the labor camps. An eye-witness account from the Vorkuta camps told of roughly 1,000 Bolshevik-Leninists in this camp, and several thousand more in the other camps of the province. Down to the end, the Trotskyist prisoners called for the overthrow of the Stalin government, while always stressing they would defend the Soviet Union unconditionally in case of war. When in the spring of 1938 the GPU ordered the murder of all remaining Trotskyists they marched to their deaths singing the *Internationale*.

Internationally, the GPU had assassinated Trotsky's son; the Czech Erwin Wolf and the German Rudolf Klement, both secretaries of Trotsky; and the Pole Ignace Reiss, a former head of Soviet secret service in Europe. During the same period they also eliminated prominent ex-Trotskyists such as Nin in Spain, the Austrian Landau and others. The culmination came with the assassination by a GPU agent of Trotsky himself on 20 August 1940.

Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union

The favorite charge of the Stalinists during this period was always that Trotsky allied with foreign powers to destroy the Soviet state. This was a bald-faced lie, as Trotsky always insisted that true Bolshevik-Leninists must unconditionally defend the historical gains of the October Revolution (see part 3 of this series). Every single programmatic document of the Left Opposition, the International Communist League and the Fourth International proclaimed the unconditional defense of the USSR against capitalist restorationist forces and imperialist attack.

But defense of the Soviet state required above all the ousting of the Stalinist regime which consistently sabotaged that defense. By the theory of "socialism in one country" the bureaucracy wrote off the possibility of world socialist revolution which was the *only* real defense of the achievements of the first workers state in history. But Stalin did more than this: he twice decapitated the top leadership of the Soviet armed forces during the late 1930's (after repeatedly purging the Red Army during the 1920's to drive out Trotskyists); and he placed blind faith in his treaty with Hitler, thereby preparing the way for the rout of the Russian forces during the first weeks of Hitler's 1941 invasion of the USSR. Only by vigorously lead- the workers against their own bourgeoisies in the capitalist countries, and through political revolution in the Soviet Union, could the road be open to socialism. This was the task of the Fourth International.

Trotsky's last political battle was over precisely this question. In 1939-40, under the pressure of public opinion which had turned against the Soviet Union during the Hitler-Stalin pact, a petty-bourgeois opposition formed among elements of the leadership in the American SWP. The Shachtman/Burnham/Abern group suddenly "discovered" that the Soviet Union was no longer a workers state, and thus need not be defended unconditionally. Trotsky steadfastly refused to give one inch to the Shachtmanite faction, for he understood perfectly that to waver on this crucial issue would condemn the Fourth International to an ignominious death. This dedication to Bolshevik principles cost the SWP roughly 40 percent of the party membership when the Shachtmanites split in 1940, and destroyed the youth section. Though weak and persecuted, the Fourth International was able to avoid its own "4 August" by steadfastly holding to its program during this period of intense social patriotism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions

The Primacy of Politics

PART 3 OF 4

by Chris Knox

After the formation of the Workers Party (WP) through the fusion of the Musteite American Workers Party with the Trotskyist Communist League of America (CLA) in 1934, the Trotskyists' organizational course took them into the leftward-moving Socialist Party in 1936. After winning a sizeable section of the SP youth they then split off from the Social Democrats to found the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1938. During this period of upsurge, the Trotskyists grew and continued to do trade-union work and other mass work, giving the lie to Stalinist assertions that the Minneapolis strikes of 1934 were the only mass work the Trotskyists ever did. The Trotskyists led mass unemployed leagues, conducted mass defense work and worked in the unions in mining, textiles, auto, food workers, maritime, steel and teamsters, among others. Less spectacular than the Minneapolis strikes perhaps, nevertheless this work was of lasting importance and vital to the building of the revolutionary vanguard in the U.S.

The Trotskyists' policy of broad united fronts continued to play a vital and useful role as long as the bulk of the reactionary AFL bureaucracy fought the establishment of industrial unions. The Workers Party declared its main goal to be the formation of a "national progressive movement" for militant industrial unionism (*New Militant*, 19 January 1935), and the Trotskyists hoped, with good reason, to win the leadership of important sections of the working class by being the most consistent fighters for this minimum but key immediate need of the working class. At the same time they did not hide their socialist politics, in contrast to the Stalinists who attempted to masquerade as simple pro-Roosevelt militants. As much as possible, the Trotskyists operated as open revolutionists. Gerry Allard, CLA member and a leader of the Progressive Miners of America in southern Illinois, addressed the miners about an approaching strike in the following terms:

> "Being a Marxist, a revolutionist, it is my opinion that we should militarize the strike, revamp the Women's Auxiliary along the original lines, augment our forces by seeking the organizational support of the powerful unemployed movement in Illinois, seek allies in the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America, and go forward once again with the same determination that built this union. This is the road of struggle...."
>
> —*New Militant*, 30 March 1935

Allard went on to appeal to the miners to see their struggle in the broadest possible context, as the impetus for the organization of auto, steel, rubber, etc.

Toledo, 1935: Conflagration in Auto

Following up on the work of the Musteites in the great Auto-Lite strike of 1934, the Workers Party played a key role in a strike at the Toledo Chevrolet transmission plant in 1935, being instrumental in getting GM workers in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Norwood and Atlanta to strike simultaneously. Two Trotskyists, Cochran and Beck, leaders of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth respectively, were arrested while picketing the Flint, Michigan headquarters of Chevrolet in an attempt to spread the strike into the auto capital (*New Militant*, 11 May 1935).

The spreading of this strike throughout the GM empire was prevented only by the relative organizational weakness of the Trotskyists and the diligent, strike-breaking efforts of the AFL's appointed head of the auto union, Francis Dillon. Dillon personally headed off a sympathy strike of Buick workers in Detroit and sabotaged the strike at its base in Toledo by threatening to withdraw the local's charter and splitting the strike leadership at the key point. GM agreed to a wage increase and published a stipulation that it would meet with the union leadership, but because of Dillon's treachery there was no signed contract. The workers went back solidly organized and undefeated, however, since the company had the militant 1934 strike in mind and had made no attempt to operate the plant with scabs. It was the first GM strike the company had failed to smash, and was an inspiration for the later auto sit-down strikes which built the UAW and established the CIO.

After the strike, the Workers Party published a critical assessment of the strike leadership of which it had been a part, denouncing sloppiness, lack of attention to details (such as not calling sufficient strike committee meetings) and the "fundamental error" of allowing the daily strike paper, *Strike Truth*, to be suppressed (*New Militant*, 18 May 1935). This performance was in sharp contrast to the Minneapolis truckers' strikes the year previous, in which meticulous attention to tactical and organizational details and the hard-hitting regular strike daily had been instrumental in achieving the ultimate victory of the strike. At the same time the Trotskyists were able to recruit the most conscious workers to their organization, with the Minneapolis branch of the CLA increasing from 40 to 100 members and close sympathizers during 1934 alone. Many years later, Cannon analyzed the main weakness of the work in Toledo as the failure to consolidate lasting organizational gains. He blamed this on Muste, who was a "good mass worker" but "tended to adapt himself" to the mass movement too much for a Leninist, at the expense of developing firm nuclei "on a programmatic basis for permanent functioning" (*History of American Trotskyism*).

First Auto Union Caucus Formed

The Workers Party was still working under the disadvantage in Toledo that the revolutionary leadership of the 1934 strike had been brought in from outside the union, thereby lacking sufficiently deep roots to hold the militants together against Dillon's maneuvering in 1935. Today the Marcusite National Caucus of Labor Committees, a group which has not the faintest idea of what it means to organize the working class, lauds precisely this weakness as the hallmark of revolutionary strategy. Their hero Muste soon thereafter abandoned the WP to return to the church. The deficiencies of the Trotskyists' trade-union tactics were not to be found in "overrating the unions" as the NCLC crackpots would have us believe, but in the failure to organize firm class-struggle nuclei "on a programmatic basis for permanent functioning" *within the unions*. The struggles in Toledo gave birth to the first auto union caucus, the Progressives of UAW Local 18384, but its program was limited to the militant unionism of the broad united fronts the Trotskyists advocated: for industrial unions, reliance on the power of the ranks as opposed to arbitration or government boards, etc. As such, it had the episodic character of a united front and lacked the clear revolutionary political distinctiveness which became crucial after the establishment of industrial unions under reformist leadership in the late 1930's.

Another point made by Cannon in drawing the balance sheet of the Workers Party period should be made elementary reading for the Labor Committee, which fetishizes unemployed organizing. The mass unemployed organizations inherited by the Trotskyists in their fusion with the Musteites were highly unstable:

> "We reached thousands of workers through these unemployed organizations. But further experience also taught us an instructive lesson in the field of mass work too. Unemployed organizations can be built and expanded rapidly and it is quite possible for one to get illusory ideas of their stability and revolutionary potentialities. At the very best they are loose and easily scattered formations; they slip through your fingers like sand. The minute the average unemployed worker gets a job, he wants to forget the unemployed organization...."
>
> —*History of American Trotskyism*

The Making of the Modern Teamsters Union

The most lasting achievement of Trotskyist trade-union work in the 1930's was the transformation of the Teamsters from a localized, federated craft union into a large industrial union. In the 1930's, while long-distance trucking was becoming more and more important, the Teamsters union was still limited to local drivers, divided by crafts (ice drivers, milk drivers, etc.) and dependent on local conditions. Based in their stronghold in Minneapolis, the Trotskyists spread industrial unionism throughout the Northwest through the Teamsters. An 11-state campaign led by Farrell Dobbs to organize over-the-road drivers included conquest of the all-important hub of Chicago and established the principle of the uniform area-wide contract. The campaign's achievements were solidified through a major strike struggle centered in Omaha, Nebraska in 1938, which was won through the same skillful organization that had succeeded in Minneapolis. As in Minneapolis, the building of the party went hand-in-hand with the strike, resulting in an SWP branch in Omaha.

Especially in the mid-1930's, the mass work of the Trotskyists was far-reaching and significant out of proportion to their size. Yet the Trotskyists knew they were not yet a real party and could not become a party leading significant sections of the masses in struggle until the centrist and reformist forces blocking the path were removed. It was for this reason that the Trotskyists entered the SP in 1936: the SP was large, included a rapidly-growing left wing (particularly in the youth) and was attracting militant workers who could be won to Trotskyism. The Trotskyists had to defeat sectarians in their own ranks, led by Oehler, who assumed that the party could be built directly, through the orientation of a propaganda group to the masses. The Cannon-led majority of the WP hardly ignored mass work. It was, in fact, an important part of the entry maneuver. While in the Socialist Party the Trotskyists established new trade-union fractions, notably in maritime (principally the Sailors Union of the Pacific) and auto, meanwhile considerably embarrassing the reformist SP leaders by their class-struggle policies. When they emerged from the SP more than doubled in size in 1938, the Trotskyists, though still small, were in a better position than ever to conduct work in the unions.

CIO Victories Pose Question of Politics

The rise of the CIO through the massive struggles of 1936-37 transformed the labor movement and altered the terms of class struggle in favor of the workers. The organized workers were in a better position to resist the onslaughts of capitalism; however, the new unions were controlled by a bureaucratic layer which shared the pro-capitalist, class-collaborationist politics of the old AFL bureaucracy. Having reluctantly presided over the militant struggles which established the CIO, these new bureaucrats desired nothing more than to establish "normal" trade-union relations with the capitalists, gain influence in capitalist politics, etc. As inter-imperialist war drew closer, the ruling class was gradually forced to temporarily lay aside its attempt to destroy the unions and accept the coalition which the bureaucracy readily offered. Thus the trade-union bureaucracy was qualitatively expanded and consolidated as the chief agency for disciplining the work force, replacing for the most part the Pinkertons and bloody strike-breaking as the principal means of capitalist rule in the hitherto unorganized mass production industries. This process was completed during the Second World War, when the ruling class allowed the completion of union organizing in key areas in exchange for full partnership of the trade-union bureaucracy in the imperialist war effort (the no-strike pledge, endorsement of the anti-labor wage controls, strike-breaking, etc.).

Besides displacing organization of the unorganized as the key immediate issue, this transformation placed the question of politics in the foreground. The industrial unions had been built, but they alone were clearly insufficient to deal with the outstanding social questions—unemployment, war, etc.—which determined the conditions under which they struggled. With the renewal of depression conditions in mid-1937-38, accompanied by increased employer resistance to union demands, opposition to Roosevelt burgeoned and mass sentiment for a labor party developed, expressed through such agencies as Labor's Non-Partisan Political League (LNPL), the CIO political arm and the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. In order to head off this movement, the bureaucracy invented the myth of Roosevelt as a "friend of labor" and used the Stalinist Communist Party, closely integrated into the CIO bureaucracy, to pass off this warmed-over Gompers policy as a "working-class" strategy—the popular front. The CP unceremoniously dropped its earlier calls for a labor party.

The Trotskyist Transitional Program

The primary task of revolutionists in the labor movement had shifted, therefore, from leading the struggle for industrial unions to providing a political pole of opposition to the class-collaborationist bureaucracy. The Transitional Program ("Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International"), adopted by the SWP in 1938, was written by Trotsky largely to provide the basis for such a struggle.

It contained demands designed to meet the immediate felt needs and problems of the workers (wages, unemployment, working conditions, approaching war and fascism) with alternatives leading directly to a struggle against the capitalist system itself: a sliding scale of wages and hours, workers control of industry, expropriation of industry without compensation, workers militias, etc. Most importantly, the program proposed transitional organizational forms and measures designed to advance the workers' ability to struggle for these demands and to provide the basis for the overthrow of capitalism: factory committees, soviets, arming of the proletariat and workers and farmers government (as a popular designation of the dictatorship of the proletariat).

Also in 1938, Trotsky urged his American followers to enter formations such as the LNPL and fight for a labor party based on the trade unions, armed with the Transitional Program as the political alternative to the class collaborationism of the Stalinists and trade-union bureaucrats. This reversed the Trotskyists' earlier position of opposing the call for a labor party on the grounds that the utterly reactionary character of the Gompersite labor bureaucracy could allow the organizing of mass industrial unions directly under the leadership of the revolutionary party. This would have effectively bypassed the need for the transitional demand of a labor party. With the organization of the CIO on the basis of militant trade-union reformism, the balance of power between the revolutionaries and the labor bureaucrats was shifted in favor of the latter. But as the strike struggles achieved the original goal of union organization, and as Roosevelt's policies led to economic downturn, the newly organized and highly combative rank and file of the CIO unions began to come into direct political conflict with their pro-Roosevelt leaders. The call for a labor party became a crucial programmatic weapon to mobilize a class-struggle opposition to the Lewis bureaucracy.

Though politically armed to meet the new situation, the American Trotskyists nevertheless failed to find a consistent form of expression for their program within the unions. While they propagandized for the Transitional Program in their press and conducted campaigns for specific demands such as workers defense guards, labor party, struggle against approaching war, etc., their day-to-day trade-union work continued on the old basis of united fronts around immediate issues. As the organization of the unions proceeded and the opposition of the bureaucracy to organizing industrial unions receded, this united-front policy turned into a bloc around simple trade-union militancy with whole sections of the non-Stalinist, "progressive" trade-union bureaucracy. Criticism of these bureaucrats tended to take the form of pushing for consistent trade-union militancy rather than building a revolutionary political alternative, so that when the "progressive" bureaucracy lined up with Roosevelt for war in 1940, an embarrassing lack of political distinction between the Trotskyists in the trade unions and these "progressives" was revealed.

SPECIAL BULLETIN
THE NORTHWEST ORGANIZER
Official Organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council
P. J. Corcoran Slain; Rites Saturday—TJC Calls Holiday For Morning, 9-12
Teamsters Offer $10,000 For Corcoran's Assassins
$10,000 Reward is Offered for Slayers

The Northwest Organizer, the newspaper of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, was written by the Trotskyists, who led Local 574. SWP trade-union work in the 1930's relied too much on broad united fronts for immediate demands. Trotsky commented: "You propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy.... I notice that in the Northwest Organizer this is true. ...The danger—a terrible danger—is adaptation to the pro-Rooseveltian trade unionists."

MONAD

The course of events in the Northwest Teamsters was a graphic example. For two years after the 1934 strikes in Minneapolis, the Tobin leadership of the Teamsters International continued to try to smash the Trotskyist leadership of Local 574, using red-baiting, gangsters and a rival local. Then a subtle shift began to occur. As the Trotskyists spread out, building support for the campaign to organize the over-the-road drivers, more and more bureaucrats became won over, including the key leader in Chicago, whose adherence went a long way toward ensuring the success of the campaign. Finally, by the time of the 1938 Omaha strike, Tobin himself began actively cooperating, even supporting the organizing drive against his old allies who still sought to preserve the local power of the Joint Councils at the expense of modernization, and appointing Farrell Dobbs International Organizer.

The 1936-37 strike struggles had finally rendered pure craft unionism obsolete even within the AFL, and old-line craft unionists began to tail the CIO both in order to enhance their organizational power and because the bourgeoisie itself was less resistant and more willing to accept organization of the workers in exchange for the use of the bureaucracy as its labor lieutenant. Throughout the entire area of Dobbs' 11-state campaign, the only serious challenge mounted by the bosses was in Omaha.

The united front to organize the over-the-road drivers was not wrong, but the Trotskyists lacked the means to distinguish themselves politically from the bureaucracy. This could have been done through a caucus based on the Transitional Program. The *Northwest Organizer* was founded in 1935 as the organ of a pan-union caucus formation, the Northwest Labor Unity Conference, but the NLUC's program was limited to militant, class-struggle union organizing, under the slogan, "All workers into the unions and all unions into the struggle." Eventually the *Northwest Organizer* became the organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council and the NLUC lapsed, since its oppositional role was liquidated. When Tobin began to line up behind the war effort, the Trotskyists in Minneapolis opposed the war and won over the Central Labor Union, but they lacked the basis for a factional struggle in the union as a whole that a political caucus orientation might have provided. Dobbs simply submitted his resignation as organizer in 1940, without waging a political fight. A few years later, Tobin finally was able to crush the Trotskyist leadership in Minneapolis, with the aid of the government's first Smith Act anti-communist trial of the leading militants.

The Two-Class Party

The bloc with "progressive" trade unionists was reflected politically in the Trotskyists' orientation to the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, with which most of the local trade unions were affiliated. Left-leaning FLP supporters were an important component of the Trotskyists' united front. In 1929, the excellent document, *Platform of the Communist Opposition*, had pointed out:

> "The organization of two classes in one party, a Farmer-Labor Party, must be rejected in principle in favor of the separate organization of the workers, and the formation of a political alliance with the poor farmers under the leadership of the former. The opportunist errors of the [Communist] Party comrades in the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and other states [in 1924] flowed inevitably from and were secondary to the basically false policy of a two-class party, in which the farmer and worker are ostensibly on an 'equal basis,' but where in reality the petty-bourgeois ideology of the former actually dominates."
>
> —*Militant*, 15 February 1929

Written by the American Trotskyists, this statement thus carried forth in hard political terms the criticisms made by Trotsky of the Pepper leadership of the CP in 1924. Pepper had blithely made a fundamental revision of Marxism in order to tail the radical farmers of the FLP into the third capitalist party movement of LaFolette. The Minneapolis Trotskyists, however, failed to implement this policy in their orientation to the FLP. In 1935 they critically supported the FLP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis (despite the current Workers Party position against labor party formations), and in 1938 they supported FLP Governor Benson in the primaries as well as in the general election, without in either case mentioning the need for the "separate organization of the workers." The SWP's September 1938 program for the FLP endorses the adherence of both mass workers' and mass farmers' organizations to the FLP and complains only of the inordinate power of the ward clubs, through which the Stalinists eventually wielded the dominant influence in the FLP. This necessarily blurred the SWP's campaign for a working-class labor party based on the Transitional Program, since in their program for the FLP they were forced to emphasize demands for the petty-bourgeois farmers (loans, easing tax burdens, etc.) which watered down the working-class content of their program and was the inevitable result of the petty-bourgeois nature of the FLP as a two-class party. While not politically fatal in itself, this lack of clarity was a reflection of an accommodationist bloc with the left wing of the trade-union bureaucracy.

Furthermore, the Trotskyists compounded their inflexible united-front trade-union tactics with an over-reaction to Stalinism. The 1938 SWP trade-union resolution stated categorically:

> "While always expanding our program independently and maintaining our right of criticism, our Party in a certain sense supports the 'lesser evil' within the unions. The Stalinists are the main enemy.... We unite with all serious elements to exclude the Stalinists from control of the unions."
>
> —*Socialist Appeal*, 26 November 1938

The Stalinist CP, many times larger than the Trotskyists, was indeed a key political enemy in the unions. Having shifted to the right from a destructive policy of self-isolation during the "Third Period" (1929-35), the CP had become intimate advisers to the CIO bureaucracy and hard right-wingers in the unions, doing whatever possible to crush and expel the Trotskyists. Its main aim was to preserve links to the liberals and the collaboration of the labor movement with Roosevelt and U.S. imperialism. The CP participated directly in the bourgeoisie's attempt to militarize the labor movement for the war. Thus in maritime, while the CP and its allies were busy weakening the 1936 West Coast longshore strike, wrecking the militant Maritime Federation of the Pacific and giving back-handed support to the government's effort to break the seamen's union hiring halls through the Copeland Act, the Trotskyists made a correct united-front bloc with the militant but "anti-political" Lundberg leadership of the SUP.

Nevertheless, the determination of the SWP to unite with the politically undefined "all *serious* elements" against the Stalinists in all cases reflected trade-union adaptationism. The SWP's reasoning was that, unlike standard trade-union reformists, the Stalinists were the agency of an alien force outside the unions—the bureaucratic ruling elite of the Soviet Union—and therefore willing to destroy the unions to achieve their ends. This was an implicit "third campist" denial of Stalinism as a tendency within the labor movement. That the Trotskyists never drew this logical conclusion from their position and pulled back from it later did not prevent them from falling into errors as a result of it even while the CP was at its worst during the popular-front period (1935-39).

The worst such error was the SWP's "auto crisis" which peaked in January 1939. The UAW was a key battleground between Trotskyists, Stalinists and social democrats in the CIO. Wielding power with a bureaucratic heavy hand, UAW President Homer Martin, a left-leaning trade-union reformist, went so far in his battle against the Stalinists that he eventually lost all authority. To the left of the Stalinists on some issues, he was at base reactionary and made a concerted effort to smash wildcat strikes. The SWP, however, extended critical support to Martin to stop the Stalinists. The crisis came while Cannon was in Europe following the founding conference of the Fourth International in Fall 1938. The SWP Political Committee was being run by Shachtman and Burnham, who were soon

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Wildcats Explode in Detroit Auto

crats are attempting to deny the right to existence and propagation of their views to political groups which, regardless of whether they are members of any particular union, are by their stated aims legitimate members of the workers movement.

The Spartacist League stands ready to defend any such group so attacked. Should the Woodcock bureaucracy resume its gangster attacks, the SL will issue an immediate call for a united front to defend the right of tendencies within the labor movement to distribute their press publicly in Detroit. This united front would be open to all groups which stand in solidarity with the UAW against the companies (i.e., are not strikebreakers) and claim to be for militant democratic unionism (we are not addressing the UAW bureaucracy). To effectuate this, we would propose an action such as a well-publicized mass mobilization to defend salesmen (on public property) at a particular plant, barring on principle only such actions as would cross the class line by directly using the power of the bourgeois state to coerce the union (for instance, court injunctions).

The chief difference between the McCarthy-period purges and the present wave of union-condoned firings of militants, bureaucratic strikebreaking and actual thug attacks by UAW officials is that in the earlier witchhunt numbers of more conservative workers were mobilized to chase Communist Party members and other radicals out of the plants. (The task of the bureaucrats, led by the demagogic Reuther, was made easier by the CP's policies during and immediately following World War II, when it was the staunchest supporter of the hated no-strike pledge.) In the present case, the workers are essentially neutral as a group, with neither the Marxists nor the bureaucrats having a solid base of support among the ranks. The workers are completely disillusioned with the union bureaucracy as a leadership, but the alternative leaders are essentially unknown, for the most part outsiders as far as the majority of the workers is concerned.

The Mack Ave. sit-down was planned by a small handful with no real roots in the plant. They were unable to mobilize more than a small percentage of the workers and were stigmatized immediately as "communist" (which, as presented by the bourgeois press, still conjures up lurid images of bomb throwers and robots living on gold from Moscow). Nevertheless, the bureaucracy of Local 212 was partially split, with some elements helping to protect the strikers from the police excesses. The International had to bring in its goons from other plants.

However, the bureaucracy was able to play on the essential neutrality of the workers, get them back to work relatively easily and isolate the strikers. It could do this not because the workers didn't sympathize with the demands of the strike (they did), but because the ostensible Marxists had not yet won recognition from the ranks as established leaders, on the basis of previous actions and struggle in the plant and in the union in defense of the workers' interests. Workers cannot and will not follow a self-proclaimed "leader" who is essentially unknown to them, who pulls an action which is unprepared for by any mass mobilization of the ranks and which, for those few daring to participate on the spur of the moment, means high risk of being fired. The over 40 workers now fired from the Mack plant are now removed from the scene, unable to prepare for future mass actions.

The Mack Ave. sit-down strike, like the Jefferson plant occupation three weeks earlier, was a reminder of what has been done in the past and what can be done in the future. Furthermore, while it failed to raise any general political issues, it went beyond the Jefferson strike in raising demands such as "30 for 40," voluntary overtime, right to strike over unsafe jobs, improved cost-of-living, etc., which are of interest to all auto workers rather than just the workers of one plant. However, unlike the Jefferson strike, it was planned with a cynical disregard for the consequences to anyone actively supporting it, by a group which has claimed to be a communist vanguard organization long enough to know what adventurism is. (Real communists do not attempt premature revolutionary actions, involving only handfuls of the most advanced workers, which are doomed to isolation and defeat.) In fact, Progressive Labor knows perfectly well what adventurism is... and consciously goes ahead with it anyway, since it has rejected the painstaking Leninist course of winning over the masses to communism and playing a real leading role in the *mass* struggle.

PL reflects, in both its past zigzags and present politics, the opportunism and "Third-Period" adventurism of the Stalinist Communist Party of the thirties and forties. In its "Third-Period" phase (1929-35), the CP pulled adventurous strikes without proper attempts to mobilize the workers and set up sectarian "red" unions. As these adventures inevitably failed and the sectarian unions shrank, the CP "red" union leaders often cynically accepted economic settlements which were *worse* than those obtained by regular AFL unions in the same industries, in order to cling to contracts with a few companies. Later, when the CP turned toward popular-front alliance with Roosevelt and the liberal bourgeoisie, it adopted a "left-center coalition" policy of blocking with a section of the trade-union bureaucracy. In both cases, the CP line constituted an abdication of the struggle for communist leadership of the working class.

WAM and Progressive Labor members must be defended against the joint company/UAW bureaucracy drive to isolate and deprive them of voice within the union and workers movement generally. However, they must be politically rejected by all serious workers interested in building a vanguard party. PL/WAM can only demoralize those involved in their fake "mass actions" and corrupt others with their orientation toward "left-center coalitions" on the basis of the most minimal trade-union slogans. WAM has been organized primarily around only one slogan—"30 for 40"—and its practice has included wooing typical, reformist trade-union bureaucrats on that basis (see "PL Finds Road to Bureaucrats," *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973).

Contract Negotiations

The wildcat events in Detroit coincide with the opening of formal bargaining in the wake of record-breaking profit levels during the last year for all four U.S. auto manufacturers. The wildcat strikes are a response to the fact that those profits, which the UAW leaders now hypocritically attack, were made possible because the UAW leaders consciously pursued a course of class collaboration. They both underplayed wage demands in favor of "humanizing working conditions"—thereby ignoring the ravages of runaway inflation—and helped isolate and squelch local strikes over working conditions (as in Lordstown)—thereby assisting the companies to drive up the rate of exploitation. Furthermore, the union leadership has been soft-pedaling talk of a strike despite the outstanding, unsolved demands of the workers—including those, such as voluntary overtime, adopted by the leadership itself, which the companies have adamantly refused to consider. The perpetuation of the one-company-at-a-time strike "strategy" is a further sign of weakness, pushed by the bureaucracy only because it fears an industry-wide mass mobilization of the workers.

This bureaucracy must be smashed and replaced. But the substitution of a handful of adventurers for the workers is no better in the long run than the substitution of the bureaucracy for the workers. Both forms of substitutionism feed on each other.

The only answer is the patient construction of a revolutionary leadership which can gain the confidence of and lead the class. This must be done through the proper balance of propaganda for the revolutionary program and exemplary leadership in struggle. The program must go beyond the demands of auto workers, because a revolutionary leadership of the auto workers must act in the interests of the working class as a whole in order to be revolutionary, i.e., in order to be more than simply a new and slicker version of the present bureaucracy. Thus it is necessary to build a pole of opposition in the unions around the struggle for political consciousness: the need for a workers political party, a workers government, political strikes against war and government wage boards, international class solidarity, as well as for transitional economic demands (30 for 40, full cost-of-living).

Leading particular actions by the workers, however, requires an elementary understanding of strategy and tactics. Fifteen or 50 people in one department on one shift cannot substitute themselves for the rest of the plant, much less for the rest of the industry, when calling for such industry-wide demands as 30 for 40 and full cost-of-living. The bureaucracy is still strong enough to outflank, isolate and destroy any such attempts. The revolutionists must use propaganda and education to consistently expose the bureaucracy and win over the workers to their program, calling and carefully preparing such actions along the way as will emphasize crucial points without leading to the destruction or rout of the revolutionary forces. ■

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RSL Gives "Critical Support" to Trotskyism

criterion for critical support is whatever aids the independence of the proletariat: Miller claims to support democracy in the unions but can't deliver on independence from the state, so the RSL will support him on the first in order to expose him on the second.

Two hours of the meeting were devoted to discussion from the floor. Several SL supporters berated the RSL for not dealing with the fundamental questions of Shachtmanism, especially the Russian question. One SLer remarked, reversing Trotsky's formula, that the RSL had gone from gangrene to a scratch. Another speaker charged that the RSL's new-found "Trotskyism" is merely the latest variant in the IS' methodology of "critically supporting" whatever is popular: formerly lailing pacifism and black nationalism, now lailing the Trotskyist movement.

Other comrades pointed out that for years it has been the SL which has defended the concrete Trotskyist positions which the RSL now wants to embrace: e.g., trade-union work based on the Transitional Program, opposition to petty-bourgeois protest politics like the IS' ill-fated Peace and Freedom Party. A member of the Militant Action Caucus of CWA, which the supposedly "sectarian" Spartacist League supports, pointed out that the MAC had been in the forefront of the attempt to organize a united-front opposition to the threat of a new anti-red clause in CWA, while the RSL had just pulled its West Coast supporters out of that industry entirely.

A spokesman of the Leninist Tendency charged that Landy's remark about a premature split from the IS was pure hypocrisy: every time the LT had warned against a premature split in advance of political clarification, it had been accused of playing into the hands of the IS majority.

During the discussion, RSLers made the hilarious charge that their views were being suppressed because they had had only a few speakers from the floor in contrast to the thirty or so SL supporters who had spoken. The chairman replied that only those who had not yet spoken were being recognized. She pointed out that she had already called on all RSLers who had raised their hands and urged RSLers who had not already spoken to do so. Only one RSL supporter eventually accepted the offer, although several other RSLers were present. The real question, of course, is why had Landy not mobilized more supporters to attend the meeting, since he had been explicitly invited to debate the SL at our summer camp where most of our membership was present? In any case, the RSL will have opportunities for several future confrontations in debates being planned in several localities.

In his summary, Landy concentrated on attacking the SL for having lots of positions, but no analysis. He accused the SL of a fundamental revision of Marxism for its view that under exceptional circumstances (e.g. Cuba, China) petty-bourgeois and Stalinist forces can create deformed workers states. He compared the SL unfavorably with the Workers League for not having produced as much written material and for insisting on the importance of programmatic positions and paying less attention to analysis and methodology. Replying to a charge that the RT/RSL had never taken a position on scabbing in the 1968 New York teachers' strike, he stated that the RSL condemned this scabbing and had affirmed this ten times previously—but, he added, "so what?"

In his summary, the LT speaker

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BAY AREA
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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

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The Primacy of Politics

to draw the full conclusions from their Stalinophobia and lead a faction out of the SWP (in 1940) denying that the Soviet Union was any kind of workers state and refusing to defend it, and likewise denying that the Stalinists were a tendency within the workers movement. With their own measure of bureaucratic highhandedness, Shachtman and Burnham tried to ram a pro-Martin policy down the throats of the auto fraction in 1938 just as Martin was leading a rump convention of the UAW out of the CIO, back into the AFL and eventually to oblivion. The bulk of the auto union dumped Martin and held its own pro-CIO convention. The SWP had to do an abrupt and embarrassing about-face entailing two issues of *Socialist Appeal* which contradicted each other, for which Shachtman and Burnham refused to acknowledge responsibility.

During the Hitler-Stalin Pact period (1939-41), the beginning of World War II, a general reversal of positions took place. Reflecting Stalin's deal with Hitler and turn away from the earlier alliance with France, Britain and the U.S., the CP conducted a grudging but definite turn to the left, denouncing the "imperialist" war, alienating its liberal allies and reinvigorating its working-class base. The "progressive" trade unionists with whom the Trotskyists had been blocking on trade-union issues meanwhile became central in the pro-war, patriotic lineup. As a result of this switch, in discussions between the SWP leadership and Trotsky in Mexico in 1940, all the inadequacies of the Trotskyists' trade-union work then became manifest (see "Discussions with Trotsky," in his *Writings, 1939-40*). "The Stalinists are the problem," pointed out Cannon: "By their change in line they dealt a heavy blow. We were forging ahead when they made the switch, paralyzing our work." Despite this damaging admission, the SWP leaders were opposed to a policy of maneuver to take advantage of the new situation. Trotsky proposed critical support to the CP candidates in the 1940 elections. He had to reiterate that this was theoretically possible, since the Stalinists had made a sharp, though temporary, left turn and were just as much part of the labor movement as the equally reactionary forces in the unions with whom the Trotskyists had until then been blocking. The SWP leaders objected, saying that it would disrupt the work in the trade unions, in which what were admittedly blocs at the top with "progressives" had been necessary in order for a small force of revolutionists to come forward and begin political work in the unions. Criticizing his followers for lack of initiative, Trotsky went to the core of the problem:

> "I believe we have the critical point very clear. We are in a block with the so-called progressives—not only fakers but honest rank and file. Yes, they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. This is decisive. You propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the unions.... You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade-unionists."

To the American leaders' protestations that their forces were too small to preserve an independent course, Trotsky said, "Our real role is that of third competitor," distinct from both Stalinists and "progressives," stating that his proposal for maneuver "presupposes that we are an independent party." Thus the discussions uncovered the fact that the Trotskyists' lack of an independent political pole *in the unions*, distinct from episodic blocs and united fronts around immediate issues, had compromised their general ability to maneuver and their independence as a party. They had become over-identified with their bloc partners.

In his report of these discussion to the party, Cannon agreed with most of Trotsky's points in some revealing passages, while continuing to oppose the proposal for critical support to the CP in the elections:

> "... our work in the trade unions up till now has been largely a day-to-day affair based upon the daily problems and has lacked a general political orientation and perspective. This has tended to blur the distinction between us and pure and simple trade unionists. In many cases, at times, they appeared to be one with us. It was fair weather and good fellows were together....
>
> "Then all of a sudden, this whole peaceful routine of the trade union movement is disrupted by overpowering issues of war, patriotism, the national elections, etc. And these trade unionists, who looked so good in ordinary times, are all turning up as patriots and Rooseveltians."
>
> —*Socialist Appeal*, 19 October 1940

Thus the primacy of politics in trade-union work had snuck up on the SWP and clubbed it over the head. The problem had not been caused by lack of a principled struggle for the program, nor primarily by blocs which were unprincipled in character. Criticism of bureaucratic allies in the public press had sometimes been weak, but the SWP had vigorously struggled in the public domain for its program, while raising key agitational demands in the unions. The main lack had been a consistent pole, in the unions, for the struggle for the Transitional Program and against the bureaucracy in all its manifestations, i.e., a struggle for *revolutionary* leadership *of* and *in* the unions. Instead of developing such caucus formations as the Progressives of the UAW and the Northwest Labor Unity Conference into political formations in opposition to the bureaucracy, as the early Communists' Trade Union Educational League had been, the Trotskyists allowed these formations to be limited politically to the character of united fronts: episodic alliances based on immediate issues. As such, not only did they not last, but the Trotskyists themselves, in the unions, became politically identified almost exclusively through these united fronts, rather than through the struggle to build the vanguard party.

Size was not a factor, since in some ways the problem was at its worst where the Trotskyists were strongest, in the Northwest Teamsters. Rather, the SWP demonstrated a lack of flexibility of tactics and an unwillingness to upset its policy of continual blocs with "progressive" trade unionists on day-to-day issues by a hard, political drive for power based on revolutionary answers to the larger issues. But the larger issues dominated the day-to-day issues, and as imperialist world war drew closer the Trotskyists had to pay the price of isolation for their earlier failure to appear as an independent force in the unions. Unfortunately, they were unable to absorb the lessons of this period sufficiently to prevent the repetition of these characteristic errors. The Trotskyists continued, especially after World War II, to rely on a policy of united fronts on trade-union issues, rather than the construction of political formations within the unions—caucuses—to mount a comprehensive fight for a full revolutionary program.

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noted that the RSL claimed to have discovered the tactic of regroupment but didn't even bother to send most of its Chicago members to the debate to help expose the SL before virtually the entire SL membership. He pointed out that, given the RSL's justifications for critical support to Miller (i.e., the critical support tactic is applicable any time you want to expose a reformist leadership in the eyes of its base) the RSL must support popular fronts—after all, what's more popular than a popular front? Certainly the working masses have illusions in popular fronts! The speaker noted that the SL gives critical support to a trade-union bureaucrat only if there is a central plank in his platform which if carried out would unite the workers against the class enemy.

In his summary, the SL reporter attacked the RSL's hypocritical charge that the SL didn't write enough: the RSL knows all our positions—how did they find out? Remember that for years we and these comrades have stood on opposite sides of the class line on crucial issues. Did they really want more SL publications then? For the past fifteen years, Landy has been fighting as a Shachtmanite against Trotskyism. Now he comes here and claims he was born two months ago.

The IS had not a trace of internationalism, not a trace of identification with the working class, no discipline—just a great big "with it" blob. And here is Landy, one of the architects of every rotten IS position, and you would never know it. This self-amnesty is appalling.

The RSL has not emerged from the Shachtmanite "third camp" milieu, the SL reporter charged. This was an organizational and largely cliquist split. The documents of the RSL closely parallel many SL views. Is there in fact a tension between these views and, for example, the capitulation to Miller? Or is this a deliberate hoax, an attempt to fake left-centrism while preserving intact the fundamental reformist appetite of the old IS?

Referring to the SWP's Internationalist Tendency, the Class Struggle League and the RSL, the reporter invited them all to get together. He noted an increasing tendency for such organizations to define themselves solely by opposition to the SL. In terms of the enormous task we face, he observed, the SL is minuscule, but to the centrists we're obtrusive, in the way: we've got a press, we're in the factories, we're active internationally. To these petty centrist currents, this seems like some kind of an abomination, a crime against nature. There they are, proclaiming opportunist support to Miller and his ilk, while the SL struggles on the basis of principle. And the centrists, the capitulationists, the rotten blocs fragment while the SL continues to grow and to carry out its work. The feeling is, if you sell out, you ought to get rich.

The reporter cited the development of the Bulgarian Social Democrats before World War I. The Narrow Socialists, in this predominantly peasant country, insisted that only the working class can lead the revolution. The Broad Socialists glorified all sections of the oppressed, talked endlessly about unity. Under Comrade Dimitrov the Narrow Socialists waged perhaps 200 strikes and lost perhaps 195 of them. Yet when it was all over, the Broad Socialists were one-tenth the size of the Narrow Socialists. And academic social-democratic historians are still muttering about it.

The SL reporter concluded by remarking that there is a continuity and centrality in the outlook and work of the SL and "the thread of the future of revolutionary Marxism runs through the needle of the Spartacist League." ■

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Defend the Farmworkers!

bilingual leaflet and with slogans and banners (we were the sole group to appear with these) calling for "A General Strike to Defend the UFW"; "Armed Self-Defense of UFW Picket Lines"; "Down with the Rodino-Kennedy Bill—For an International UFW"; and demanding "Expropriate the Fields Under Workers Control." The SWP, which had provided marshals for the event, used a bullhorn to drown out the slogans chanted by the SL, while a prominent supporter of the RU, which had reportedly been red-baited by Chavez, was overheard protesting its fidelity to the UFW bureaucracy (the RU had purposely not brought any "offensive" revolutionary literature or signs) and offering to demonstrate its servility by physically expelling SL supporters. But the offer was not taken up.

• At the "unofficial" demonstration in Oakland on the same day, the SL likewise intervened with its signs and leaflet, eliciting the same predictably hostile response from the ostensibly revolutionary organizations present (IS and WAM).

• At yet another "Boycott Safeway" demonstration on August 4 in Richmond, attended by only about 150 persons, mostly white liberals, SL/RCY supporters were met with violent hostility from the UFW organizers, who conferred with the police in an effort to have the SL contingent expelled. When the demonstration reached the Safeway store, a UFW goon tore down the SL banner, "For a General Strike to Defend the UFW," and the SL marchers were forced to picket separately from the general line.

• On the same day an SL/RCY team which went out into the fields was able to establish that this hostility was emanating from the UFW leadership not from the ranks. This team attended a UFW demonstration of about 200 farm workers at Mendota, in the Fresno melon-growing region. When the SL contingent arrived and began distributing a bilingual leaflet, it was enthusiastically received; indeed, many farm workers returned for additional copies of the leaflet. In the ensuing discussions with about 30 rank-and-file Spanish-speaking farm workers, SL supporters stressed our defense of the union while criticizing Chavez' strategy and pointing out that only a policy of sharp class struggle, embodied in the slogans raised by the SL, could lead the union to victory. Local organizers were quite friendly; it was only when a sound truck with higher-ups arrived that a UFW organizer told the workers to throw away our leaflets. Surrounded by goons and police, the SL supporters were forced to leave.

• On August 25 trade-union supporters of the *Bay Area Worker*, an RU-backed newspaper, organized a caravan to the Merced area. As demonstrators, including the SL/RCY, were picketing the police station, the RU attempted to convince UFW leaders not to allow the SL to pass out our leaflets or sell *Workers Vanguard*. When an SL supporter, speaking in Spanish, attempted to explain our position to the farm workers, she was prevented from speaking and drowned out by RU chanting. Nevertheless, a majority of the union members received our leaflet enthusiastically. A majority of the farm workers present clustered around, eager to discuss the issues involved in the strike and the policies necessary for victory. After this had been going on for about ten minutes, the UFW leaders sent goons over to physically drag away the farm workers from the discussion, while RU supporters chanted, "Chavez si, Sparts no."

• In keeping with the SL's policy of united working-class action to defeat the attack on the Farmworkers, the SL has also distributed leaflets at the Fremont GM plant, where a large proportion of the workers are chicano and there has been a widespread desire among the rank and file to organize UAW support to the UFW. This attempt to mobilize the ranks has been opposed by the OL-supported Brotherhood Caucus, whose leaders are now demonstrating that they are bureaucrats no different from their predecessors. Thus the Brotherhood Caucus has strongly discouraged workers from bringing up the question of the UFW at union meetings, putting exclusive emphasis on the upcoming UAW contract just like any other business unionist. All the fake "lefts" who tailed the Brotherhood in their press—notably the RU and the October League—share responsibility for this rejection of proletarian solidarity. ■

Cops Attack, Chavez Runs

Defend the Farmworkers!

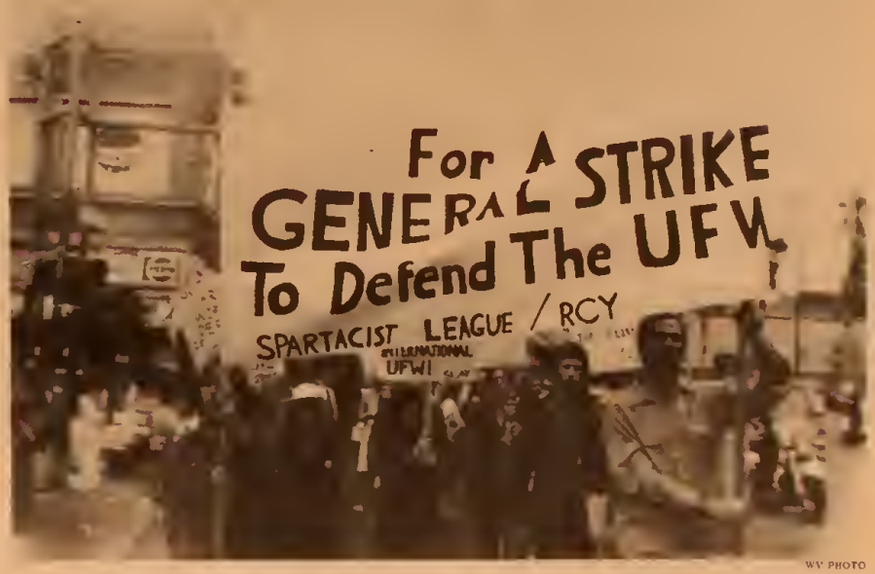
Events in the past two months have strikingly confirmed our warning that massive defeats and possible annihilation are in store for the Farmworkers Union so long as it follows the pacifist-defeatist policies of the Chavez leadership (see *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973). Now this possibility is being realized under our very eyes, at the cost of great suffering for the thousands of UFW members and agricultural workers throughout California. The UFW policy of relying on liberal Democrats, students, housewives—on anything, in fact, but united working-class action—against the grower-Teamster offensive can only lead to catastrophe.

Beginning with the wave of sweetheart contracts negotiated by the agribusinesses with the Teamsters bureaucracy in late spring, the Spartacist League has consistently called for defense of the UFW, Teamsters out of the fields. While many allegedly socialist organizations have been more than happy to jump on the Farmworkers bandwagon against the unpopular and ultra-conservative Teamsters, the SL has been the only organization to consistently put forward a real alternative to defeat through leallets and signs at numerous UFW support demonstrations: armed self-defense of the picket lines; for a statewide general strike to defend the UFW! With the thousands of arrests during the summer and the recent killings of two strikers by sheriff's deputies, these demands are burning issues in the fields today. The response of the other major radical organizations in the area, particularly the Maoists of the Revolutionary Union (RU) and October League (OL), however, has been uncritical enthusing for Chavez and efforts to exclude the SL from Farmworker demonstrations.

At its peak the UFW had 180 contracts representing 40,000 farm workers. This figure has now dropped to 11 contracts for 6,500 workers. The first major loss, in mid-April of this year, was in the Coachella Valley, where the growers signed sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters over the heads of the workers, enforcing them by well-paid Teamster goons recruited from motorcycle gangs. Chavez' reaction? At the 21 July UFW Delano rally he commented, "We were asked by the press if we had lost the strike in Coachella; I told them workers never lose strikes!"

The Chavez bureaucracy has been striving to conceal from the rank and file just how critical is the situation for their union for obvious reasons: a determined defense of the UFW would require farm worker militancy which would necessarily dump Chavez' turn-the-other-cheek pacifism. In order to contain any unwanted outbursts of militancy, the union leadership likes to use (instead of the soft-spoken Chavez) UFW Vice President Veracruz. This would-be charismatic misleader and consummate demagogue gave a rip-roaring speech at the Delano rally—a real call to action—with the sole omission of any concrete suggestions as to how to pursue this life-and-death struggle. Instead, while carefully avoiding any calls for labor unity, he addressed his speech to the liberals present, claiming that the UFW leadership was "building a union that will not only defend farmworkers but change society as a whole," a union that was "becoming the star of the movement of human liberation"!

While verbally saving humanity Chavez and Veracruz are busily abandoning the very gains which set the UFW contracts apart from the rotten sellouts negotiated by the Teamsters. Now Chavez is suggesting that maybe the union hiring hall isn't all that vital after all, and that a compromise, with the growers and the union *jointly* administering the hall would be perfectly acceptable! Similarly, earlier this month Chavez issued a letter agreeing to another "compromise," proposed by George Meany, whereby a grower with complaints of "contract violations" against the UFW could appeal to an AFL-CIO arbitrator, who would then arrive at a final and binding decision.



WV PHOTO

Chavez Leadership Opts For No-Win Tactics

Rather than attempt to defend the Farmworkers Union on the picket lines, the UFW leadership has always preferred the middle-class protest tactic of a consumer boycott. In addition to the fact that this time the boycott is less effective than ever, the threat to the union and its members is greater than ever. Instead of the absolutely crucial demands of an armed defense of the UFW picket lines and a statewide general strike to defend the UFW, Chavez' latest innovation is symbolic fasting and deliberate provocation of mass arrests of the Farmworker rank and file. At the Delano rally Chavez spoke with pride of his Ghandi-inspired "fill the jails" tactic, stating that in 1973 alone some 6,000 farm workers had been arrested, with roughly 1,200 currently locked up (and many subjected to beatings by racist cops), concluding happily, "and the end is not in sight"! What makes this defeatist tactic even more pathetic is that the UFW leadership rejects the militant labor action required for the union to win—armed defense of the picket lines, hot cargoing of scab grapes and lettuce, etc.—because it is "illegal" according to the bosses' laws. Yet under the current court injunctions the farmworkers are forced to break the law just in order to picket! Chavez' explanation for picking one illegal activity over another was that "these injunctions, which are unconstitutional, have to be tested." Thus Chavez announced in advance his readiness to remain within the confines of whatever anti-labor laws are currently felt to be necessary by the bourgeoisie and hence determined by the courts to be "legal."

United labor defense of the UFW is no impossible pipe dream. On 15 July 500 Teamster truck drivers struck in the Salinas area, cutting off vegetable deliveries for weeks and causing the State Board of Agriculture to urge Nixon to intervene. Even more significant was the emergence toward the end of July of a distinct possibility of a general strike in support of the UFW when some 65,000 Teamster-organized cannery workers struck upon expiration of their contract. Many of these workers are chicanos who sympathize with the plight of the farm workers despite the attitude of their union leadership. Indeed, one of the issues in the cannery strike was the attempt by the Teamster bureaucrats to introduce into the contract a clause which would have made it possible for the union to refuse to handle UFW-picked produce. There has also been much opposition to Fitzsimmons' attack on the UFW from the Teamster rank and file, particularly in Los Angeles. Predictably, however, Chavez did not even attempt to utilize these opportunities to push for a statewide general strike in support of the UFW and against government interference in the labor movement. Instead, he further demonstrated his subservience to capitalist law-and-order by going back to the same courts which outlaw UFW pickets in order to sue the Teamsters. He has also announced readiness to place the UFW under the jurisdiction of the NLRB, which among other things administers the anti-communist, anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act.

The UFW leadership's pacifist tactics, the most militant of which have been its impotent one-hour-long picketing of a few Saleway stores, have resulted in an unbroken chain of defeats for the Farmworkers, as grower after grower has signed with the Teamsters. The sudden display of a "conciliatory" attitude by Fitzsimmons, who on August 10 repudiated 30 contracts negotiated by Teamster field agents in the Delano area, does not alter the essentials of this situation. A UFW which exists on the tolerance of the Teamsters and has abandoned the gains of the early UFW contracts (especially the union hiring hall) is just as thoroughly defeated—and just as acceptable to the growers—as if it had been completely smashed. Indeed, the existence of two sellout unions in a single industry, competing for whatever pittances the growers decide to cast them, is probably preferable for the corporate giants of California agribusiness. (Fitzsimmons has *not* disavowed contracts outside the immediate area of Delano, the old home base of the UFW.)

SL Defends UFW, Attacks Bureaucratic Misleadership

While criticizing the Chavez leadership for setting the stage for defeat after defeat, the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth have at the same time been among the most active organizations on the left in defending the struggle of the Farmworkers. Moreover, out of all these ostensible revolutionists, the SL/RCY alone have not capitulated before the Chavez bureaucracy and the pressure of bourgeois liberal public opinion: the SWP, the IS, PL/WAM, the RU and the October League have abjectly tailed after Chavez, while the pitiful Workers League has contented itself with sideline commentary.

The capitulation of these fake "lefts" is all the more disgusting since the UFW bureaucracy obviously fears the effect of radical propaganda on the Farmworker ranks, given the increasingly obvious failure of its own social-pacifist tactics.

Thus after revelations by the CP's *People's World* that the Oakland "Strike Support Committee" was actually under the control of "dangerous radicals," Chavez disavowed the 28 July Oakland Safeway march on the grounds that "If you don't work with the [UFW] boycott committee, we don't want your help." Similarly, UFW organizers have twice asked union members not to read SL/RCY leallets, but without success.

The SL/RCY have, in contrast, shown themselves capable of combining active, militant defense of the UFW against the companies, the cops and the Teamster bureaucrats with the vital struggle against the sellout leadership:

- At the July 21 Delano rally a contingent from the Bay Area and Los Angeles SL/RCY were alone in introducing class-struggle slogans into the purely symbolic march. Signs carried by SL supporters read: "Defend the UFW—Teamsters out of the Fields"; "For a General Strike against Union-Busting"; "For Workers Militias"; and "Expropriate Industry under Workers Control!"
- At the July 28 "official" demonstration in San Francisco, which drew well under 1,000 persons (Chavez was careful not to mobilize the Farmworker ranks), the SL/RCY criticized the impotent "Boycott Saleway" tactics in a

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 28 14 September 1973

Rail strikers storm Parliament Building in Ottawa. TORONTO STAR

Government Breaks Canadian Rail Strike

Labor Tops Bow to Anti-Strike Law

TORONTO, September 4—Canada's ten-day-old nationwide rail strike was effectively broken by the Liberal Trudeau government last weekend, despite several thousand workers' surging into the Parliament building in Ottawa to protest the strikebreaking bill. The leadership of all but one of the striking unions promptly accepted the governmental edict, although Parliament-imposed terms were no better than those rejected by the unions weeks earlier. Under the pressure of runaway inflation, the government is testing the ability of the labor bureaucracy and its parliamentary representatives in the New Democratic Party to contain and discipline the ranks of Canadian labor. With the servility of the labor tops amply illustrated by the collapse of the rail strike, a national "incomes policy" (wage control) may not be far off.

History of the Strike

Negotiations began December 31 of last year with the termination of the contract between the eight unions representing the 56,000 non-operating railway workers (non-ops) and Canada's two railway giants, Canadian Pacific and Canadian National (a "crown corporation" fully subsidized by the government), and nine smaller railway companies. The unions, pointing to the sharp rise in the Canadian cost of living and the falling wages of railway workers relative to other transport workers, demanded a 10.8% increase each year for the next two years. In July, the companies accepted the proposal of a government board of conciliation which limited pay increases to a total of only 17.8 percent over two years. The unions refused to accept the government/company offer and began a series of rotating strikes that led to the late-August nationwide walkout.

From the outset negotiations took place in an atmosphere permeated by the threat of government intervention. Twice in recent memory the federal government has acted directly to break major strikes. In 1966 the Ottawa government ordered striking rail employees back to work and met little resistance from the unions. Only last summer the Ottawa government intervened to break the strike of Canadian dock workers. The pattern of state intervention was so clearly established that when negotiations broke down in July the *Toronto Globe and Mail* could speculate in an editorial (July 26) that perhaps the "strike weapon was a fiction" for Canadian rail workers.

Caught between a militant rank and file and a solid government/company front, the railway union leaders called for rotating strikes by geographical areas. These strikes had the stated purpose of putting appropriate pressure on the railway companies without "upsetting the economy" by a nationwide strike. There was some unsuccessful rank-and-file opposition to the futile tactic of rotating strikes, but for the most part rail workers simmered as they watched government and industry hold back shipments of grain in an attempt to precipitate an immediate food crisis in the event of a national strike.

The militancy boiled over first in the western provinces where workers refused to go back when the rotating strike in their area was over. The western provinces are a center of union unrest and Canadian nationalism. It is also in the western provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and British Columbia that the New Democratic Party (NDP), a farmer-labor party with close ties to the unions, controls the provincial governments. The NDP provincial prime ministers of course have a vested political interest in maintaining the economy in good order in "their provinces." And on a federal level the NDP has embraced Trudeau's minority Liberal Party government since the federal elections gave the NDP the "balance of power" between the Liberal and Conservative parties. From the early stages of the struggle the NDP parliamentary leaders shamelessly announced that they would support

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As Woodcock-Fraser Prepare Sellout—

For an International, Industry-Wide Auto Strike!

SEPTEMBER 10—As negotiations between the UAW and the Big Three approach the September 14 deadline, the Woodcock bureaucracy is making its class-collaborationist strategy clear for all to see. Fearing a wave of strike militancy that could threaten their position, union officials prepared for the talks with the companies by pursuing a conscious policy of demoralizing the ranks. This has ranged from permitting isolated strikes at Norwood and Lordstown to drag on into oblivion in order to destroy the morale of the workers, to tolerating and even encouraging the victimization of individual militants in several plants across the country (Fremont, Calif. GM; Mahwah, N.J. Ford) and most recently the open strikebreaking by UAW officials at Chrysler's Mack Ave. Stamping Plant. Essentially the same purpose is to be served by such gimmicks as announcing this year's target, Chrysler, several days earlier than usual so as to provide extra time to publicize to the ranks in the bourgeois press evidence of their "hard bargaining."

Despite this ambitious campaign it has proven extremely difficult to build a case for labor peace. This has been a boom year for the auto companies with profits universally at record levels. Chrysler earned more money in the second quarter of this year than in the entire first half of 1972, while its profit of $198 million for the first six months of 1973 was a record high. Ford and GM have also announced record-breaking after-tax earnings for the first quarter of 1973, of $361 and $817 million, respectively.

Meanwhile, auto workers have faced increased speed-up, loss of jobs and erosion of real wages. GM Assembly Division workers in 1973 produced 250,000 more units than in the first nine months of 1972, but with 20,000 fewer workers! At Chrysler's Forge plant, scene of a recent wildcat strike, union members told *WV* reporters that 60 percent of the factory had worked seven days a week for more than six months to meet Chrysler's production schedules.

The smoldering resentment of auto workers erupted in a series of wildcat strikes and sitdowns in the Detroit area, the most important of which occurred in three Chrysler plants in late July and August. These actions threatened to interrupt the carefully planned preparations of the Woodcock bureaucracy. While it was temporarily able to dampen militancy through a mass mobilization of union officials against the action at the Mack Ave. plant, the bureaucracy's extreme fragility and lack of real rank-and-file support was made clear to all.

The UAW Bureaucracy: Agents of the Bosses

The choice of Chrysler as the "target company" only a few days after the Mack Ave. incident was not surprising. Selecting GM would have clearly revealed the immense gap between the bureaucracy's minimal preparations to mobilize the rank and file and its pretensions to the role of hard-headed, "practical" negotiators. Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey estimated that the UAW would have a strike fund of only $50 million by September 14. The 67-day strike in 1970 against the giant GM cost $160 million. While a successful strike can, of course, be waged without a strike fund, an inadequate strike fund is usually a sign of the unwillingness of a union leadership to wage a militant struggle.

Chrysler, on the other hand, offered several advantages to the union leaders. Its recent financial successes, its smallness and apparent vulnerability, make it a more credible target in the eyes of the rank and file. Moreover, unlike Ford and GM, Chrysler's Canadian division bargains simultaneously with its American and Canadian workers. Thus a joint settlement in Chrysler

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SWP NATIONAL CONVENTION

Split Momentum Mounts in USec

Pressures for a split in the so-called "United Secretariat" have become practically irrestible. Symptomatic of the tense situation in this rotten bloc that poses as the Trotskyist International was the recent National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, held last month in Oberlin, Ohio. During the convention Livio Maitan, a leader of the European majority of the United Secretariat, objected to the SWP's decision to close internal debate on subjects still under discussion for the upcoming USec world congress. An SWP majority leader retorted ominously: "this is the convention of the Socialist Workers Party. There is no higher body!" To which Maitan replied: "We have beaten you before [i.e., when Pablo, together with Mandel, Maitan and Frank, expelled the SWP in 1953] and we will beat you again!"

Jack Barnes MILITANT

Shadow-Boxing and Veiled Threats

The SWP convention occurs in the context of a raging international faction fight in which each side is accusing the other of deviations which it has itself practiced for years, while lining up with bloc partners holding diametrically opposed policies on key issues. (Thus the SWP majority is on a binge of Trotskyist "orthodoxy" and accuses the French section of capitulating before the popular-front Union of the Left in the March 1973 elections, which is quite true. The "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction"—SWP and friends—neglects to mention, however, that its own anti-war and women's liberation work has been carried on through classical popular-front organizations, NPAC and WONAAC, since 1965.)

With this kind of rampant maneuvering, it is not surprising that the convention discussion was highly polemical yet also evasive and devious. The SWP leadership, to cite one example, made a great display of democracy (in contrast to its 1971 convention) by giving the minority Internationalist Tendency equal reporting time with the majority. However, at the same time it managed to restrict the IT to only three delegates—half the number the tendency's size, 88 out of 1,200 party members, should have given it—and elected no minorityites to the National Committee.

The discussion on Latin America centered on the relative merits of the respective Argentine allies of the two sides in the USec dispute. It was conclusively shown that the SWP's group (the PST) is a reformist, electoralist, social-democratic party par excellence, while the European majority's (former) affiliate (the PRT) is a Castroist-Maoist-Kim Il Sung-ist guerrilla outfit having nothing to do with Trotskyism. In consequence, SWP majority leaders and IT spokesmen prudently chose to concentrate on attacking the mortal sins of the opposing group, hoping thereby to demonstrate the superiority of their own side by default.

The debate on the world movement was couched in horror stories of unprincipled factionalism and veiled threats of organizational retaliation. Jack Barnes, reporting for the SWP majority, discussed a letter from ITer Barzman revealing the existence of a secret faction run by the European majority. He then announced the formation of an International "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" by the SWP. In a curious perversion of democratic centralism, the convention then proceeded to vote for the formation of such a faction; approve the SWP majority's positions on the world movement; close internal debate on these subjects; and vote to commit the full resources of the party to the international faction fight. So the poor IT now has to pay pledges to support activities of a faction it opposes without being able even to raise its objections within the SWP! (The subject may be academic, however, since the hard tone of Barnes' report suggests that expulsion of the IT is possible at any time.)

Speaking for the U.S. minority was Livio Maitan, a leader of the international majority, who began on a mild tone cautioning against the formation of an international faction; graduated to accounts of SWP factional atrocities in England and Mexico; and ended by implying reprisals against the pro-SWP minority in the British section if the IT is expelled, and warning the SWP that the Europeans had beaten them once and would do it again. During the reports it became clear that a fight is brewing in the YSA, the SWP's de facto youth group. The SWP leadership wants to stop party minorityites from discussing their views in the youth; Maitan objects because the YSA is a fraternal supporter of the USec, and the Internationalist Tendency even threw in some good words about the need for Leninist youth-party relations—a subject raised more than a decade ago by the Spartacist tendency.

The other high point of the convention was the debate on the political report. The majority presentation gave an idea of what the SWP means by "Leninist party-building" by listing an inventory of the office furniture, printing equipment and business machines in the national offices and expounding on the good purposes to which the mammoth expansion fund would be put (air conditioning and buying the party's headquarters building). The IT responded with a hard-hitting speech by Hedda Garza which came off sounding quite orthodox, and borrowed heavily from Spartacist politics, concentrating solely on opposition to feminism and nationalism. Garza pointed out that WONAAC acted largely as an electoral pressure group. (The SWP's own distinctive contribution to women's liberation, aside from its abandonment some time ago of the demand for free abortion, has been to write the abortion legislation introduced by bourgeois Representative Abzug.) The IT has also called for restricting the full-time paid staff to 10 percent of party members (an incredibly high figure), which reportedly would mean a big reduction of what is already a mini-bureaucracy in a party of only 1,200. (Just think what these reformist empire-builders could do as the bureaucratic caretakers of a few union treasuries!)

For the remainder of the discussion the most striking feature brought to mind was the incredible degeneration of the once-Trotskyist SWP, as a kaleidoscope of special interest groups paraded past the microphones. Feminists accused the IT of being male chauvinist; nationalists accused it of racism. Homosexuals wanted a transitional program for gay liberation and a declaration that gay love is just as "good" as the heterosexual variety. Next to the international question, gay liberation and anthropology were the main topics of internal debate.

The "Discussion" in the USec

Behind the shadow-boxing and maneuvering is the current factional struggle which has blown apart several national sections (so far: Australia, Canada, Mexico, Spain) and will imminently split the United Secretariat as well. The ostensible issue is guerrilla warfare or, to be more precise, putting guerrilla warfare into practice. But in reality we are witnessing the conflict of the profoundly reformist SWP, which longs to achieve bourgeois respectability as the social-democratic party in the U.S., versus the centrist European leadership of Mandel-Maitan-Frank which is currently tailing radical guerrillaist youth, having earlier tagged along behind the Stalinist bureaucracies for an entire decade.

As far as Castroism and guerrilla war are concerned, it was common *agreement* on these subjects which provided one of the key bases for the formation of the United Secretariat in the early 1960's. The founding document of this opportunist bloc of renegades from Trotskyism, written by the SWP itself, explicitly endorsed guerrilla warfare:

> "Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial and semi-colonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the Second World War. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."
>
> —"For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," March 1963

Yet for some reason, the SWP's Joe Hansen suddenly discovered in 1969 that guerrilla warfare is not a Leninist strategy. Ten years ago he sang a different tune when the Hansen-Dobbs leadership threw the Revolutionary Tendency out of the SWP for saying precisely that! Here is what the RT (predecessor of the Spartacist League) wrote at the time:

> "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime.... Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive revolutionary significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strat-

The Red Mole

IN LATIN AMERICA BOTH TROTSKY AND CHE WERE MURDERED. TODAY THEIR FOLLOWERS PAY THEM HOMAGE BY TAKING UP ARMS, DETERMINED TO LIBERATE THE ENTIRE CONTINENT

Special Latin America Dossier
BENGAL: THE EAST GETS REDDER
MANCHESTER: COUNCIL OF ACTION

All sections of the "United Secretariat" — from reformist SWP to left wing of centrist European majority (see British IMG's Red Mole above) — have supported "guerrilla road to power." The Spartacist tendency was expelled from SWP in 1963 for holding that only the proletariat can create healthy workers states.

egy revisionism on the *proletarian* leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism."
—"Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International," June 1963

Just what exactly was the famous "turn to guerrilla strategy" at the USec's Ninth Congress which Hansen objects to so vehemently today? The key section of the Latin American resolution stated simply:

"Even in the case of countries where large mobilizations and class conflicts in the cities may occur first, civil war will take manifold forms of armed struggle, in which the principled axis for a whole period will be rural guerrilla warfare...."

Nothing new here. The real "turn at the Ninth Congress" was the turning of the screws which came a few paragraphs later in a section about *implementing* the guerrilla strategy:

"It is the job of the various national revolutionary Marxist organizations to translate this general orientation into concrete formulas and guidelines.... adopting methods of work corresponding to the necessities of a struggle conducted under conditions of repression and strict clandestinity...."
—"Draft Resolution on Latin America," May 1969

The SWP reacted with genuine horror at this prospect. What would its Democratic Party friends like Rep. Abzug and Sen. Hartke do if they found the SWP's allies kidnapping American businessmen?! (Readers of the *Militant* will note the speed with which the SWP published disavowals every time the Argentine USec section hijacked another executive. The famous condolences to the widow Kennedy were evidently only the beginning of the SWP's apologies to the ruling class.)

Maitan, who doubtless has fantasies of his 20-foot high portrait hanging from the balconies of some Latin American capital, went even further, declaring that, "it is necessary to understand and to explain that at the present stage the International will be built around Bolivia"! And as Hansen, his hand on his wallet, relates in his latest document, the guerrillaists of the majority actually planned a financial campaign to help open a guerrilla *foco* in Bolivia. They told the reformist, social-democratic SWP to put its money where its mouth was—literally. So in 1969 the "orthodox" Joe Hansen suddenly discovered that guerrilla war is only a tactic, not a strategy. And now in 1973 he opines that perhaps the 1963 reunification document should have had something about the limits of guerrilla warfare in it as well. Live and learn.

Mandel-Maitan-Frank also have a few problems with their past, however. Mandel now maintains that the 1969 resolution overdid the rural guerrilla war theme a little and that the main line is really urban guerrillaism. Moreover, last December he suddenly discovered that the prize jewel of the European majority, the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP), led by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Argentine section of the USec, had developed a militarist deviation. To top this off, it turns out the PRT wasn't for the Fourth International but for a new Castroist-Maoist International to include every petty Stalinist dictator including Enver Hoxha (see "Guevarism vs. Social Democracy in the USec," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973)! Poor Maitan had been praising the PRT/ERP for the last four years, writing that the last two PRT congresses were elaborating and "making more precise" the decisions of the Ninth USec Congress.

So both sides of the USec fight are hopelessly compromised in the sundry deviations and deviations-upon-deviations of the Argentine guerrillaists. (A comical point at last December's meeting of USec leaders came when Maitan listed all the deviations of the PRT and then pointed to Moreno, the SWP's man in Buenos Aires, accusing him dramatically, "And you are the father of them!" Moreno replied immediately, "And you are the mother!" They were both right.)

The SWP-led minority accuses the majority of abandoning Leninism on the party question, which is true enough. The European majority, in turn, accuses the SWP of opportunist tail-ending, which is equally true. If simply exposing the sins of both sides in this den of revisionists were sufficient to put would-be revolutionaries on the right track, then we could relax contentedly as the internal bulletins pour out, each with more horrendous revelations than the last. But there is a danger that some sincere militants may reject the rotten betrayers they know best only to embrace the equally rotten misleaders on the opposing side.

The Internationalist Tendency

This may be happening to some extent in the U.S. as the Internationalist Tendency picked up the support of about 80 SWPers many of whom are subjectively more militant than the cynical majority that revels in the popular fronts of NPAC and WONAAC. But it is crucial that minorityites seeking to return to Trotskyism understand that the IT is already deeply compromised and fundamentally unprincipled.

The key leaders of the Internationalist Tendency were earlier members of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency at the 1971 SWP convention. The POT document ascribed all the party's ills to its failure to root itself in the working class. Despite its limitations (e.g., it did not challenge the SWP's popular-front antiwar and women's work), the POT did seek to orient to the working class. Now, however, the IT has signed up for the U.S. franchise of Mandel-Maitan-Frank and Co. whose stock-in-trade is guerrillaism/terrorism in Latin America and orientation to the "new mass vanguard" in Europe. The IT itself admits this "vanguard" is "predominantly student" in composition.

People can, of course, change their minds. But in the case of the Internationalist Tendency, this evolution has been surprisingly rapid and, one must say, rather suspicious. When the IT leaders first came together this year they had the following to say about the International Majority Tendency:

"We reject the positions of the International majority as well.... We believe that the positions of the International majority, which envisage a continent-wide strategy of armed struggle, represent an adaptation to guerrillaism.... The International majority evidenced in its positions a critical error in the consideration of Maoism as bureaucratic centrism.... There is a certain tendency in this direction evident in some of the European sections' positions toward the leadership of the DRV/NLF and the Seven-Point Program."
—"Letter to the Political Committee on the Formation of a Political Tendency," 19 January 1973

But by May the same people, having meanwhile sniffed a split in the air and after a few secret meetings with

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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Book Review

Cannon versus Pablo

James P. Cannon

James P. Cannon, SPEECHES TO THE PARTY. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973, 431 pp., $3.95.

The publication of James Cannon's speeches and letters from the 1952-1953 SWP faction fight, documents previously available only in old SWP internal bulletins, is an important political event for two reasons. First, these writings highlight Cannon's enormous strengths as a principled defender of the Trotskyist program during trying times, such as the demoralizing McCarthy period. (They also reveal considerable weaknesses evident in his failure to launch in good time an international faction fight against Pabloist liquidationism—which also eased the way for the qualitative degeneration of the SWP ten years later.) Second, the SWP's publication of Cannon's 1952-53 documents (along with its pamphlet on the history of the split with Pablo, the *Militant's* reprinting of Trotsky articles on terrorism, etc.) at this time, as differences over guerrilla warfare threaten to blow apart the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," is clear preparation for a split between supporters of the centrist European-led majority and the reformist SWP-led minority.

Without attempting a comprehensive assessment of Cannon's role as a leader of world Trotskyism since 1928, we should note that his writings in this collection are a model of evaluating the central issues in a dispute. He accurately diagnosed the existence of a rotten bloc between Clarke's followers in New York who were capitulating to Stalinism, and Cochran's group of trade unionists in Detroit who, reflecting the conservatization and demoralization among older and now comfortably-ensconced veterans of the CIO struggles, simply wanted to get out of revolutionary politics. For today's workerists, who see "roots in the working class" as a guarantee against degeneration, Cannon's speech on "Trade Unionists and Revolutionists" is must reading.

For over a year, Cannon struggled for programmatic clarity. His struggle was waged both against the minority—to force it openly to declare its real political positions—and with the abstentionist, "non-factional" elements of the majority (such as Farrell Dobbs) to bring them to see the real political issues at stake. The non-political response of sections of the party cadre is in hindsight a danger sign, but the conservative impulse did not find programmatic generalization until 1963, when the SWP codified its revisionist degeneration and "reunified" with Pabloism. But simply to write off the SWP as at this time already hopelessly degenerated, led by the "Zinovievist" Cannon, (as do the Class Struggle League, Spartacus-BL, the Revolutionary Socialist League and other groups who are united solely in their respective claims to be the first Trotskyists since Trotsky or, in the case of the RSL, the first Trotskyists ever) means closing one's eyes to a few "minor" achievements. These include the party's internationalist defense of North Korea against the U.S. in the Korean War and the SWP's "Open Letter" of 1953 which led to the formation of the International Committee and prevented Pablo's complete destruction of the world Trotskyist movement.

At the beginning of the Cochran-Clarke fight Cannon's strong sense of party loyalty became a travesty of itself when applied on an international scale. He used the notion of "party loyalty" to the International leadership of Pablo-Germain [Mandel] to paper over and actually conceal from the SWP membership serious political differences, in particular over Pablo's "centuries of deformed workers states." Similarly, Cannon covered for Pablo's organizational abuses by not solidarizing with the French majority against its bureaucratic expulsion by the International Secretariat, which he later admitted had made him profoundly uneasy at the time.

This shortcoming led directly to the major weakness revealed during the struggle—Cannon's failure to carry out an *international* faction fight against Pabloism. To avoid having to implement Pabloist policies, Cannon posited a federated International. (This deviation came home to roost in the later formation of the "United Secretariat" in which differences over the 1953 split, China and other questions were papered over as each national organization went its merry way.) Cannon's federalist concept of internationalism was reflected in a polemic against (of all things) "Cominternism"! The early Communist International, he wrote, was highly centralized because of the tremendous authority of Lenin and the Russian Revolution, as well as the financial possibility of frequent consultations (since the Soviet party held state power). Under Stalin, this centralism became an instrument for suppressing independent thought. And today "it would be better for the center there to limit itself primarily to the role of ideological leader, and to leave aside organizational interference as much as possible..." (p. 74). Later in the same speech he rejected the idea of taking orders from anyone, anywhere and under any circumstances and referred to the International Secretariat as mere "collaborators." Cannon here fails to distinguish between Lenin's democratic centralism and the bureaucratic centralism of Stalin. Pablo certainly had appetites to be a petty dictator and tactical autonomy for national sections is desirable, but to reply to the devious intrigues of the "Pope of Paris" by rejecting a centralized International is a qualitative overreaction.

The problem was not that Cannon was unaware of the issues in dispute internationally—his criticisms of Pablo's "centuries of deformed workers states," the "war-revolution thesis" and the organizational atrocities of the International leadership

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Leninist Tendency to Fuse with SL

Emerging from the recent split in the International Socialists was the Leninist Tendency, which resigned following the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency (see "IS Explodes," *WV* No. 26, 3 August). The RT (now the Revolutionary Socialist League) is a contradictory leftward-moving formation that has not yet broken with the fundamental programmatic elements of Shachtmanism, as indicated especially by its refusal to call for unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism (the Russian question) and for Leninist norms of democratic centralism (the organizational question). The LT, however, represented during the IS faction fight a clear Trotskyist pole and a sharp break with the Shachtmanite methodology of tailing every twist and turn of petty-bourgeois public opinion (anti-Sovietism in 1939-40, black nationalism in 1968, workerism today).

At its August Central Committee plenum the Spartacist League voted to fuse with the LT, as another step in the process of revolutionary regroupment. In the past two years this tactic has attracted to the SL a whole new layer of cadre from the remnants of the New Left, various Maoist formations and the ex-Trotskyist SWP. The continuing importance of regroupment in the struggle to construct a proletarian vanguard is demonstrated by the recent series of left splits from Pabloist and Shachtmanite organizations, reflecting a growing desire among sections of these revisionist parties to return to orthodox Trotskyism as the class struggle sharpens. Such a situation requires an effort to intersect the contradictory leftward-moving currents through sharp programmatic struggle in order to crystallize a Bolshevik wing. The development of the Leninist Tendency and its relationship to the RT/RSL must be seen in this context.

Origins of the Leninist Tendency

The LT was formed out of a West Coast grouping led by Doug Hayes and Judith Shapiro. Its members were recruited from the IS' "SDS levy"—the members drawn in after 1968 as the Shachtmanite organization threw its doors open to practically anyone save out-and-out Stalinists. Thus Hayes, a former member of the Spartacist tendency, joined the IS in 1971 declaring himself an oppositionist in general agreement with Spartacist politics. Shapiro joined the IS in 1969 after a time as an activist in SDS. She served a term on the IS National Committee and was a leader in its women's liberation work. Her gradual leftward course resulted in the coalescing of an informal tendency in late 1972 which generally adhered to Trotskyist politics.

The outbreak of violent factional warfare in the IS between the hardened Shachtmanites of the right-wing majority led by Joel Geier and a heterogeneous left wing led by Ron Tabor and former IS National Secretary Sy Landy, required the transformation of the Hayes/Shapiro group into a hard Trotskyist tendency with a definite perspective. Thus the Leninist Tendency was formed at the April 1973 IS plenum, with the goal of winning the left wing to the program of revolutionary Trotskyism.

The "Draft Program of the Leninist Tendency" concentrated on the key issues of the vanguard party and Bolshevik trade-union policies. The LT took an unambiguous Trotskyist position, calling for the rebirth of the Fourth International and rejecting all "new mass vanguard" theories which see the proletarian leadership as somehow emerging from a spontaneous process. The LT aptly characterized such spontaneist tailism as "Pabloism from below." On trade-union policies the document stressed the need to go beyond being "the best militants," in order to present a revolutionary alternative to the bureaucracy and to win militants to the politics of the Trotskyist party. On the controversial question of critical support to oppositionists in the unions, the "Draft Program" limited the use of this tactic to situations in which one side has taken a class-struggle position on a key question which sharply differentiates it from "simple promises of militancy, honesty, democracy" which are the trademark of every fake-militant out of power. When the candidate later betrays the struggle, the consistency of the revolutionaries will stand out clearly.

In addition the tendency program called for working-class struggle against the oppression of blacks, other ethnic minorities and women, rejecting any form of nationalist or feminist polyvanguardism. It also called for unconditional military defense of the Sino-Soviet states against imperialist attack, characterizing them as degenerated or deformed workers states.

The New York IS Zoo

Independently of the West Coast group, two New York ISers began evolving toward Spartacist politics after earlier supporting and later rejecting varieties of left-workerism which masqueraded as "Trotskyism" in the IS circus. One New York LTer, who was a member of the IS for seven years, earlier supported New York IS leader Brian Mackenzie who in 1971 had written some "Theses on the Transitional Program" proclaiming that the Transitional Program was based on objective necessity. Mackenzie himself later admitted in an internal document that the activity of his supporters during the 1971 New York telephone strike amounted to acting as a left pressure group on the CWA bureaucracy—hardly an application of the Transitional Program.

As Mackenzie seemed to be moving to the right in 1972, this comrade came into contact with a supposedly "orthodox Trotskyist" study group in the IS made up of the Communist Tendency (a group of young workerist philistines formerly of the SWP) and some burnt-out cases (Harold Robins, Hugh Fredericks) who abandoned the rest-home atmosphere of Harry Turner's Vanguard Newsletter for the high school-like milieu of the IS. Despite the ex-CT/VNLers' claims to be carrying out a hard, wrecking entry, what actually took place was (as one leading ISer put it) their assimilation as just "one more monster in the swamp."

The ex-CT/VNLers formed a Caucus for a Transitional Program Policy which, like the Landy-Tabor group, refused to take on the IS majority on the key questions of the nature of the Stalinist-ruled states and the role of the vanguard party, instead restricting their polemics to trade-union tactics. In this area they termed the SL emphasis on struggle for the revolutionary program inside the unions "sectarianism." Similarly, they rejected intervention into the women's liberation movement, showing their opportunist appetites by arguing that white male workers would be turned off by struggle against special oppression of women. Having rejected this workerist perversion of Trotskyism as capitulation to the backward consciousness of the working class today, the two New York comrades became sympathetic to the Leninist Tendency.

For Political Clarity, Against Left-Shachtmanism

Some of the writings of the Revolutionary Tendency (the principal opposition group), and particularly the document on the Transitional Program by Tabor, were clearly to the left of mainstream IS politics and an apparent attempt to break from the Shachtmanite tradition. However, the political character of the RT remained unclear and its practice unknown. Thus the central efforts of the LT during the brief and aborted factional struggle centered on achieving political clarification in the left wing by exposing the contradictions of the Tabor-Landy RT.

Tabor had called for the formation of trade-union caucuses based on the Transitional Program, but then only to declare,

> "Contrary to the approach of the Spartacists and other wooden heads, the method of the transitional program does not consist of raising the entire program everywhere and always, nor in the 'principled' construction of communist caucuses in the unions based on the entire, or 95 percent of, the Transitional Program."
>
> —"On the Transitional Program," undated [1973]

The LT replied, in its document "Party and Program," that while a caucus might center its agitation on one or several points of the Transitional Program at any given time, the caucus itself must be based on a principled class program, that is, the Transitional Program—not bits and pieces of the program, what the workers are "ready for" or, as the Geierites put it, the "next step forward." The task is to build a *revolutionary* opposition in the unions.

A decisive and revealing event in the evolution of the RT was its call for "critical support" to the U.S. Labor Department's darling, Arnold Miller, in last year's Mine Workers' election. Thus despite its Transitional Program-waving, and although the RT opposed the right-wing majority primarily over trade-union policy, *in practice* both wings of the IS were committed to tailing whatever was popular. The LT countered:

> "...[Tabor] states that critical support is 'only justified when the elements we are supporting are those who will become susceptible to being pressured by the rank and file.' Who can that possibly exclude? No other criterion is given. We believe, in fact, that Tabor's desire to extend critical support to the MFD [Miners for Democracy] leadership...reveal[s] that he is still tied to the 'step-forward' concept...."
>
> —"Party and Program," April 1973

The LT also challenged the RT to take a position on the Russian question beyond the simple-minded assertion that a deformed workers state theory "leads to Pabloism." Behind that statement is the same old Shachtmanite view that one must favor anything that is a "step forward": i.e., if a "deformed workers state" is a "step forward" with regard to capitalism, then orthodox Trotskyists must advocate the formation of deformed workers states!

In its last document while still part of the IS, "On Democratic Centralism and Factional Struggle," the Leninist Tendency rejected the view expressed by Landy in a LT/RT debate that Lenin was wrong in asserting that socialist consciousness is brought to the working class from the outside. To adhere to the traditional Leninist concept, as presented in *What Is To Be Done?*, said Landy, was substitutionism eventually leading to support for Stalinism. The LT pointed out that despite all the fine platitudes about "freedom of criticism, unity in action," Menshevik groups such as the IS would only stand for so much criticism from embarrassing minorities before simply expelling them. In another document it suggested that the RT was "about to receive an all-too-final demonstration of this."

Repeatedly during the IS faction fight, the LT pointed out that the RT was artificially heating-up the atmosphere in order to provoke its own expulsion. The RT replied by accusing the Leninist Tendency of conciliating the majority.

After the expulsion of the RT, the LT promptly resigned from the IS, not wishing to legitimize in any way the profoundly reformist, anti-communist Gelerite organization. It then applied for membership in the RSL, arguing that "our program is the logical extension of the direction in which you have moved" (letter to the RSL, 17 July). The LT reaffirmed its earlier characterization of the RT/RSL as an incomplete break with Shachtmanism, listed its differences on the Russian question, the organizational question, the relation of party to class, the question of critical support in the unions and raised the crucial importance of taking a position on the 1968 NYC teachers' strike. It also frankly put forward its perspective of winning the RSL to fusion with the Spartacist League. Landy in typical fashion rejected the LT application summarily without indicating programmatic differences which would have made this course *unprincipled*.

Fusion with the SL

It has become increasingly clear that the RT/RSL is an effort to respond to the manifest popularity of orthodox Leninism among numbers of advanced workers and radical intellectuals without, however, accepting the essence of Bolshevism. While Landy-Tabor clearly wish to break with Shachtman's name and adopt certain of Trotsky's theoretical positions in the abstract, they have not broken with the fundamentals of Shachtmanism on the key programmatic questions and in practice. The RSL does not yet have a definitive position on the "Russian question" or the relation of class and party, but it is certain that it will not give unconditional military support to Stalinist-ruled states against imperialism and very likely it will adhere to some form of Menshevik theory of the party. Its position on the Mine Workers' election demonstrates that on the main issue of the split—trade-union policy—the RSL stands closer to IS Shachtmanism than to Trotskyism.

The Leninist Tendency, in contrast, believes that Trotskyism is not just a three-syllable term, but an evolved synthesis of program and practice. It is therefore fusing with the Spartacist League, the unique embodiment of Trotskyism in the United States. Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

PROGRAM FOR POWER—

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Speaker:

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Labor Editor, Workers Vanguard
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The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

Mao's "Anti-Imperialist United Front": toasting Chiang Kai-shek in 1945.

6/ THE THIRD CHINESE REVOLUTION

(Editor's Note: *The recent wave of virulent anti-Trotskyism being spread by various Maoist groups relies on the standard Stalinist weapons of lies and distortion, and above all on ignorance about the true history of the communist movement. The present series, replying to the articles on "Trotsky's Heritage" in the New Left/Maoist* Guardian, *serves as an introduction to this history and a brief summary of the principal political issues separating Trotskyism from Stalinism.*)

The core of the *Guardian* series on "Trotsky's Heritage" is a simple assertion: "History has proved Mao correct." The Chinese revolution, according to Davidson, is the model for backward and colonial countries. The great beacon of Mao-Tse-tung-Thought shows the way. Is this so?

Let us take first the myth of Mao the great proletarian leader who has always struggled for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as opposed to traitors like Liu Shao-chi who tried to hold him back. In an earlier article Davidson wrote that in 1927 "the Comintern advocated a policy put into practice independently by Mao and ignored or opposed by both Chen Tu-hsiu [head of the Chinese Communist Party at this time] and Chang Kuo-tao." Nothing could be further from the truth. In the first place, Chen unfortunately only carried out orders from Moscow even when he sharply disagreed; he did not have the proletarian spirit to refuse to obey these orders even when they literally sent thousands of Chinese comrades to their graves.

Second, it is to Mao's credit that he refused to carry out instructions from the Communist International during the 1926-27 Northern Expedition of General Chiang Kai-shek, when Moscow wanted to hold down mass struggles at all costs. On 26 October 1926 Stalin had sent a telegram ordering the peasant movement to be restrained lest it alienate the Kuomintang generals who, after all, were often landlords themselves. Mao was given the task of carrying out this restraining order in the key province of Hunan by the Central Committee of the party. He immediately returned to his home province and proceeded to do just the opposite, rousing tens of thousands of peasants to form peasant associations and seize and redistribute land belonging to the gentry. This vast wave of peasant unrest enormously aided the rapid northward march of the KMT armies. It also made the generals "uneasy," as can be easily imagined.

Mao's policies in this period were not always more militant than the CP leadership's, however. In the fall of 1924 he was removed from the Politburo of the party because of too-close ties to right-wing Kuomintang circles. But Mao's most general pattern of "protest" against a policy he disagreed with was to simply go off to the hills and carry out the policies he believed correct. When a Comintern telegram on 31 March 1927 ordered the Shanghai party and trade unions to hide their guns with Chiang's armies at the gates, the inevitable result was a massacre of tens of thousands of militants. Chen protested and carried out the suicidal orders; Mao never protested.

During 1930 Mao again came into conflict with the party leadership, over land reform policy in the "peasant soviet" areas. Wang Ming, then CP head, accused Mao of having a "rich-peasant line" because he simply called for equal redistribution of land, not confiscating all the land of the rich peasants, but simply giving them equal shares. It would be more accurate to call it a middle-peasant line, for the rich peasants (kulaks in Russia) generally oppose violent upheavals in favor of gradual solutions which allow them greater opportunity to accumulate land and capital. It is the middle peasants who have the most to gain from a radical elimination of the feudal landlord class, and historically it has been middle peasants who have put forward such schemes for "black distribution" of the land. These were the leaders of the Russian peasant revolt of summer and autumn of 1917.

Most important, however, this is the most radical land-reform line that can be taken without totally disrupting the village. Guerrilla warfare depends on support from the general peasant population, not just the poorest of the poor, for isolated, poorly-equipped guerrilleros are extremely vulnerable to betrayal. And faced with modern weapons the only weapon of the peasants is overwhelming numbers, which again presumes unity. It is no accident that all guerrilla movements opt for a middle- or rich-peasant policy rather than taking the class struggle into the village; and one more reason why revolutionary Marxists insist that the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class, and oppose guerrillaism.

Period of the "Anti-Japanese United Front"

But Mao was not simply an astute guerrilla leader. Gradually he came to a quite clear understanding of the essence of Stalinism—capitulation to the bourgeoisie while maintaining bureaucratic control over the workers and poor peasants. Thus, when he finally achieved predominance in the CP Central Committee it was as the most energetic proponent of a second "united front" with the Kuomintang, following the Long March. This corresponded to the shift in line at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the popular-front period.

Shortly thereafter, on 1 August 1935, the CCP issued an appeal to all patriotic classes to join the Communists to fight against Japan. In line with the new popular-front policy, Mao issued new guidelines for moderating agrarian policy in order to win support from the rich and middle peasants. The Politburo statement of 25 December 1935 read:

> "The Soviet People's Republic will change its policy toward rich peasants; rich peasant land, except for that portion of it in feudal exploitation, regardless of whether it is under self-cultivation or whether tilled by hired labor, will not be confiscated. When land is being equally distributed in a village, rich peasants will have the right to receive the same share of land as poor and middle peasants."

Now here was a real rich-peasant policy. Six months later it was amplified by a Central Committee statement: "Lands of all anti-Japanese soldiers and those involved in anti-Japanese enterprises must not be confiscated." This permitted even large landlords to retain their land through the simple device of enlisting a son in the Red Army.

This land policy had its equivalent at the political level as well. The "Workers and Peasants Soviet Government" became the "Soviet People's Republic," which proclaimed:

> "It [the "people's republic"] is willing to have the broad petty-bourgeois class unite with the masses in its territory. All petty-bourgeois revolutionary class elements will be given the right to vote and be elected in the Soviet."

In the meantime, in the fall of 1936 orders were issued to ban the use of the name "Communist Party" at the sub-district level, replacing it with that of the "Anti-Japanese National Salvation Association."

Having indicated its willingness to capitulate, the CCP sent a telegram to the KMT on 10 February 1937 proposing a united front. (In recent years the Maoists have made much of "the great helmsman's" writings against those who placed sole emphasis on the united front and not enough on the party. Considering the terms of this "patriotic united front," it was an outright betrayal of the masses to enter this front at all, even though all Trotskyists unequivocally supported China against Japan up to the point where this struggle for national independence was submerged by World War II.) In response to the CCP proposal the Kuomintang adopted a "Resolution for Complete Eradication of the Red Menace" which agreed to reconciliation if the Red Army and Soviet government were abolished, all Communist propaganda ended and calls for class struggle dropped. The CCP accepted, although the actual integration of the Communist base areas into Kuomintang rule as well as the absorption of the Communist army remained solely on paper.

With the onset of World War II Mao's class collaboration became even more blatant, if that is possible. He renamed Stalin's "bloc of four classes" with the slogan "new democracy," which was defined as the "dictatorship of all revolutionary classes over the counter-revolutionaries and traitors." Davidson dishes up a sweetened version of new democracy, according to which this intermediate stage would last only until the end of the civil war, after which "the revolution would immediately and uninterruptedly pass over to its second stage of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Guardian*, 25 April 1973). Mao never said anything of the kind. Rather:

> "The progress of the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages: (1) the democratic revolution; (2) the socialist revolution....As to the first stage or the first step in this colonial and semi-colonial revolution—according to its social nature, it is fundamentally still a bourgeois-democratic revolution in which the objective requirement is still basically to clear away the obstacles in the way of capitalist development....
>
> "The Chinese revolution can only be achieved in two steps: the first being that of new democracy; the second, that of socialism. Moreover, the period of the first step will be a considerably long one and can never be accomplished overnight."
>
> —"On New Democracy," January 1940

In another document from this period, Mao made the point even more explicit:

> "Why do we call the present stage of the revolution a 'bourgeois-democratic revolution'? Because the target of the revolution is not the bourgeoisie in general, but imperialist and feudal oppression; the program of the revolution is not to abolish private property but to protect private property in general; the results of this revolution will clear the way for the development of capitalism....So the policy of 'land to the tiller' is a bourgeois-democratic policy, not a proletarian and socialist one....
>
> "Under the New Democratic system of government a policy of readjusting the relations between capital and labor will be adopted. On the one hand, the interests of workers will be protected. An eight- to ten-hour-day system...and the rights of labor unions. On the other hand, reasonable profits of state, private, and cooperative enterprises will be guaranteed....We welcome foreign investments if such are beneficial to China's economy...."
>
> —"On Coalition Government," April 1945

So much for Brother Davidson's "uninterrupted passing over" into socialism. And as for the meaning of this "new democracy" in social and economic terms we only have to look at the land policy enforced during the "anti-Japanese united front" which contained such "progressive" measures as the following:

> "Recognize that most of the landlords are anti-Japanese, that some of the enlightened gentry also favor democratic reforms. Accordingly, the policy

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Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions

by Chris Knox

STALINISM AND SOCIAL-PATRIOTISM

CONCLUSION

With the onset of World War II and the wave of jingoism which swept away their trade-unionist allies of the pre-war period, the Trotskyists were forced to retreat. They adopted a "policy of caution" in the unions, which meant virtual inaction, especially at first. Although the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was driven from its main base in the Minneapolis Teamsters through a combination of government persecution and attack by the Teamsters bureaucracy and the Stalinists, in general the "policy of caution" had the desired effect of protecting the trade-union cadre from victimization.

However, the "policy of caution" had another side to it. With the rupture of their alliances with the "progressive" trade unionists, the Trotskyists had not dropped their reliance on blocs around immediate issues in the unions. They merely recognized that with both the Stalinists and "progressives" lined up for the war, Roosevelt and the no-strike pledge, there was no section of the trade-union bureaucracy with which they could make a principled bloc. Thus their inaction was in part a recognition that any action along the lines to which they were accustomed in the trade unions would be opportunist, i.e., would necessarily entail *unprincipled* blocs and alliances. Any action not involving blocs and alliances with some section of the trade-union bureaucracy was virtually inconceivable.

At first, the rupture of the earlier alliances and enforced inactivity had a healthy effect, exposing the limitations of such alliances and enforcing the recognition that in trade-union work as in all other spheres of party-building, only principled political agreement assures permanence:

> "There is only one thing that binds men together in times of great stress. That is agreement on great principles....
> "All those comrades who think we have something, big or little, in the trade union movement should get out a magnifying glass in the next period and look at what we really have. You will find that what we have is our party fractions and the circle of sympathizers around them. That is what you can rely on.... The rule will be that the general run of pure and simple trade unionists, the nonpolitical activists, the latent patriots—they will betray us at the most decisive moment. What we will have in the unions in the hour of test will be what we build in the form of firm fractions of convinced Bolsheviks."
> —James P. Cannon, "The Stalinists and the United Front," *Socialist Appeal*, 19 October 1940

As the war dragged on, however, opportunities for activity mounted as the workers chafed under the restrictions imposed upon them by their leaders in the name of the imperialist conflict. Rank-and-file rebellion, in the form of unauthorized strikes, broke out in a mounting wave starting in 1942. These led to mounting opposition to the solid, pro-war bureaucratic phalanx. For the most part, the SWP went very slow on participation in these struggles. It wasn't until 1945 that a formal change of policy was made, although exceptions to the rule began earlier.

While seeking to preserve their precious trade-union cadre through a policy of inaction within the unions, the Trotskyists concentrated on public propaganda and agitational campaigns aimed at the unions largely from the outside, through the party press. The campaign against the war centered largely on the defense case of the Minneapolis 18—the 18 Trotskyists and leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters who were railroaded to jail under the Smith Act.

Minneapolis Defense Case

The 18 were the first victims of the Smith Act of 1940, which was the first law since the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798 to make the mere advocacy of views a crime. Initiated in 1941 directly by Roosevelt (ostensibly at the request of Teamsters President Tobin), the case was an important part of the drive by the bourgeoisie, working hand-in-hand with its agents, the labor bureaucrats, to "purify" and discipline the work force for subordination to the imperialist war. The legal persecution consummated Tobin's attempts to get rid of the Trotskyists in Minneapolis, which had coincided with the lining up of the bureaucracy for the war.

However, because of its clear and open contradiction with the stated principles of bourgeois democracy, and thus with the stated goals of the war, the Smith Act prosecution of the Trotskyists caused a rupture within the bureaucracy and became a point of opposition to the government throughout the labor movement. Publishing the testimony of the chief defendant, James P. Cannon, and the closing argument of the defense attorney, Albert Goldman, as pamphlets (*Socialism On Trial* and *In Defense of Socialism*), the SWP exploited the case heavily as a basic defense of socialist ideas and principled opposition to the imperialist war. Though they failed to prevent the destruction of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters local under the combined hammer blows of Tobin and Roosevelt, the Trotskyists' propaganda campaign around the case had a significant impact and aided party recruiting.

The vicious treachery of the Stalinists was underlined and exposed to many by their refusal to defend the Trotskyists against this persecution by the class enemy. Despite the fact that the CP was still opposed to the entry of the U.S. into the war at the time (during the Hitler-Stalin Pact period, 1939-41), it leapt at once onto the prosecutor's bandwagon.

> "The Communist Party has always exposed, fought against and today joins the fight to exterminate the Trotskyite Fifth Column from the life of our nation."
> —*Daily Worker*, 16 August 1941

More than any other force on the left, it was Stalinism, through such fundamental betrayals of class principles as this, which poisoned class consciousness and undermined the fighting ability of the proletariat. Later, during the cold-war witchhunt, when the CP was the victim of the same Smith Act and bureaucratic purge, the militant workers were so disgusted with its role that they were mobilized by anti-communist bureaucrats who smashed virtually every last vestige of class-conscious opposition in the labor movement. Despite its strong position within the CIO bureaucracy in 1941, the CP was unable to prevent the CIO and many of its affiliates from denouncing the Minneapolis prosecution; in 1949, however, the CP's betrayal of the Minneapolis defendants was held up to it by opportunists in the CIO as an excuse for not defending it against the witch-hunt. The Trotskyists defended the CP in 1949, but the CP refused their help, wrecking its own defense committees in order to keep Trotskyists out.

Defense Policy Criticized

While the conduct of the Trotskyists' defense in the Minneapolis trial was a good *defensive* exposition of the ideas of socialism, it was clearly deficient in not taking an *offensive* thrust, in failing to turn the tables on the system and to put it on trial. The Spanish Trotskyist Grandizo Munis raised this criticism, among others, of the SWP leaders' defense policy. Although he failed to take sufficiently into account the need for defensive formulations to protect the party's legality, Munis correctly complained of a lack of political offensive in Cannon's testimony.

> "It was there, replying to the political accusations—struggle against the war, advocacy of violence, overthrow of the government by force—where it is necessary to have raised the tone and turned the tables, accuse the government and the bourgeoisie of a reactionary conspiracy; of permanent violence against the majority of the population, physical, economic, moral, educative violence; of launching the population into a slaughter also by means of violence in order to defend the Sixty Families."
> —"A Criticism of the Minneapolis Trial"

In his reply, Cannon correctly condemned Munis for demanding ultra-left adventurist "calls to action" instead of propaganda, but he failed to adequately answer the charge of political passivity and of a weak, defensive stance. His reply ("Political Principles and Propaganda Methods") overemphasized the need to patiently explain revolutionary politics to a backward working class, lacking in political consciousness. After the war, when the shackles of war discipline were removed from the working class, this error was inverted in an overemphasis of the momentary upsurge in class struggle.

Lewis and the Miners: 1943

Most of the opportunities for intervention in the unions during the war consisted in leading rank-and-file struggles against a monolithic, pro-war bureaucracy. The exception to this pattern was Lewis and the UMW. Having broken with Roosevelt before the war because of what he felt to be insufficient favors and attention, Lewis authorized miners' strikes in 1943 which broke the facade of the no-strike pledge. This galvanized the opposition of the rest of the bureaucracy, which feared a general outpouring of strike struggles. Not only the rabidly patriotic, pro-war CP, but other bureaucrats as well, heaped scorn on the miners, calling them "fascist."

While the SWP was correct in its orientation toward united-front support to Lewis against the government and the bulk of the trade-union bureaucracy, the tone of this support failed to take into account the fact that Lewis was a reformist trade unionist, completely pro-capitalist, who therefore *had* to betray the eager following he was gathering by authorizing strikes during the war. He did this, performing what was perhaps his greatest service for capitalism, by heading off the rising tide of sentiment for a labor party. Focusing opposition to Roosevelt on himself, Lewis misled and demoralized masses of workers throughout the country by advocating a vote for the Republican, Wendell Wilkie, in the 1944 elections. Instead of warning of Lewis' real role, the *Militant* appears not only supportive but genuinely uncritical during the 1943 strikes.

> "[Lewis] despite his inconsistencies and failure to draw the proper conclusions . . . has emerged again as the outstanding leader of the union movement, towering above the Greens and Murrays as though they were pygmies, and has rewon the support of the miners and the ranks of other unions."
> —*Militant*, 8 May 1943

Though written from the outside, and therefore unable to intervene directly, the articles on the 1943 miners' strikes by Art Preis nevertheless reveal an unwarranted infatuation with Lewis which was evoked by the SWP's over-concentration on blocs with left bureaucrats, to the detriment of the struggle for revolutionary leadership.

The struggle against the no-strike pledge reached its highest pitch in the United Auto Workers, which had a militant rank and file and a tradition of democratic intra-union struggle not because of the absence of bureaucracy, but because of the failure of any one bureaucratic tendency to dominate. Despite their fundamental agreement on the war and no-strike pledge, the counterposed tendencies continued to squabble among themselves as part of their endless competition for office. The wing around Reuther tried to appear to the left by opposing the excesses of the Stalinists such as the latter's proposal for a system of war-time incentive pay to induce speed-up, but in reality was no better on the basic issue of the war.

Auto Workers Fight the No-Strike Pledge

The struggle reached a peak at the 1944 UAW convention. Debate around the issue raged through five days of the convention. The highly political delegates were on their toes, ready for bureaucratic tricks. On the first day, they defeated by an overwhelming margin a proposal to elect new officers early in the convention and insisted that this be the last point: after positions on the issues were clear. The Reuther tendency dropped to its lowest authority during the war because of its role in saving the day for the no-strike pledge, through proposing that the pledge be retained until the issue could be decided by a membership referendum.

The convention was marked by the appearance of the Rank and File Caucus, an oppositional grouping organized primarily by local leaders in Detroit. It was based on four points: end the no-strike pledge, labor leaders off the government War Labor Board, for an independent labor party and smash the "Little Steel" formula (i.e., break the freeze on wage raises). This caucus was the best grouping of its kind to emerge during the war. A similar local leadership oppositional grouping in the rubber workers' union was criticized by the SWP for its contradictory position: while opposing the no-strike pledge and War Labor Board, it nevertheless favored the war itself (*Militant*, 26 August 1944).

The SWP's work around the UAW RFC was also a high point in Trotskyist trade-union work. Though representing only a partial break from trade-union reformism by secondary bureaucrats, the RFC was qualitatively to the left of the bureaucracy as a whole. Its

program represented a break with the key points upon which the imperialist bourgeoisie relied in its dependence on the trade unions to keep the workers tied to the imperialist aims of the state. The SWP was correct to enter and build this caucus, since pursuance of its program was bound to enhance revolutionary leadership.

The SWP's support, however, was not ingratiating or uncritical as was its early support to Lewis. As the caucus was forming before the convention, the SWP spoke to it in the following terms, seeking to maximize political clarity:

> "This group, in the process of development and crystallization, is an extremely hopeful sign, although it still contains tendencies opposed to a fully-rounded, effective program and some who are still reluctant to sever completely their ties with all the present international leaders and power cliques.
>
> "There is a tendency which thinks that all the auto workers' problems will be solved simply by elimination of the no-strike pledge. They fail to take into account the fundamental problem: that the basic issues confronting the workers today can and will be solved, in the final analysis, only by political means."
>
> —*Militant*, 2 September 1944

The article went on to advocate a labor party based on the trade unions with a "fundamental program against the financial parasites and monopolists." The caucus adopted the demand for a labor party. It led the fight against the no-strike pledge at the convention and made an impressive showing, although it failed to secure a majority in a direct vote against the pledge.

Despite encouraging developments such as this, the SWP did not formalize a general return to activity in the unions until 1945, when it made a belated turn to a perspective of "organizing left-wing forces" around opposition to the no-strike pledge, War Labor Board, and for a labor party. In 1944, a small oppositional grouping was formed in the SWP by Goldman and Morrow based on Stalinophobia and a perspective of reunification with the Shachtmanite Workers Party, which had split off in 1940. On its way out of the SWP, this grouping was able to make factional hay out of the "policy of caution." Referring to the SWP's inactivity, a member of this faction asked pointedly, "When workers do move on a mass scale, why should they follow anyone who did not previously supply some type of leadership?" (A. Winters, "Review of Our Trade Union Policy," *Internal Bulletin* Vol. VI, No. 9, 1944).

Replying to the Goldman-Morrow group, the SWP majority specifically ruled out caucuses such as the RFC as a general model, claiming that the left wing could not be built by presenting the masses with a "ready-made" program, but only by working within the existing caucus formations. Since the RFC was led primarily by politically independent secondary UAW leaders, "existing caucus formations" could only mean a policy of entering the major bureaucratic power groupings, which is exactly what the SWP did on its return to activity after the war. Despite the comparative impotence of the trade-union bureaucracy and different nature of the tasks in the early thirties, the Minneapolis experience was cited as an example in defense of a policy that emphasized blocking with sections of the bureaucracy and avoiding the presentation of a program independent of, and counterposed to, the bureaucracy in the unions.

UAW leaders in 1945: (from left) Frankensteen, Addes, Thomas, Reuther. SWP trade-union policy concentrated on blocs with bureaucrats, rather than building revolutionary pole, first backing Reuther, then Thomas-Addes.

Leaders of SWP and Local 544 imprisoned in 1941 Minneapolis Smith Act trial. Standing, from left: Dobbs, DeBaer, Palmquist, Hamel, Hansen, Coover, Cooper. Sitting, from left: Geldman, Morrow, Goldman, Cannon, Dunne, Skoglund, Carlson.

This was the perspective followed by the SWP in the post-war period. In the brief but extensive post-war strike wave—the most massive strike wave in U.S. labor history—the SWP emphasized its enthusiasm for the intense economic struggles and underplayed its alternatives to the bureaucracy. Against the Goldman-Morrowites, the majority explicitly defended a policy of avoiding criticism of UAW leadership policy at the beginning of the 1946 GM strike in order to maintain a common front with the bureaucracy against the company. For a small revolutionary force of only 2,000 (this figure represented rapid growth at the end of the war period) to take such an attitude toward the vast trade-union bureaucracy simply served to weaken the forces which could have built revolutionary leadership by struggling against the inevitable bureaucratic betrayals.

The relative pessimism of 1941 as to the backwardness of the working class gave way in the post-war period to the optimism of "Theses on the American Revolution," the political resolution of the 1946 SWP convention. The "Theses" ruled out a new stabilization of capitalism and saw an unbroken development of the SWP into the vanguard party standing at the head of the revolutionary proletariat. The "Theses" underestimated not only the ability of capitalism to restabilize itself but also the relative strength of the trade-union bureaucracy and of Stalinism. Despite degeneration and decline, the CP still had 10,000 members at the end of the war.

This revolutionary optimism was not matched in the trade unions by the open preparation of revolutionary leadership through "third group" caucuses, however, but by an orientation first toward the more progressive bureaucratic reformists who were leading strike struggles or breaking with their previous allies, the discredited Stalinists. Later, as the cold war set in, the SWP broke with its allies and oriented more toward the Stalinists. As in the late thirties, these orientations tended to be based not on maximum political clarity but on the trade-union issues of the moment. Unlike the late thirties, however, the situation changed rapidly into a general purge of reds and hardening of a conservative bureaucracy, with which no blocs were possible. Furthermore the united fronts of the post-war period tended to take the form of critical support for one faction over another in union elections. Besides having a demoralizing effect on the ranks of the SWP's trade-union cadre, the Trotskyists' failure to present a hard, distinctive revolutionary alternative in the unions in this period thus contributed to the formation of the new bureaucratic line-up and thereby to the eventual cold-war defeats.

Critical Support for Reuther: 1946

Again the UAW is the most important example, since in 1946 in that union the SWP had perhaps its best case for a policy of blocs. After the war, Reuther began a drive for domination of the union with a show of militancy. He led a 113-day strike against General Motors on the basis of the three-point program: open the books to public inspection, negotiations in public and wage increases without price increases. Though he made his basic support of capitalism and the "right" to profits clear, he was able to mobilize militant sentiment with this program, strike a left posture at the 1946 convention and win the presidency of the union from the Stalinist-backed R.J. Thomas.

Reuther, however, made no effort to fight for and deepen the "GM strike program" at the convention. Though he won most of his votes on the basis of this militant strike program, his real program was opposition to the CP. This appealed to militants also, of course, since the CP had been completely discredited by its thoroughly right-wing role during the war (which it had incredibly attempted to extend into the post-war period—the so-called permanent no-strike pledge—on the basis of the Soviet bureaucracy's hopes for post-war peaceful coexistence with its capitalist allies). However, Reuther's caucus also attracted conservative anti-communists such as the American Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU). The *Militant* exposed Reuther's basic conservatism even on trade-union issues by pointing out that he had devised the "one-at-a-time" strategy (isolating strikes against one company at a time); that he had endorsed the introduction of the "company security" clause into the Ford contract and had capitulated to Truman's "fact-finding" panel in the GM strike against the will of the elected negotiating body (23 March 1946). It also pointed out that his written program was no better than the Stalinist-backed Thomas-Addes caucus program "except for language and phraseology" (30 March 1946). Nevertheless, the Trotskyists critically supported his campaign for president because of the fact that the militant workers were voting for him on the basis of the GM strike program.

With skillful demagogy, Reuther had successfully coopted the militant wing of the union, including the earlier Rank and File Caucus (which had dissolved into the Reuther caucus). An approach to this militant wing which would have driven a wedge between the militants and Reuther was needed. In 1944, the SWP had argued that the time was not ripe for the independent drive of the RFC—despite the fact that these "unknowns," only running one candidate and without any serious effort, had secured 20 percent of the vote for president at the 1944 convention (*Fourth International*, October 1944). Yet the SWP had not hesitated to raise programmatic demands on the RFC as it was forming, in order to make its break with the bureaucracy complete. In 1946, however, despite criticisms of Reuther, in the last analysis the SWP supported him simply on the basis of his popularity and without having made any programmatic demands whatsoever on him (such as that he break with the conservative anti-communists as a condition for support).

Critical Support for Thomas-Addes: 1947

An independent stance might have left the SWP supporters isolated at the 1946 convention, but the establishment of such a principled pole would have helped recruit militants by the time of the next convention in 1947. Instead, the SWP simply tailed the militants—or thought it tailed the militants—once again. In the interval between the two conventions, Reuther consolidated his position on the basis of anti-communism—including support for Truman's foreign policy—and bureaucratic reformism. At the 1947 convention, the SWP switched its support to the Thomas-Addes caucus, on the grounds that the militants were already fed up with Reuther and an attempt had to be made to halt the latter's drive toward one-man dictatorial rule. For this bloc, there wasn't even the pretense of a programmatic basis. Despite the shift of Reuther to the right and the phony "left" noises of Thomas-Addes and the Stalinists, however, Reuther's complete slate was swept into office largely because of the discredited character of the previous leadership. Only

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THE THIRD CHINESE REVOLUTION

> of the Party is only to help the peasant in reducing feudal exploitation but not to liquidate feudal exploitation entirely....
> "...peasants should be advised to pay rent and interest as well as to protect the civil, political, land and economic rights of the landlord."
> —"Decision of the Central Committee on Land Policy in the Anti-Japanese Base Areas," January 1942

As to this mythical and completely anti-Marxist concept of a joint revolutionary dictatorship of all revolutionary classes, Mao had something very specific in mind, namely a real coalition government with the fearless anti-imperialist patriot Chiang Kai-shek, under which the KMT would control a majority of the government and the vast majority of the military units. This arrangement was worked out, and agreed to by the CCP, at a "Political Consultative Conference" in January 1946. The government would be made up of 40 persons entirely chosen by Chiang, half from the Kuomintang and half from other parties (including the CCP). The Nationalist armies would be restricted to 90 divisions and the Communist forces to 18 divisions respectively. It was only because of the hostility to any compromise with the Communists on the part of certain sectors of the KMT, particularly the military, that this agreement was never implemented.

Thus over a twenty-year period, from the late 1920's to the late 1940's, Mao repeatedly sought to conciliate the Chinese bourgeoisie and even, at times, feudal elements while espousing doctrines which are classic expressions of the Menshevik theory of two-stage revolution. That there was no Indonesia-type disaster, with the liquidation of the party and murder of hundreds of thousands of militants, was due solely to the fact that the KMT government was so corrupt that Chiang could not aford to risk a coalition government. But the bourgeoisie was not always so weak. In the aftermath of the Shanghai massacre Chiang had been able to stabilize Kuomintang rule, and during the period 1927-36 he was able to systematically wipe out most of the Communist base areas.

New Democracy or Permanent Revolution?

This leads to a second aspect of the Chinese revolution, namely who was proven right by history? Davidson quotes Trotsky's observation that Stalin's attempt to resurrect the policy of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," which Lenin explicitly abandoned in April 1917 (see part I of this series), was completely inappropriate to China:

> "The formula of the democratic dictatorship has hopelessly outlived its usefulness.... The third Chinese revolution, despite the great backwardness of China, or more correctly, because of this great backwardness as compared with Russia, will not have a 'democratic' period, not even such a six-month period as the October Revolution had (November 1917 to July 1918); but it will be compelled from the very outset to effect the most decisive shake-up and abolition of bourgeois property in city and village."
> —*Third International After Lenin*, 1928

Davidson claims that Mao's theory of new democracy was proven correct as against this prediction by Trotsky. Let's look at the facts: First, despite Mao's repeated attempts, he was never able to achieve a coalition government with Chiang. Second, when the Communists were sweeping through China at the end of the civil war, the bulk of the Chinese bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan with Chiang, eliminating the crucial bourgeois element of "new democracy."

Most important of all were the changes in the property relations which followed the establishment of the "People's Republic of China" in October 1949. It is important to note that not until 10 October 1947 did Mao even raise the slogan for the overthrow of the KMT regime. It was the occupation of the Yenan base area by Kuomintang troops and Mao's realization that no compromise was possible and a coalition government of the "new democratic type" was a pipe dream, that finally forced the CCP to strike out for state power—in violation of Stalin's explicit orders. At the same time the Communist Party decided to overthrow Chiang it took a logical corollary step, namely announcing an agrarian reform scheme similar to the "rich-peasant policy" Mao had followed in 1930, but far more radical than the timid rent reduction (and Red Army-enforced rent collection) of the period 1942-47.

Furthermore, following the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic in October 1949, the CCP set up a "coalition regime" in which, despite the presence of a few "democratic" petty-bourgeois politicians, government power was clearly in the Communists' hands. Most important, the state power was based on the unquestioned military dominance of the Red Army. The bulk of the bourgeoisie had fled to Taiwan.

With the help of Soviet aid, the Communists set about building up a state sector of heavy industry, while arranging for the continuation of private ownership of some industrial concerns under state control and supervision. Finally, this policy was further tightened with the Chinese entry into the Korean War, which led to a series of measures against domestic capitalists, beginning in early 1952.

So please, Brother Davidson, will you inform us where the extended democratic stage was? This whole evolution is a dramatic proof of the utterly fantastic utopianism which Mao's theories amounted to. Over and over the CCP declared its desire to set up a democratic bourgeois regime, but the property relations that resulted were those of a workers state.

Can Peasants Establish a Workers State?

It has been estimated that in 1949 workers constituted no more than five percent of the membership of the Chinese Communist Party; it was by then overwhelmingly a party of peasants and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Yet Trotsky held that only the working class, under revolutionary leadership, could set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. How then do we explain the "third Chinese revolution"? First we must be clear that this was not the pattern foreseen by Trotsky. Marxism has shown that in the sharp class polarization which occurs in every revolutionary period, the peasantry will be divided between elements following the bourgeoisie and those following the proletariat; that the peasantry alone does not have the social power to overthrow the determined resistance of the capitalist exploiters, nor the united class interests necessary to establish socialist property forms. However, the Chinese revolution of 1949 was accomplished by a predominantly peasant party and army under the leadership of a petty-bourgeois military bureaucracy. But though this was different from the Trotskyists' expectations, it *did not contradict* the essential Marxist program calling for the working class to establish its own class rule, supported by the peasantry, even in backward countries as the only means to solve the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution.

The most fundamental reason for the success of the peasant-based Chinese Communists was the absence of the proletariat struggling in its own right for power. The Chinese working class was demoralized and decimated by the continuous defeats suffered during the second Chinese revolution (1925-27). And the CCP's subsequent policy was the deliberate discouraging of proletarian action. The second fundamental point is that the result of the 1949 military victory of the CCP was not at all a healthy workers state such as that created by the Russian Revolution of 1917, but a bureaucratically deformed workers state, in which the proletariat does not hold political power. Rather the state power is and has been since 1949 in the hands of a tight Stalinist bureaucratic-military caste composed of the upper layers of the CCP, the People's Liberation Army and the state bureaucracy. As demonstrated by the repeated failure of the economic policies of the Chinese regime (notably the "Great Leap Forward") and the inability to create democratic forms of workers' rule (even in the period of the demagogic "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"), the only way that the road to socialism—the complete abolition of classes—can be opened in China is through a political revolution to throw out this military-bureaucratic caste.

(In addition, in the late 1940's the Chiang regime was so hopelessly corrupt that it virtually toppled by itself. Mukden, Peking and Canton all surrendered without a shot at the end of the civil war. Moreover, the U.S. ruling class had become so discouraged with the KMT government that it essentially withdrew its material backing in the 1948-49 period. Finally, the Communist army which had been starved for weapons was suddenly supplied with large quantities of modern Japanese arms following the Russian occupation of Manchuria. It is essential that these special circumstances be understood. To put it another way, had the Chinese proletariat been struggling under its own banners, the banners of the Fourth International, and had the bourgeois regime not simply disintegrated, the victory of Mao's peasant armies would have been impossible.)

Today after the mystification of the "Cultural Revolution" has worn off and the bureaucracy has reasserted direct control over the Chinese government, it is much easier to understand that China, like the USSR, the Eastern European countries, Cuba, North Vietnam, etc., is a deformed workers state. Yet only the orthodox Trotskyists have held this position from the very early stages of the Mao regime. The resolution of the 1955 SWP Convention on the Chinese revolution stated:

> "Throughout the revolution Mao & Co. continued to impose arbitrary restrictions and limits upon its course. The agrarian reform was carried out 'in stages' and was completed only when the assault of American imperialism stimulated the opposition of the landlords during and after Korea.... The Chinese Stalinists were able to ride into power because the Chinese working class had been demoralized by the continuous defeats it suffered during and after the second Chinese revolution, and by the deliberate policy of the CCP, which subordinated the cities, above all, the proletariat, to the military struggle in the countryside and thereby blocked the emergence of the workers as an independent political force. The CCP thus appeared in the eyes of the masses as the only organization with political cadres and knowledge, backed, moreover, by military force."
> —"The Third Chinese Revolution and its Aftermath," October 1955

What is needed is a party which has the courage to tell this truth to the masses, even at times when this may be unpopular, and which understands the dynamic of permanent revolution so that it can defend these gains from imperialist attack and carry the struggle forward to socialism. The Maoists with their reactionary dreams of "united fronts" with the "progressive bourgeoisie" and mindless enthusing over the so-called "Cultural Revolution," which solved nothing, have proven themselves incapable of this task. It falls to the partisans of the Fourth International, the true heirs of the tradition of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

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...USec

Mandel-Maitan-Frank, declare 100 percent support for the European majority and endorse Mandel's document "In Defense of Leninism" which lays out his defense of guerrillaism ("Declaration of Internationalist Tendency," 27 May 1973).

Nor is that all. The IT and the International Majority Tendency have diametrically opposed lines on a key aspect of the SWP's domestic work—its line on black nationalism. The IT argues:

> "Behind the party leadership's new vocabulary, there is an adaptation in practice to the petty bourgeois ideologies of nationalism and feminism.... Marxists have always characterized nationalism as a bourgeois ideology.... "The party's uncritical endorsement of Black nationalism has led to a tail-ending attitude toward different 'solutions' put forward by Black nationalist leaders: Black power, Black control of the Black communities, and Pan Africanism...."
>
> —"The Building of a Revolutionary Party in Capitalist America," July 1973

And here we have the European majority on the same subject:

> "One of the greatest political achievements of the SWP in the last 15 years has been the correct understanding of the peculiar way in which the national question—the question of the oppression of the Black and Chicano people—poses itself inside the United States....Black (and Chicano) nationalism in the United States are objectively progressive forces which revolutionary Marxists had to support, stimulate and help organize...."
>
> —"In Defence of Leninism," December 1972

Not only does the IT not polemicize against Mandel's view, but by its tendency declaration IT members are actually supposed to support both views simultaneously! Given the other inconsistencies of this rotten bloc, it would not be surprising if some actually do.

The Struggle Against Pabloism

The Spartacist League, as the standard-bearer of orthodox Trotskyism, has played a prominent if often unacknowledged role in these discussions. Thus when the Internationalist Tendency wishes to attack the SWP for adaptation to petty-bourgeois nationalism and feminism, or when the SWP wants to attack the International Majority Tendency for adaptation to guerrillaism, it is from the arsenal of Spartacist politics that they draw, albeit in a partial way. Marxism is a consistent world view, and it is because of their departure from Marxism that both wings are forced to adopt an eclectic methodology and inconsistent positions. On occasion the lapse into orthodoxy is so contradictory to the rest of the author's positions that it seems an accident. For example, when Mandel wanted to rebuke the PRT for its enthusing over the Stalinists Mao, Kim and Hoxha, he wrote:

> "There is no other road to the direct rule of workers and poor peasants than the establishment of Soviet power, of power based on elected committees of workers and poor peasants. The fact that capitalism was overthrown in China through a revolution led by Mao means that from its very inception the revolution was bureaucratically deformed in that country, that the working class has never directly exercized power there."
>
> —"In Defence of Leninism," December 1972

But, Comrade Mandel, what of your French comrades who claim the Vietnamese have found such a road?! And if the Chinese revolution was deformed from its very inception, then what of the Cuban revolution? Where are the soviet power, the committees elected by the workers and poor peasants? But the position that the Cuban revolution was bureaucratically deformed from its inception is the position uniquely held by the Spartacist tendency.

"There is no other road" to solve the crisis of proletarian leadership than by assimilating the lessons of the struggle against Pabloist liquidationism over the past two decades. All the old questions—the "new world reality," the reliance on petty-bourgeois forces to accomplish the task only the proletariat can solve, the objectivism, the rejection of the Transitional Program, the capitulation to Stalinism—all these questions are raised anew in the current dispute. If the history of the past ten years of the USec means anything it is that these questions cannot be ignored or compromised. In the United States only the Spartacist League has sought to draw these lessons and integrate them into the revolutionary Trotskyist program. It is this—the determined defense and extension of the Marxist-Leninist program—that has sustained the SL in periods of adversity and is the key to leading the working class to victory. The rotten blocs and repeated revisions of the revolutionary program that are the mainstay of Pabloism may bring temporary success; in the end they can spell only disaster. ■

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Cannon versus Pablo

make that clear. Rather, he did not feel it necessary to wage an international factional struggle for a common line in a democratic-centralist International. He did not react energetically when the revisionist theories were first expressed (1949), nor even when Pablo began to draw the organizational conclusions by expelling the Bleibtreu-Lambert leadership of the French section (1952). Only when it became clear that Pabloism meant liquidationism for the SWP did Cannon see the need for an International fight. This is in sharp contrast with his approach to the Cochran-Clarke fight within the American party, where he aggressively tried to force the "fence-sitters" to take sides. Internationally he was a fence-sitter almost until his own party was directly threatened, and then had little recourse left but a public open letter, which was soon followed by Pablo's expulsion of the SWP and its friends.

When Cannon finally did break with Pablo, he declared war, giving the lie to the SWP's current fairy-tale version of the split. In a recent SWP educational pamphlet, Les Evans writes that the SWP "never said that this [Pabloism] was a theoretical revision of Trotskyism or that his [Pablo's] projection was totally impossible. What we argued was that this schema was not the most likely one" ("Toward a History of the Fourth International, Part I," p.11). Or again: "The party...did not read the 'Pabloites' out of the Trotskyist movement" (p. 16)! What the SWP had to say at the time was quite different:

> "We thought the differences between Pablo and the French section were tactical and this led us to side with Pablo....
>
> "But at bottom the differences were programmatical in character. The fact is that the French comrades of the majority saw what was happening more clearly than we did. The Eighth Congress of their party declared that 'a grave danger menaces the future and even the existence of the Fourth International.... Revisionist conceptions, born of cowardice and petty-bourgeois impressionism have appeared within the leadership.... the installation of a system of personal rule, basing itself and its anti-democratic methods on revisionism of the Trotskyist program and abandonment of the Marxist method.' (*La Vérité*, September 18, 1952.)"
>
> —"A Letter to Trotskyists Throughout the World," November 1953

In the present collection, Cannon takes an equally sharp tack:

> "We are finished and done with Pablo and Pabloism forever, not only here but on the international field... We are at war with this new revisionism. "The essence of Pabloist revisionism is the overthrow of that part of Trotskyism which is today its most vital part—the conception of the crisis of mankind as the crisis of the leadership of the labor movement summed up in the question of the party" (p. 181).

As the recent SWP convention reveals, Hansen and company are gearing up for a replay of the 1952-53 scenario. This book, the comparisons of the Internationalist Tendency with Cochran-Clarke, the discovery of a secret faction ("Barzman letter"), etc., strike a familiar refrain. Would-be Trotskyists in the USec who are seriously interested in drawing a scientific balance of the 1951-53 struggle against Pabloism and discovering the lessons for today would do well to make serious study of Cannon's *Speeches to the Party* along with "Genesis of Pabloism" (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972). ■

Subscription Drive

15 September to 1 November 1973

It has been nearly a year and a half since our last public subscription drive. The intervening months have witnessed not only the transformation of *Workers Vanguard* into a bi-weekly and the stabilization of the former *RCY Newsletter* as the bi-monthly *Young Spartacus*, but the doubling of the membership of the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth as well. This transformation has led to a marked increase in the relative political weight of the SL/RCY, enabling it to more actively and effectively intervene in the workers movement.

At the same time, *WV* is both a reflection of and an agent in the transformation of the SL. Its ability to serve as an organ of active political struggle depends, however, on achieving a stable base of readers who follow *Workers Vanguard* regularly. This is reflected primarily in the subscription base, which must keep pace with our capacity to produce and sell the paper. What we wrote in May 1972 remains true today: "We want a press that is no mere showpiece, but is itself an intervention with real people to shift the axis of real struggles, transforming the consciousness of the militants involved. Thus not only the financing of our press expansion, but also the quality of the coverage itself, depends heavily upon our ability to get into the hands of more readers..."

Local organizations are responsible for organizing the drive in their areas, for meeting quotas and for ensuring full participation by SL/RCY supporters.

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...Rail Strike

legislation to break the strike.

While the NDP piously voted against the final bill, it did so only for show and was as involved as the other parties in the parliamentary haggling over the precise terms of the scab law, finally voting for a Conservative Party amendment. In their desire for bourgeois respectability, the NDP leaders refused to oppose strikebreaking legislation on principle. This was noticed by Transport Minister Marchand who pointed out: "If the NDP had really taken a socialist attitude they would have been opposed to any kind of settlement legislated by this House, regardless of public opinion" (*Militant*, 14 September). At least the bourgeoisie knows what a socialist policy is even though NDP and union leaders can't seem to figure it out!

The non-ops in the western provinces were joined by the more strategically located Ontario unions and the wildcat was generalized into a nationwide strike by August 24. In response, the Liberal government put on the mask of "public interest," wept for those inevitable honeymooners stranded on Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland by the struck ferry service and called Parliament into emergency session.

The Trudeau government introduced a back-to-work bill only one week after the strike began. This bill not only provided for breaking the strike of the non-ops, but rendered invalid the strike vote being conducted by shopcraft unions. It set wages for all three branches of the rail workers' unions—operating employees, non-ops and shopcraft—at levels the unions had refused seven weeks before. This was not an offer that the union bureaucracy could sell to the angry membership, and the ranks exploded with militant protests across Canada.

Rank-and-File Militancy

The most important demonstration took place on Thursday, August 30, when about 2,000 rail workers and supporters gathered at Parliament Building in Ottawa. About 200 workers forced their way through police lines into the Hall of Honor in the center block of Parliament Building pummelling a Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman, smashing windows and chanting, "We want Trudeau," and "Hell No, We Won't Go." Many of these workers were French Canadian. Into this tense situation rushed David Lewis, leader of the NDP, armed with bullhorn and prudential advice: "Act the way railway workers have always acted." It was reported that Lewis was able to lead about half the workers out of the building. When he returned to face the remaining workers with more from the same menu of reformist betrayal, he was shouted down with militant chants.

Meanwhile, the union bureaucrats maneuvered to contain the anger and divert attention from the strikebreaking legislation to questions of wages only. So Richard Smith, chief negotiator for the unions, faced with the workers in the Parliament Building, said in a statement carefully worded to gain the confidence of the militants:

> "We reject the legislation as it stands and we will not comply with its directive to us to order our members back to work. To do so would betray the 56,000 workers whose interest we were elected to protect. We will not send them back to work for the meagre wage increases proposed in the bill."
> —*The Toronto Star*, 31 August

But just two days later, after the bill had been passed with a meagre four-cent increase, this same Richard Smith faced news cameras and whined that there were only two choices: "to defy or to comply, and we have decided that to comply is the course of wisdom." This well-known "course of wisdom" has been rejected, at least for the time being, by British Columbia members of the largest non-op union, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers (CBRT). The government appears to be taking a wait-and-see approach, confident that the isolated West Coast CBRT can't hold out.

While the workers stormed Parliament and labor bureaucrats were making defiant noises, Labor Minister John Munro strolled by and told the *Toronto Star* that he "held a fundamental conviction that the strikers will obey the legislation and return to work." And why should he not hold such a "fundamental conviction"? In the absence of a class-struggle leadership in the unions, the struggle could not transcend the limits of militant reformism which in this case means capitulation to the determined company/government opposition.

In Toronto the "opposition" to the bureaucracy is a loosely organized group called the Rank and File Committee which tends toward syndicalism and trade-union reformism. This group put out a leaflet titled "Stay Out! For Our Original Demands" that in no way distinguishes it programmatically from the union bureaucracy. Its tone is simply militant determination: "This time we can't let the government break our strike and push us further into poverty." What is needed to win is not simply more militancy or higher wage demands, but rather a class-struggle opposition to the labor bureaucracy, one which raises a program representing the objective needs of the entire working class both economically and politically.

In such situations as the Canadian rail strike it is necessary for the workers to have a clear idea of the role of the bourgeois state *before* the intervention of the state apparatus. Yet the various Canadian "socialist" groups were most noticeable for their abstention from political struggle. For example, in Toronto, at the height of worker militancy on Wednesday, August 29, a demonstration of about 2,500 marched from city hall to the railway yards. No left organization did so much as pass out a leaflet! At that time it was critical to point out and argue for the principle of the independence of the working-class movement from the capitalist state. Instead, trade-union militancy pure and simple won the day, wagging behind it the uncritical tail of the Canadian Left.

In a period when the ruling class depends more and more openly on the bourgeois state apparatus to break strikes, set wages and generally limit the independent activity of the working class, it is particularly crucial for revolutionists to counterpose the Marxist analysis of the state as an instrument of class rule. Sometimes the action of the capitalist state is transparently clear as it was in the Canadian rail strike or as it was in the U.S. during the postal workers' strike in 1969. Sometimes it is less direct when, for instance, an out-bureaucrat uses the courts or U.S. Labor Department to "reform" a union. Only the Spartacist League has correctly opposed on principle all forms of state intervention in the unions.

Railway Unions Break the Strike Ban—For a General Strike Against the Scab Law! Down with the Class-Collaborationist NDP and Union Bureaucrats—Toward a Workers Government! ■

Continued from page 7

Stalinism and Social-Patriotism

alter this debacle did the SWP put together an independent caucus. If such a course had been unrealistic before, after the 1947 convention it was more hopeless than ever. By that time, however, there was no other choice.

The SWP's course in other unions was similar. In the National Maritime Union, for instance, the SWP supported Curran when he broke from his former Stalinist allies on the basis of democracy and militancy, even though he was already lining up for Truman's foreign policy and letting the Stalinists get to the left of him on militancy. Later, the SWP had to support the Stalinists against his vicious, bureaucratic expulsions.

Cold War and Cochran-Clarke

In 1953 the SWP was racked by a faction fight and split which in part reflected the penetration into the party of the kind of trade-union "politics" it had been pursuing in the unions. What had looked like a hopeful situation in the immediate post-war period had turned rapidly into its opposite. The betrayals and self-defeating policies of the Stalinists had combined with reformist trade-unionist illusions to allow not only the consolidation of a monolithic, conservative trade-union bureaucracy, but the successful purge of reds from the unions and the nurturing of right-wing anti-communism within the working class, which made the international cold-war drive of U.S. imperialism virtually unopposed at home.

The purge and pressure of the cold war caused a section of the SWP trade-union cadre to become disillusioned and give up on the perspective of building a vanguard party in the U.S. This defeatism was organized into a tendency by Cochran, on the basis of liquidation of virtually all public party activity in favor of a "propaganda" orientation which would have left the Cochranites, many of whom were officers in the UAW, free to make their peace with the Reutherite bureaucracy.

The Cochranites made an unprincipled combination with forces in New York around Bartell, Clarke and others who considered themselves the American representatives of the Pablo leadership of the Fourth International. Objectifying the post-war creation of deformed workers states in Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia into an inevitable, world-historic trend, the Pablo leadership proposed, in essence, that Stalinist and reformist leaderships could be forced to the left by the pressure of their mass base into creating more such states in a situation in which the imminence of World War III made the creation of independent Trotskyist parties impossible: the Trotskyist task, therefore, was to liquidate into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties. It was this essentially liquidationist perspective which brought Cochran and Clarke together into a temporary amalgam in the SWP.

While defending the twists and turns of the SWP trade-union policy, Cannon nevertheless indicated that these twists and turns might have had something to do with the degeneration of the cadre into material for Cochranite liquidationist opportunism:

> "Factional struggles in the trade unions in the United States, in the primitive, prepolitical stage of their development, have been power struggles, struggles for office and place, for the personal aggrandizement of one set of fakers and the denigration and discreditment of the other side....
> "Cochran's conception of 'power politics' in the party; his methods of conducting a factional fight—come from this school of the labor fakers, not from ours."
> —"Some Facts About Party History and the Reasons for its Falsification," *Internal Bulletin*, October 1953

The main cause of Cochranite liquidationism lay in the pressures of the cold war and witchhunt, which had, of course, been completely beyond the control of the SWP. However, Cannon's own documents defending the party against trade-unionist combinationism and liquidationism make clear that the party's position in the trade unions had been insufficiently distinct from "struggles for office and place," just as it had been insufficiently distinct from blocs with progressive Rooseveltians before World War II.

In the course of pursuing a trade-union policy based almost exclusively on making blocs on the immediate trade-union issues, the SWP had gradually adapted to trade unionism and become less discriminating in whom it blocked with and why. Unlike the Stalinists and Shachtmanites, the Trotskyists maintained their class principles by refusing to make unprincipled alliances or by breaking them as soon as they became untenable. (Thus the SWP switched sides in the UAW in 1947 while the Workers Party of Shachtman pursued Reuther et. al. into the arms of the State Department.) In the final analysis, the SWP remained a principled party of revolutionary socialism by struggling against the fruits of its trade-union work internally and accepting the split of 20 percent of its membership in 1953 rather than making further concessions to trade unionism.

Spartacist League: Learn and Go Forward

The policy of making united fronts in the trade-union movement around the immediate issues is not in itself incorrect. What the SWP did wrong was to see this as its exclusive policy for all periods, except those in which no blocs could be made without gross violations of principle, in which case the answer was to do nothing. In any period of normal trade-union activity, blocs can be made around immediate issues. The task of revolutionists is to forge a cadre, within the unions as well as without, armed with a program to break the unions from their role as instruments for tying the workers to capitalism and imperialism. Such a program must go beyond immediate issues and address all the key political questions facing the working class and provide answers which point to a revolutionary policy and leadership.

While the Trotskyists advanced the struggle for revolutionary leadership dramatically with the right united front at the right time, as in Minneapolis in 1934, they more often tended to undermine their own party building with an exclusive policy of blocs, some of which had little or no basis for existence from the standpoint of revolutionary politics. By presuming that it was necessary for a small force to prove itself in action against the class enemy before it could present itself independently to the workers as an alternative leadership, the Trotskyists' united fronts tended to increasingly take the form of promoting someone else's leadership.

The Spartacist League sees as the chief lesson from this experience not the need to reject united fronts, occasional blocs or the tactic of critical support in the trade unions, but the need to subordinate these tactics to the task of building a revolutionary political alternative to the bureaucracy within the unions. A bloc or tactic of electoral support which fails to enhance revolutionary leadership through undermining the bureaucracy as such can only build illusions in reformism. The central conclusion is that there is no substitute for the hard road of struggle to inject a political class perspective of proletarian internationalism into what is normally a narrow, nationalist and parochial arena of struggle. Especially in the initial phases of struggle when the revolutionary forces are weak, it is necessary to make an independent pole as politically distinct as possible, so that the basis for future growth is clear. To this end, the SL calls for the building of caucuses based on the revolutionary transitional program. ■

Continued from page 1

For an International, Industry-Wide Auto Strike!

would obviate the possibility that the greater militancy of Canadian workers would make a sellout in the U.S. negotiations more difficult.

Despite its pretensions to "internationalism," the nationalist Woodcock bureaucracy has no intention of showing real international strike solidarity. The UAW, for instance, has made no mention of or given any aid to electricians at Chrysler's Ryton plant in Coventry, England, who were on strike for three weeks recently in an attempt to break the government-imposed wage limitations which union leaderships have refused to fight.

The bulk of Chrysler's plants is in the Detroit area. While Chrysler, the smallest of the Big Three, employs only 127,000 hourly employees in the U.S. and Canada, some 68,000 of these are in Detroit. These plants tend to be among the oldest in the auto industry, and conditions are notoriously bad. This was to a large extent responsible for the outbreak of militancy in the past few weeks. The bureaucracy, in order to undercut any possibility of sympathy strikes from restive Chrysler workers, might well prefer to let them go out on an "official" strike in order to drain off their combativeness. This is particularly so in light of the fact that the UAW's stated objectives in these negotiations center on "humanizing work conditions," downgrading the equally key issues of jobs and wages. Of course, this decision was conditioned by the apparent ability of the UAW leaders to insure that Chrysler workers would not be "too militant" and really disrupt the cozy talks of UAW and company leaders before the formal negotiation period ended. A *Wall Street Journal* article of 23 August commented, "However, the fears about control at Chrysler apparently evaporated after Douglas Fraser, UAW vice president in charge of the Chrysler department of the union, mobilized a successful counterattack on the radical agitators."

This reference to Fraser's policing action at Mack Ave. underscores the bureaucracy's real role as guarantor of labor peace and enemy of all militants in the unions. While wildcat actions like the one at Mack are often adventurist—poorly planned and easy to isolate and crush—they are indications of the inability of the present union officials to provide any real leadership to the working class. Even when forced by mass pressure to conduct an "official" strike, these so-called leaders do everything in their power to sabotage and limit the effectiveness of such an action. The costliness of a poorly prepared strike that mobilizes only a small section of the workers in an industry will be used by these "labor statesmen" as one more reason for their policies of "labor peace" and "harmonious relations" with the companies. In fact the real "costliness" is their rotten leadership, which is the main obstacle to a successful strike.

The policy of selecting a single company as target was initiated by Reuther after World War II, supposedly so as to put pressure on the struck company to settle quickly in order to avoid losing profits to competing firms. Of course, when threatened by labor, these firms do not compete, but on the contrary cooperate with each other—financially, politically, and otherwise.

Woodcock Asks for "Moderate" Demands

The central thrust of the official UAW demands has been toward "humanizing the work place" and increasing fringe benefits. Key demands that have been highlighted are voluntary overtime, a full "thirty-and-out" pension at any age, prepaid dental care, and an improved cost-of-living formula. There has also been a host of less-emphasized demands such as profit-sharing, joint union-management health and safety committees and similar committees to handle racial grievances. Conspicuously absent are demands that would really hit at the companies' power, by contractually limiting speed-up, providing more jobs, or challenging the government wage "guidelines" (i.e., disguised controls).

While the official demands are important, they are neither fully realizable nor even effective unless they are linked to the latter demands. Only an apologist for capitalism could possibly view overtime as "voluntary" when workers' wages are being eroded by massive inflation! Similarly, the experiences of the maritime, mine workers and railroad workers unions have clearly demonstrated the hopelessness of trying to achieve a decent pension without maintaining employment levels through a struggle for jobs lost by automation, speed-up and runaway shops. And in the absence of any limits to speed-up, talk of decent work conditions is a farce.

The real thrust of Woodcock's program is simply to avoid a showdown with the companies (and the bourgeois state that backs them up) on the issues that are vital to their drive for profits and their rivalry with competing national bourgeoisies. Thus the *Detroit News* (3 September) reported: "He [Woodcock] said that the union is not seeking a wage and fringe package that will be unsettling to the nation's economic objectives." For Woodcock to launch a fight against the wage controls would require an all-out mobilization of the rank and file. It would discredit his line that the state is "neutral" between capital and labor, and that it is the bureaucracy's experience and expertise in dealing with company and government officials, rather than the united strength of a militant working class, which is responsible for the gains of labor. In order to "justify" this capitulation to the American capitalists, Woodcock appeals to the age-old excuses of "national interest" and "mutual interdependence" summarized in the "Harmony Clause" adopted at the UAW's bargaining convention last March:

> "...The UAW...proposes that the management and the union acknowledge in writing that their relationship is one of mutual respect and responsibility; that the growth and success of the company are of direct interest to the workers and their union, and the growth and success of the union are of direct interest to the company; that each party, therefore, pledges respect, understanding and cooperation with the other and covenants that it will not, in any way, impede the growth or success of the other."

What Woodcock aspires to is to be a managing partner of American capitalism, a role similar to that played by the German Social Democracy, with its emphasis on a "codetermination," in which trade-union officials sit on company administrative boards. Thus UAW propaganda throughout the negotiations has emphasized the "inhumanity of big business" and called on the unions and companies to form joint committees to work out problems mutually. In actuality, such committees, while increasing the prestige of the bureaucracy, accomplish little for workers, instead subordinating the independence of the working class to the interests of capital. To Woodcock's proposal of joint union-company health and safety committees, Leninists counterpose the need for *workers control*. We demand strict contractual specifications of working conditions and line speed and call for the formation of factory committees of *workers* to ensure that these are enforced. Sharp class struggle rather than cozy deals with bosses is required in order to eliminate the barbaric working conditions in the plants. Rather than joint union-company committees to handle racial grievances—which are merely devices that allow the union bureaucrats to slough off their own responsibility for inaction on issues of racial discrimination—we call for union control of hiring and training—workers to be advanced from production to skilled jobs on a non-discriminatory basis.

Voluntary Overtime and Jobs for All

The similar reformist manner in which Woodcock raises the important bargaining demand of voluntary overtime is characteristic. While voluntary overtime per se would provide some relief to the killing pace of the plants, the bureaucrats mean it as a *substitute* for a program of a shorter work week at no loss in pay, which would not only achieve this but would be a giant step in unifying the working class by striking a blow at unemployment. Thus in order to guarantee that voluntary overtime would not interfere with the companies' production schedules, Woodcock offered to provide a pool of reserve labor from among UAW retirees, or possibly from among workers at plants where there is little opportunity for overtime! Without increasing jobs, this would save the company huge amounts on overhead for health and other benefits, and in fact would cost them little more than do existing overtime procedures.

In addition, the UAW bureaucrats have offered to guarantee in the contract that voluntary overtime would not be a weapon to pressure the companies into compliance with other demands. Such "concerted action" would be treated like a wildcat, subject to company discipline! "Bannon [UAW vice president for Ford] said that the UAW would assure Ford that the right of refusal to work overtime would not become a weapon to be used by workers to settle other grievances. Concerted action violates the UAW constitution, he said, and contract language could be written to prevent it" (*Detroit Free Press*, 10 August).

The UAW officials have tried to justify the "practicality" of the voluntary overtime demand by pointing to the example of American Motors, whose contract with the UAW, due to expire in 1974, includes a voluntary overtime provision. In fact, however, in many instances voluntary overtime meant a setback for AMC workers. This is the case with members of UAW Local 72 which represents 9,000 workers at the Kenosha, Wisconsin plant, where voluntary overtime was a concession to the company after the 1969 strike. Previously the company had been required to check with the union before scheduling overtime when there were laid-off workers. Such a procedure is far more effective than voluntary overtime, because, when combined with sufficiently high overtime rates, it gives the workers a powerful lever to penalize the company for not hiring more workers.

The Crisis of Leadership

The auto negotiations pose with special urgency the question of proletarian leadership. The trade-union bureaucracy continues to isolate and crush the spontaneous militancy of the workers. And as the Nixon government is completely discredited by mounting scandals which expose the conspiracies of the bosses' state, this bureaucracy actually plays a vital role in maintaining the credibility and normal functioning of the system through its determination to maintain labor peace at all costs, continued acceptance of government wage "guidelines" and participation on government wage-freezing agencies.

While it may be fragile and hated, the bureaucracy will not crumble of its own weight—it must be replaced by revolutionary leadership. But the spontaneous, shop-floor militancy revelled in by most left groups does not attack the political roots of the trade-union bureaucracy and only serves to regenerate it through the careers of individual "militants." Calculated adventurism such as pushed by PL/WAM can, in the most favorable case, lead to a successful single action (though it usually fails at this also) but cannot provide a long-run alternative leadership in the unions. This requires winning mass support for a class-struggle program. The recent wildcats in Detroit, for instance, while they are legitimate expressions of the pent-up anger of the ranks and must be defended against the bosses and UAW leaders, did little to weaken the stranglehold of the Woodcock machine.

These outbursts of militancy must be organized and directed in order to challenge the UAW bureaucracy, which is itself the main roadblock to winning the crucial demands of auto workers. The task is both political and organizational. Victory in the contract negotiations requires *open negotiations! For an international, industry-wide strike! Line speed and job descriptions fixed by contract! Sliding scale of wages and hours! No layoffs or victimizations— rehire the fired militants! Break the government wage controls!*

But the union tops have indicated in every possible way—their "harmony clause," their sabotage of the Lordstown-Norwood strikes, their acceptance (and even encouragement) of company firings of militants, their strikebreaking at Mack Ave. and now their completely passive negotiations (negotiations held in secret, no hard demands against the company, no challenge to government wage controls, inadequate strike fund, selection of the smallest of the Big Three as target company)—that they have no intention of fighting for the members' interests. To counter this no-win policy, a *broad united-front rank-and-file strike committee* with a militant strike policy could, if it became a mass organization truly representative of the ranks, open the road to victory.

But to be successful, opposition to the labor bureaucracy must be organized on a permanent, *political* basis, to challenge these labor fakers down the line on their fundamental policy of propping up the capitalist system. A class-struggle opposition in the unions must stand for the historic interests of the working class, even where that involves taking unpopular stands at times. Any opposition group, such as the rapidly disintegrating United National Caucus (supported by the International Socialists, the Communist Party and Progressive Labor) which fails to go beyond the economism of simple trade-union militancy will inevitably give rise to outright strikebreakers such as Miller of the Mine Workers. Instead the Spartacist League calls for the organization of class-struggle caucuses on a program including opposition to imperialism: *Labor strikes against the Indochina war! Against protectionism—for international strike solidarity!* Likewise it must fight for the independence of the working class by opposition to government interference in the labor movement: *Labor off government wage-control boards! Keep the bosses' courts out of the labor movement!* It is necessary to provide a political alternative to the fake "friends of labor" who regularly vote for wage-freeze and strikebreaking laws: *Dump the labor bureaucrats, for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government!* ■

RCY Forum

Racial Oppression and the Class Struggle

SPEAKER:
Reuben Samuels
National Chairman RCY
SL Central Committee

BUFFALO

Thursday	SUNY
20 September	Norton Union
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bureaucrats Battle for Government Support

Labor Department Upholds Dempsey in CWA Election Rerun

NEW YORK—Ed Dempsey emerged as momenlary victor in the ongoing bureaucratic war for control of CWA Local 1101 here when the union announced on August 30 his victory over Ricky Carnivale in a Labor Department-sponsored election rerun. Dempsey wrapped up his campaign for local president by taking Carnivale to court, charging him with defrauding the union's 1971 strike fund of $113,000.

Responsibility for defeat of the bitterly fought, seven-month 1971 strike (when Carnivale was local president) is still a volatile issue, and Dempsey's suit was interpreted as a move to further discredit Carnivale only days before the voting deadline was reached. Dempsey originally defeated Carnivale for president last fall, but Carnivale challenged the election, charging his opponent and the newly constituted executive board with violating the local's by-laws by dissolving the election committee before it could rule on charges of election irregularities.

But whatever the resolution of the Dempsey-Carnivale turf fight had been, Local 1101 would have been saddled with a leadership that could only lake it down to further defeats. In taking one another to court Carnivale and Dempsey reveal a fundamental similarity in program. Instead of fighting for the independence and strength of the workers movement, they bind the union to control by the bourgeois government, whose only interest in intervening is to further weaken the CWA.

This tendency to rely on the bosses' courts, political parties and the U.S. government as the "neutral arbiter" or "friend of labor" is the common thread of class collaboration with which the present leadership of the trade unions binds the American working class to its class enemy and renders it powerless to fight. The degree to which these politics describe the top-level workings of CWA was vividly illustrated at the annual convention in Miami this July. Carnivale's credentials challenge against the Dempsey delegation lost when the convention upheld a Labor Department decision to consider Dempsey president until the re-election returns came in, even though this decision clearly violated procedures outlined in the Local 1101 by-laws! International President Joe Beirne cut off any attempts by delegates on the convention floor to investigate the New York situation saying that the job of the convention was not to take sides, interfering in that domain belonging to the federal government. "The only question in front of us is not to do that which the United States will eventually do," ruled Beirne ("Daily Proceedings and Reports, 35th Annual Convention, C.W.A.").

One of the most important lessons of the '71 phone strike was that the government is never neutral in the struggles between labor and capital. Phone workers watched the government do nothing while New York Telephone imported scabs across state lines, although the courts ruled out-of-state picketing "illegal." Police beat up demonstrating phone workers and the final local settlement allowed the company to fire any workers who had been arrested during the strike regardless of whether they were proved guilty of the charges.

Yet all during the strike period, the political lessons were not drawn, as the ostensibly radical groups in the union watered down their politics to attract numbers, chasing their appetites for "getting a slice of the action" through unprincipled blocs. For example, the United Action Caucus (which is supported by the International Socialists) refused to raise the issue of an independent political party for labor, in order not to alienate such "popular" stewards as Shaefer and Dempsey. Reflecting its strategy of pressuring lesser-evil local-level bureaucrats to struggle against the Beirne machine, the UAC concentrated solely on tactical issues such as out-of-state picketing.

Following the 1971 defeat Dempsey began his bid for office, and almost all the so-called radical groups immediately jumped onto the Dempsey bandwagon. The UAC came out for Dempsey, basing its support on his call for a big-city alliance to dump Beirne and reform the CWA, for his stated support for organizing operators into CWA, his call for a delegates assembly and his supposed "openness for including the ranks in 1101 life." The UAC had some difficulty in asserting that Dempsey actually stood for any of these minimal positions and admitted at the time that he had no program to reform the International nor interest in fighting racial or sexual discrimination. Even on its favorite issue, "more democracy," the UAC was forced to comment, "Nobody can have too much confidence from Dempsey's past that he will make any real effort to involve the rank and file in running the union at any level." Yet support him it did because, like its friends in the IS, the UAC supports anything that is popular.

Final Warning, the rank-and-file newsletter supported by the Revolutionary Union, also came out for Dempsey: "Although he is not ideal, we should elect Ed Dempsey president of 1101."

Now since his original election in 1972 Dempsey, as could have been predicted, has failed to keep his major election promise to organize operators into CWA, the *key* issue for the New York locals.

Upcoming Contract Period

Phone workers are now entering the 1974 pre-contract period. When the contract expires in April the struggle could be key not only for CWA but for the entire labor movement. Under intense pressure, marked by growing economic hardship, the unions are thinly controlled at the top by a bureaucratic layer which has already succeeded this year in forcing rotten no-strike contracts down the throats of rubber workers, steel workers and truckers. The gap between the militancy of the rank and file and the abject class collaboration of the isolated union leadership was seen in the recent Detroit Chrysler wildcats, where the bureaucrats were forced to play the role of open strikebreakers. After the auto contract in September, phone will be the next big negotiation and could be the focus of a new labor breakthrough.

The outcome of the upcoming contract fight will pivot on the question of leadership in CWA. The New York phone locals came out of the 1971 strike and into the present period having suffered a great defeat which is still not understood. The once very militant ranks are now disoriented and divided, while the opportunist-reformist rank-and-file caucuses continue to prop up the Dempseys and Shaefers, the slicker breed of labor bureaucrats whose role is to try to satisfy the capitalist thirst for a "new era of labor peace," something badly discredited incumbent bureaucrats, such as Carnivale and Beirne, can no longer do effectively.

Rather than a jazzed-up version of the same old business unionism that was responsible for the current sellout contract *and* the defeat of the 1971 New York strike, phone workers need a leadership that will really fight the company, along with the rest of the capitalist class and its government. Workers' problems will not be solved simply by winning a few more cents an hour (although under "leaders" like Beirne, Carnivale and Dempsey that is hard enough to achieve). At the present time government intervention is one of the greatest threats to the union movement, a prime example being the so-called "Affirmative Action" programs.

With the single exception of the Militant Action Caucus in CWA Local 9415, Oakland, California, all the opposition groups in the communications union have capitulated in one form or another to state intervention. In contrast to supporting government-backed preferential hiring plans, which also divide the class by making white male *workers* pay the price for upgrading minority and women workers who have suffered discrimination from the *companies*, MAC calls for hiring on a first-come first-served basis through a union hiring hall, strikes against layoffs and forced transfers and 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay—a demand which would open up thousands of new jobs for the unemployed.

This class-struggle approach to fighting racial and sexual discrimination would unite workers, instead of dividing them on racial and sexual lines and bringing in the capitalist government. MAC also opposes on principle government intervention in the labor movement and taking the unions to court, and raises political demands such as labor strikes against the Indochina war; labor off the productivity board, dump the bureaucrats—for a labor party based on the trade unions; and for a workers government.

WV PHOTO

Demonstration of telephone workers during 1971 New York wildcat strike.

One of MAC's recent activities was a successful campaign at the CWA convention against the "19-2C" amendment which would have given the union powers to kick out insurgents and militants on such vaguely-worded charges as "publishing untruths."

In contrast to MAC's principled struggle to win support from the ranks on the basis of its class-struggle program, UAC, Final Warning, Strike Back and all the other fake-militant caucuses in the CWA want to latch onto any new gimmick or fast-talking "leaders" that promise to deliver instant popularity and power. Every day of Dempsey's term of office is a living proof of the futility of supporting "honest" reformers who stand for nothing but "democracy." A national caucus to expand the work of MAC is essential if phone company workers are to overcome trade-union reformism. The bureaucracy will not be eliminated spontaneously—it must be replaced by an alternative leadership committed to a full political program of working-class demands. ■

SUPPLEMENT
WORKERS VANGUARD
13 September 1973

Smash the Reactionary Junta—For Workers Revolution in Chile!

SEPTEMBER 12—Yesterday's rightist coup in Chile put a bloody end to the three-year-old Popular Unity government headed by President Salvador Allende. This seizure of power by the military is a serious defeat for the international working class, leading to a naked assault against the workers' organizations and to the massacre of possibly thousands of proletarian militants. It is not yet clear to what extent the Chilean workers and peasants will forcibly resist the putschists; their heroic will to defend their organizations is not in doubt, but the Allende government consistently refused to arm the workers. It is the duty of all U.S. working-class organizations, both trade unions and parties, to launch an immediate, united-front protest against the counterrevolutionary coup. Smash the reactionary junta—For workers revolution in Chile!

The events of the last two days tragically confirm the Spartacist League's warnings that the Chilean working people would pay in blood for the treachery of their leaders. The triumph of bourgeois reaction after three years of the Allende government was no accident! It was prepared by the very nature of the *Unidad Popular* [UP—Popular Unity] coalition.

As the Spartacist League insisted in a leaflet issued on September 4:

> "The government of the Unidad Popular is not a workers government. It is a coalition of workers and capitalist parties. The presence of the 'radical' bourgeoisie and the 'democratic' generals is a guarantee that the Allende government will not step beyond the bounds of capitalism. Their presence is a guarantee that the workers and peasants will be left disarmed and atomized in the face of the impending rightist coup. Rather than pressuring Allende... we must instead call on the workers to break sharply with the bourgeois popular front and the government parties, to fight for a workers and peasants government based on a revolutionary program of expropriation of the agrarian and industrial bourgeoisie."

The seductive claims of the dominant workers parties that socialism could be won through elections and parliamentary action and in collaboration with "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie have again proven to be simply the formula for defeat. The so-called "Chilean road to socialism" was lauded the world over by pro-Moscow Communist Parties as the model of revolution through peaceful coexistence; and the Chilean capitalists—touted as the most "democratic" bourgeoisie of Latin America, with the most "non-political" military—were supposed to passively acquiesce to the transition to socialism!

But only the independent class mobilization of the proletariat to seize state power in its own name can open the road to socialism. A popular front is by its very nature—its alliance with a section of the ruling class—confined within the bounds of capitalism. It can never prepare the way for workers power. It can succeed only in frightening the forces of bourgeois reaction to the point that they undertake a concerted and brutal assault on the workers, in alienating and driving into the arms of the reaction sections of the petty bourgeoisie which would have split if faced with a clear proletarian pole, and in disorienting the workers through class-collaborationist illusions so that they cannot mobilize an organized and united self-defense against the rightist reaction. The lesson of Chile today is the lesson of the Spanish Civil War of the 1930's: if the workers do not learn in time that popular fronts, parliamentarism and peaceful coexistence lead to defeat, they will pay with their lives.

GRANDIA

Chilean ormed forces chiefs witness Allende-Castro reunion, November 1971.

What Was the Popular Unity?

The Popular Unity coalition was made up of the dominant workers parties, the reformist Communists and Socialists, together with the Radical Party and left Christian Democrats. Since the 1970 elections both the Radicals and left Christian Democrats have had splits, with pro-UP sections moving leftward and even claiming to support socialism. But the essence of the Popular Unity as a bloc with a section of the bourgeoisie was not changed. The UP government from the beginning rested on a tacit agreement with the dominant bourgeois party, the Christian Democrats, without whose votes Allende could not get a single one of his reforms passed by Congress. More recently as the rightist attack on the government sharpened, the role of chief guarantor of the interests of the bourgeoisie within the government was taken over by the military ministers.

The government adopted a policy of appeasing the rightists and increasing repression of the workers. Thus after the "bosses' work stoppage" by the truck owners and shopkeepers during November 1972, Allende invited the military leaders into the government and promulgated a law which permits unannounced raids by the military in search of arms. This law, though ostensibly directed against both right- and left-wing extremists, has in fact been used exclusively against the unions, the occupied factories and the workers parties, while fascist groups such as Patria y Libertad built up sizeable arms stockpiles. Then during May and June the government provoked a copper miners' strike at the El Teniente mine by attempting to do away with the sliding scale of wages (cost-of-living escalator), and turned machine guns on the workers during the course of the strike (see *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973).

LIAISON

Members of the junta: From left, General Gustavo Leigh, General Augusto Pinochet, Admiral José Toribio Merino.

Popular Front and Parliamentary Cretinism

Although the reformists have constantly attempted to portray Chile as the most radical popular-front government in history (compared to Spain 1936-39, France 1934-36 or Chile at different times from 1936 to 1948), the myth is far from reality. Thus in Spain the industrial centers were entirely in the hands of workers militias for much of the period after July 1936 and most of the factories were operated under workers control. In Chile, Allende signed an agreement in 1970 not to permit the formation of workers militias nor to promote officers from outside the graduates of the military academies, thus guaranteeing that the army would remain firmly under the control of the professional military elite. The Spanish workers were armed; for the most part, Chilean workers are not.

But a popular front is a popular front. The Spanish workers were defeated by Franco because they did not have a revolutionary leadership which struggled to overthrow capitalism. Instead the workers and peasants were constrained by the Stalinist Communist Party and the Assault Guards to remain within the bounds of bourgeois democracy. In their more honest moments the Stalinists would justify this in terms of not "scaring the bourgeoisie," but they also had a theory to justify it. While Lenin had made the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" world-famous as the call for a workers revolution, Stalin "discovered" in 1924 that before the stage of soviets there had to come an intermediate "democratic" stage. In essence this was identical to the position of the reformist social democrats, who called for winning power through parliamentary elections as a "step" in the gradual transformation of capitalism. Now in the 1970's this theory was resurrected by Allende's UP:

> "Since the National Congress is based on the people's vote, there is nothing in its nature which prevents it from changing itself in order to become, in fact, the Parliament of the People. The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social organization which corresponds to the will of the people...."
>
> —S. Allende, "First Message to Congress," December 1970

Historical experience again disproved this reformist fairy tale yesterday for the nth time!

The Chilean CP has throughout lived up to its Stalinist mission of reformist betrayal. Thus, in line with the Stalinists' call to broaden the Popular Unity

SL/RCY FORUM

Counterrevolution in Chile

Washington Square Methodist Church
135 West 4th Street
NEW YORK CITY 7:30 p.m.

Friday 21 September

to include the Christian Democrats, they also opposed an extensive program of nationalizations. In order to "regularize the economy" CP minister Orlando Millas introduced legislation which would restrict nationalizations to certain specific sectors and return factories occupied by the workers to their "legal" owners!

The CP not only opposed the formation of workers militias, but Luis Corvalán, secretary-general of the party, rejected any form of arming the workers since such proposals "are equivalent to showing distrust in the army." (This is, of course, true. And the Stalinists, of course, never show distrust in the bourgeois army. Thus even after yesterday's coup, the *Daily World* [12 September] claimed only "a section" of the armed forces were involved, particularly the "traditionally upper middle-class Air Force." The army no doubt appreciated this "trust," which facilitated the generals' reactionary coup.)

Shortly before the coup, French CP leader Bernard Fajon returning from Chile held a press conference in order to denounce:

> "...certain economic theories which put the accent on the destruction of the old structures....
>
> "The occupation of the factories by the workers...transformed in certain cases into taking possession of companies not included in the program of nationalizations....
>
> "...irresponsible and adventurist positions, such as the leftist slogan of calling on the soldiers to disobey [orders], which facilitates the efforts of officers favorable to a coup d'etat; such as the leftist slogan of exclusive workers control in all factories, tending to line up the engineers and professionals against the working class....
>
> "The Communist Party of Chile has led and leads the most consistent struggle against these absolutely crazy views...."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 3 September

Meanwhile, as the CP was clamoring to unite with the Christian Democrats and disarm the "ultra-leftists," calling on the workers to give up the factories to their legal owners, the Soviet Union gave practically nothing in the way of economic aid to Chile. The utter cynicism which lies behind the Stalinists' calls for "unity of all democratic forces" (i.e., including the Christian Democrats in Chile who just helped prepare a counterrevolutionary coup, and such liberal U.S. Democrats as Lyndon Johnson) can be seen in Angela Davis' foolish remark at a pro-Allende rally following the coup: "I don't think it's a defeat, it's a setback of course" (*New York Times*, 12 September). With setbacks like this, what would a real defeat look like?

But the class-collaborationist logic of Stalinism is not limited to the direct followers of Brezhnev and Kosygin. The erstwhile guerrilla warrior Fidel Castro made his support for the bourgeois UP government clear in all of its glory during his visit November 1971 when he called on copper workers at the Chuquicamata mine to moderate their wage demands and work harder. A few months later he again expressed his "anti-imperialist" solidarity by inviting Chilean generals to visit Cuba.

Preparation of the Coup

In order to excuse their own betrayals in Chile the Stalinists are now claiming that the coup is the work of fascists and extreme reactionaries in league with the CIA. There is no doubt that the ultra-right provided leadership of the coup and was in contact with the U.S. government. ITT's offer of $1 million in 1970 to dump Allende is certainly not unrelated to the "accidental" presence of American navy ships in Chilean waters on the day of the coup.

But to hold only the "ultras" and the CIA responsible for the coup is to ignore the bulk of the Chilean bourgeoisie. The CP wants us to believe that only American capitalists will protect their property! In reality, the Chilean capitalists saw the handwriting on the wall as workers committees took over hundreds of factories following the abortive coup on June 29; they were joined by the military general staff after the discovery of leftist cells in the navy in early August. The September 11 coup is their answer. This coup was no fascist plot or the work of a few military "ultras." It represents the decision by *the key sectors of the bourgeoisie* to smash the increasingly militant workers movement. Every important section of the Chilean capitalist class, including the "moderate" Christian Democrats and the "constitutionalist" officers, is involved in one way or another.

That its real aim is to smash the workers movement was amply proven on the first day of military rule. The fall of the government itself was quickly, almost surgically, accomplished by a classic *pronunciamento* by the heads

AVANZADA SOCIALISTA

Workers militia of cordon Vicuña Mac-Kenna. Due to policy of CP-SP and trade unions most workers are unarmed.

of the armed forces and a short bombardment of the presidential palace. The presidential guard surrendered, while Allende either committed suicide or was shot. But during the first day of military rule, more than 1,000 people were killed and more than 100 leaders of workers parties and unions arrested. The generals threatened to blow up any factory which resisted.

Their particular concern was the mushrooming workers committees (the "cordones industriales") in the industrial belts around Santiago. The *New York Times* (12 September) reported: "In the proclamation by the junta that seized power today, the factory groups were cited as a reason for the revolt." The day before, an air force commando had attempted to raid the important Sumar textile factory, looking for arms. The workers, who have occupied the factory, successfully repulsed the soldiers with gunfire and the commando was eventually forced to retreat as reinforcements from surrounding plants arrived (*Le Monde*, 11 September). The air force had carried out similar raids twice during August, apparently trying to provoke a shootout with the workers. This time they lost—and that was perhaps the last straw; it was high time to get rid of Allende. Brought to power in order to control the labor movement, he lost his usefulness as he increasingly proved unable to discipline the workers. And with a flick of its finger, the bourgeoisie toppled him.

That the coup was not simply the work of the fascists and ultra-reactionaries is shown by several facts: In addition to Admiral José Toribia Merino, a sympathizer of Patria y Libertad, the junta also includes Army commander General Augusto Pinochet, a leading "constitutionalist." Moreover, the whole recent chain of events was triggered by the resignation of General Carlos Prats on August 23. General Prats, the leading "constitutionalist" and Minister of Defense, stepped down in order, as he put it, "to preserve the unity of the institution" (the military). He was followed by two other military ministers. These resignations represented a vote of no confidence in the government by all wings of the general staff of the armed forces. From that time on, the coup was simply a question of timing and personnel.

Nor was it simply a military matter. The atmosphere for the military takeover was provided by the economic chaos resulting from the truck owners', shopkeepers' and professionals' work stoppage which had continued for more than a month and a half. This was a clearly political effort designed to bring down the government, as was the similar work stoppage last year. The truck owners' confederation is closely tied to the National Party, while most of the other professional associations are linked to the Christian Democrats. Both in November and August of this year the CDP directly called on its professional associations to join the counterrevolutionary action. Thus while its leaders in parliament talked soothingly of waiting until the 1976 elections, the Christian Democratic Party was preparing the coup along with every other sector of the bourgeoisie.

The "Revolutionary" Left

As the masses of Chilean workers and peasants have become progressively disillusioned with the reformist CP and SP they have begun searching for an alternative leadership. Many have joined the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario [MIR—Revolutionary Left Movement], the most important group to the left of the UP. The MIR is a New Left-Castroite group which until 1970 concentrated largely on organizing peasants for land takeovers and guerrilla warfare. After taking an ultra-left line by abstaining from the 1970 election on principle, the MIR suddenly flip-flopped and issued a statement immediately after the election giving Allende critical support. It continued to call for support to the UP in one form or another until the very end: "The Revolutionary Left Movement maintains that although we do not agree with every step of the Popular Unity, that although we have differences with aspects of its policies, this does not signify that we come to a definitive break with the Popular Unity" (*Punto Final*, 9 November 1971). But it precisely is a "definitive break" that is called for. Here we have a government tied to a section of the bourgeoisie, whose main task is to hold the workers back from revolution—and the MIR gives it critical support! By this act of class betrayal it must take a major responsibility for the coup.

Furthermore, the MIR failed to raise as a key demand throughout this period the arming of the workers and the formation of workers militias based on the unions (and cordones industriales). Instead MIR documents speak only in the most general terms of the limits of peaceful reforms and of the need to "accumulate power to crush any seditious attempt or the civil war which the exploiters will attempt" (*El Rebelde*, 23-30 May). The main activity of the organization has been land and factory takeovers which, however militant they may be, failed to take on the question of the Allende government.

Chile and the American Left

Thus among the major socialist organizations in Chile there is none that called for the replacement of the popular-front regime with a workers government, i.e., called for the working class to break from the bourgeoisie; they instead capitulated to the UP government's (initial) tremendous popularity among the working masses. In the U.S., of all the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations the only one to take a clear stand against the popular-front UP government from the beginning was the Spartacist League. Immediately after the 1970 elections we wrote:

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."
>
> —*Spartacist*, November-December 1970

By way of contrast, the opportunist Workers League wrote that "the workers must hold Allende to his promises..." (*Bulletin*, 21 September 1970) while the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party's initial evaluation of the Allende election (*Intercontinental Press*, 5 October 1970) amounted to de facto critical support: "...failing to recognize the positive elements in it, condemning it in toto out of some sectarian dogmatism, would mean suicidal isolation." It would certainly have meant isolation in the early months of the Popular Unity government. But the principled Trotskyist position of unswerving opposition to the popular front was in fact *the only alternative to suicide*. It was *support* for Allende that led to the present counterrevolutionary coup.

A slogan cannot be applied mechanically in all situations. Thus at the time of the June 29 coup and during late August the SL called for "a united front of all workers organizations to smash the rightist-militarist offensive in Chile, *while continuing to struggle for the overthrow of the popular-front government of 'socialists' and generals by proletarian revolution*" ("Showdown in Chile," 4 September). Today, Marxists must struggle to smash the junta by a workers' uprising. To call for support to the UP is to reaffirm a policy whose suicidal nature is being demonstrated at this very moment! In a similar situation, when faced with the attempt in August 1917 by General Kornilov to overthrow the Kerensky government and crush the revolutionary workers of Petrograd, the Bolsheviks called for a united front of all workers organizations to smash the counterrevolutionary conspirators and even fought alongside the troops of the bourgeois Kerensky government. "*Even now* we must not support Kerensky's government," wrote Lenin:

> "We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, just as Kerensky's troops do, but we do not support Kerensky. On the contrary we expose his weakness. There is the difference. It is rather a subtle difference, but it is highly essential and must not be forgotten."
>
> —"To the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.," 30 August 1917

But of course in the Chilean situation it would be manifestly absurd to call for even military support to the UP government, which has already been smashed.

Similarly to call on all "democrats" to defend civil liberties is to fail to understand the nature of the present coup. The junta will undoubtedly suppress civil liberties, even for the bourgeois parties, for a certain time. But its fundamental job is to crush the workers movement and it, in turn, can only be destroyed by a proletarian offensive.

Never have the lines between revolutionary Marxism and opportunism been clearer. They are drawn in blood, the coin in which betrayals are paid. ■

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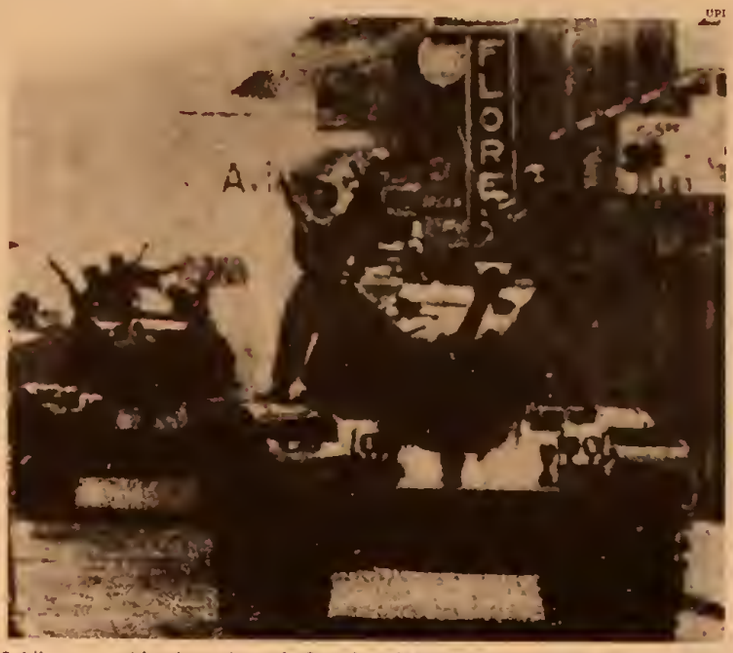
WORKERS VANGUARD

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢
No. 29 28 September 1973

Workers, Leftists Face Massacre in Chile

The lives of thousands of labor leaders and rank-and-file militants, as well as revolutionaries from all over Latin America, are at stake in Chile today. We call on all workers organizations to mount militant protests against the reactionary junta, demanding the immediate release of the arrested leftists and workers who are daily being tortured and murdered. It is an elementary duty of class solidarity to offer international proletarian aid to these victims of a military coup aimed at crushing the Chilean workers movement.

The international working class has suffered a major defeat in this counter-revolutionary coup. For the Chilean workers the September 11 military takeover represents a decisive setback: recovery will take a matter of years. Internationally, the spectacle of the best organized, most conscious proletariat of Latin America suffering a bloody and ignominious defeat, lacking the capacity to launch a civil war in self-defense, can only dishearten large numbers of militants. Either the lessons of this tragic defeat will be learned by the labor movement or we shall pay the price of our blindness in blood—as is happening in Santiago today.



Soldiers searching for snipers in Santaigo after coup.

The Bloody End to "Popular Unity"

Allende's overthrow by the military was no accident. It had been prepared by everything the Popular Unity (UP) coalition ever did. Not once did this supposedly "Marxist" government attempt to touch the "sacred" armed forces or to arm the workers. Allende signed an agreement before he took office stating he would not permit the formation of "private" armed forces (i.e., workers militias) and would appoint only officers trained in the traditional military academies. In other words, he would not tamper with the bourgeois armed forces and the workers would remain without guns—what better preparation for a bloody massacre!

Moreover, the Popular Unity coalition constantly preached blind faith in the supposed "neutrality" of the "democratic" military. In his "First Message to Congress" in December 1970 Allende proclaimed:

> "The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social organization which corresponds to the will of the people...."

And throughout the world, reformists of every stripe held up Chile as the model of non-violent transition to socialism. There *is* no "peaceful road"! Chile is one more proof.

The reformists actually approved legislation to permit the military to seize any arms in the hands of civilians. (The law was, of course, applied rigorously against the unions and workers parties, while the fascists built up a tremendous arsenal.) The bill was introduced by the right-wing National Party and passed by the opposition majority in Congress early this year. Allende, who could have successfully vetoed the law, promulgated it instead. To make sure the UP understood exactly where the real power lay, the military almost immediately used the new law to raid a Santiago office of Allende's own party, the Socialists, "in search of illegal arms." As a result of the UP policy the Chilean working class is now facing the full force of the army, navy, air force and carabineros with nothing more than a few light machine guns.

In the final days of Allende's Popular Unity government, sections of the proletariat were beginning to reject this pacifist-defeatist policy by forming the "cordones industriales" (workers committees in the industrial belts around Santiago) and the "comandos comunales" (local self-defense groups in the predominantly proletarian and lumpen-proletarian districts). However, for the most part these were armed with nothing more than spears. The day before the coup, troops of the air force attempted to raid the Sumar textile factory in Santiago and for the first time were repulsed by the resistance of the armed workers. As punishment for this "insult" to the "dignity of the armed forces" the factory has been bombed three times since the coup, with at least 500 workers killed, according to reports in the bourgeois press (*Newsweek*, 24 September).

Allende, however, remained consistent to the last. His first radio message after the beginning of the coup stated that "a sector of the navy" had rebelled and "I am awaiting now a decision from the army to defend the government" (*New York Times*, 12 September)!

Popular Front

More than just believing in a non-violent road to socialism, the major Chilean workers parties (Socialists and Communists) believed it was possible to have a government of "transition" toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, in cooperation with parties of the bourgeoisie. This is the old Stalinist theory of a "two-stage revolution," with the UP government representing

continued on next page

SL/RCY demonstrate in Boston.

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...Chile

the "democratic" stage. Thus the UP included the small Radical Party and the MAPU, a left-wing split-off from the Christian Democrats, and was based on tacit support from the Christian Democratic Party itself. (The parties of the UP originally constituted only 36 percent of the legislature, so that every bill passed during the last three years had the support of the CDP. The law nationalizing the copper companies was supported by *all* the bourgeois parties, including the right-wing Nationalists.) Later, as the Radicals and the MAPU split, their place as guarantors of capitalist stability was taken by military ministers.

The purpose of this alliance was to guarantee to the bourgeoisie that the UP had no intentions of transgressing the bounds of capitalism. This was also made abundantly clear in the UP program itself, which simply called for a few nationalizations, whose net result would be an improvement of the position of the Chilean industrial bourgeoisie vis-à-vis the imperialists. Even the land reform of the Allende government did no more than carry out the existing law passed under the CDP Frei government. Under this law peasants had to *pay* for all land received, and most of the large capitalist farms (producing the bulk of the meat and grain) were exempted.

The very purpose of the popular front is to deceive the workers into believing it is possible to improve their situation without overthrowing the bourgeois order, confronting the armed forces or breaking with the capitalist parties. The UP was not a workers government, not a "reformist government," but a popular front to tie the working class to capitalism and prepare just such massacres as are occurring now.

As the social tensions in Chile sharpened, the country was increasingly polarized between the working class and the capitalists. Many petty bourgeois who originally supported Allende went over to the bourgeois opposition. This was caused by the economic sabotage by the bourgeoisie: by closing their businesses, cutting off the food supply and transportation the capitalists were able to create terrific shortages and astronomical inflation. The workers were in part defended by the unions and other local institutions, such as price committees (JAPs). But the petty bourgeoisie was totally unprotected and, unlike the rich, could not leave the country. It was this that produced the rapid growth of the fascists, the large rightist demonstrations and the political atmosphere for the coup. Thus it was made clear that the key condition for the proletariat's winning the support of the most exploited sectors of the "middle class" is to pursue an energetic program of expropriation of the monopolies and transition to socialism. As the gap between the two fundamental classes widened, the UP's policies of "moderation" drove the petty bourgeoisie into the arms of reaction.

Early Warning

In the United States, of all the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, the only one to take a clear stand against the popular-front UP government *from the beginning* was the Spartacist League. Immediately after the 1970 elections we wrote:

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."
>
> —*Spartacist*, November-December 1970

At that time, the opportunist Workers League wrote that "the workers must hold Allende to his promises..." (*Bulletin*, 21 September 1970), implying that it was somehow possible to move to socialism by holding a bourgeois popular-front government to its bourgeois program! The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party now speaks of the UP as a popular front, but in the first months of its post-election popularity the SWP sang a different tune: "...failing to recognize the positive elements in it, condemning it in toto out of some sectarian dogmatism, would mean suicidal isolation" (*Intercontinental Press*, 5 October 1970). In fact, the principled Trotskyist position of intransigent opposition to the popular front was *the only alternative to suicide*.

Repeatedly we warned in our press that a disaster was approaching in Chile. In December 1972 we warned of a "counterrevolutionary onslaught before which the proletariat is defenseless....without the organs of dual power, without arms, without a vanguard" (*WV* No. 14). Again on 3 August we wrote:

> "The Allende government must be replaced by a workers revolution.... The ostensibly revolutionary left in Chile has failed to provide a clear opposition to the popular front....A bloodbath is today being prepared for the working masses of Chile. Only by struggling to build a revolutionary, vanguard party which bases itself on the politics of Lenin and Trotsky can this be averted and the revolutionary potential be realized. In contrast to centrists such as the MIR who constantly cave in to the popularity of the UP with their formulas of 'critical support' and pressuring from the left, such a party would be one of irreconcilable opposition."
>
> —*WV* No. 26

In a recent leaflet we again warned: "A bloodbath is being prepared in Chile as rightist forces attempt to create political and economic chaos as preparation for a counterrevolutionary putsch....*Only a workers revolution can prevent this, and the first obstacle in its path is the popular-front Allende government itself!*" At the same time we called for a united front of all workers organizations to smash the rightist-militarist offensive and indicated the need to fight alongside troops loyal to the government against a reactionary putsch attempt ("Showdown in Chile," 4 September).

Stalinism and ex-Trotskyism

In contrast to this Leninist policy of proletarian independence from the bourgeoisie and united-front defense against counterrevolution, the Stalinist Communist Party not only continued to peddle its sugar-coated slogans of "peaceful coexistence" and the "Chilean road to socialism" but refused to acknowledge the deadly threat that was mounting before its eyes. In the 8 September issue of the West Coast CP weekly *People's World* we read, in an article entitled "Allende support grows: Chile's right backing up?":

> "Despite widespread speculation last week that the socialist Popular Unity government of Chile had entered a crisis from which it could not survive, it appears the immediate threat of civil war has been avoided.
>
> "Chile's president, Salvador Allende stated that, 'There will be no coup d'etat, and no civil war because the great majority of the Chilean people reject these solutions'."

The CP during the last two months kept up a steady barrage of calls for coalition with the Christian Democratic Party, while the CDP in turn was supporting the work stoppage by truck owners, shopkeepers and professionals and thus preparing the way for the coup (which the CDP has since endorsed)! And to top it off, French CP leader Bernard Frajon, returning from Chile, held a press conference on 2 September in order to denounce the MIR and other left groups for raising such slogans as workers control and calling on soldiers to disobey orders of putschist officers, stating that these "absolutely crazy views" were aiding the right (*Le Monde*, 3 September)! Once again the Stalinists are gravediggers of the revolution.

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party is today making an attempt to simulate Trotskyist orthodoxy by denouncing the popular front in Chile. However, it should be noted that the group it supports in Chile, the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party) characterized the UP as "reformist" rather than as a popular front and did not call for its replacement with a workers government until late August (*Revolución Permanente*, 15-31 August).

Moreover while the SWP makes a few genuflections in the direction of Trotskyism from time to time, its real policy is indicated by a recent leaflet in Boston (12 September) which stated:

> "The Socialist Workers Party condemns this repression and calls on the American people and people around the world to come to the defense of the Chilean people and their democratic rights."

What a classic Stalinist formulation! Presumably the SWP will soon inform us about how the Christian Democratic Party, which supported the coup, is not part of "the people."

As Trotsky emphasized in his writings on France and Germany in the 1930's, when faced with rising bonapartism the working class can either support bourgeois democracy or go forward to socialist revolution. The SWP thus opts for the former, Stalinist policy. The whole of the Chilean bourgeoisie opts for a counterrevolutionary coup to *crush* the militant workers and the SWP prates about "repression" and the "Chilean people"!

The answer to the reactionary junta must be a renewed struggle against popular-front illusions, for a workers and peasants revolution to smash the junta and capitalism. The campaign for the defense of the workers and leftists whose lives are endangered by the bloody massacres must be focused on the working class, which alone has the social power to force the bourgeoisie to back off. Free the class-war prisoners in Chile!

Recent demonstrations in this country protesting the military takeover in Chile have centered on demanding that the U.S./ITT/CIA get out of Chile; that the U.S. not recognize the junta; and that the UN intervene. The U.S. government was certainly involved in the coup—it even admits knowing of it in advance. For that reason, to call on Nixon not to recognize the junta is positively ludicrous; the U.S. helped install it, so the U.S. might as well recognize it! On the other hand, to focus exclusively on the U.S.' role, as do the CP, SWP and the various Chile Solidarity Committees, amounts to absolving the Chilean bourgeoisie of all responsibility for the coup. Moreover, this is an apology for the Stalinists' counterrevolutionary policy in Chile of capitulating before the very same forces that produced the coup. Finally, to call on the UN to aid Chilean workers implies that this is some kind of neutral body, which could serve the proletariat as well as the bourgeoisie, rather than a den of imperialist robbers. You don't call on one thief to stop another thief.

The crucial lesson to be learned from the Chilean disaster, as in Indonesia in 1965 or the Spanish Civil War, is that the workers must rely on their own strength. Calling on the U.S. or the UN to oppose the junta, like calling on the popular front to introduce socialism, only ties the workers to their class enemy and ultimately leads to defeat. ■

Maritime Caucus Calls for Chile Boycott

WHEREAS, the recent military coup in Chile was a severe setback to the international labor movement, and

WHEREAS, it is the duty of NMU members to demonstrate our solidarity with Chilean workers in our common struggle against business interests in all countries, and

WHEREAS, labor cannot seek redress through appealing to the U.S. government or the United Nations, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the NMU membership at this September N.Y. Port meeting go on record as supporting Chilean workers against the military junta, through such appropriate measures as economic and other assistance to Chilean workers' organizations and political refugees, and a boycott of Chilean ports.

—Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, in *Beacon* Supplement, 24 September 1973

SUBSCRIBE TO **Young Spartacus**

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth section of the Spartacist League

Formerly the RCY NEWSLETTER

The RCY has changed the name of its press in accordance with its stabilization as a regular bi-monthly paper, reflecting the RCY's growth and increasing influence as a vital, interventionist Leninist youth movement. In taking the name *Young Spartacus*, the RCY links itself to the revolutionary traditions of the Spartacus Youth League, youth group of the early U.S. Trotskyist opposition.

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CHILEAN LEFTISTS ON ALLENDE

As the Popular Unity government of Chile repeatedly capitulated to the demands of the reactionaries, a number of groups to the left of the reformist Communist and Socialist parties grew rapidly. The largest of these was the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Left Movement), a left-Castroite formation. The MIR originally opposed any participation in elections and looked to peasant guerrilla war rather than proletarian insurrection as the road to power. However, after the UP election victory in September 1970 the MIR sharply reversed its position, capitulating to the popularity of Allende: "The electoral victory is a step forward for the masses in the defense of their interests..." (*Punto Final*, 13 October 1970). Consequently it took a position of "critical support" to the popular-front government: "...although we do not agree with every step of the Popular Unity... although we have differences with aspects of its policies, this does not signify that we come to a definitive break with the Popular Unity" (*Punto Final*, 9 November 1971).

As the largest organization to the left of the UP, the MIR could have provided a revolutionary pole of attraction to the thousands of workers who sought a socialist opposition to the government which was lowering their living standards and breaking their strikes. The copper miners, for instance, were forced into the arms of demagogic Christian Democratic trade-union leaders as virtually the entire left opposed their strike to maintain a sliding scale of wages. (Fidel Castro, who is now being held up by the SWP as a "revolutionary" in contrast to Allende, endorsed the UP government, invited the Chilean chiefs of staff to Havana and told the copper miners to work harder and demand less wages!) By its policy of capitulation to the Popular Unity, the MIR left these masses leaderless. It must therefore take a great share of the responsibility for the ultimate triumph of the reactionaries.

The so-called "United Secretariat," which is supported by the SWP, is now taking an "orthodox Trotskyist" position on the Chilean popular front. However, it was itself responsible for the formation of the pro-Allende MIR. This left-Castroite group was founded in mid-1965 as the result of a series of fusions initiated by the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers Party), Chilean affiliate of the USec. The fusions involved pro-China, pro-Cuba and left-Socialist groups which had split away from the dominant SP and CP. In order to accomodate these disparate tendencies, the MIR program made no mention of the Fourth International, Trotsky, permanent revolution, the Transitional Program or Stalinism; it explicitly supported the Chinese against the USSR and called for a Latin American "International" led by Cuba and based on guerrilla warfare! In the Central Committee of the MIR were the former POR leaders José Valdez and Humberto Valenzuela and two other former Trotskyists from the 1930's Left Communist Party, Oscar Waiss and Enrique Sepulveda. The founding conference of the MIR was hailed by the USec ("Revolutionary Marxist Party Founded in Chile," *World Outlook*, 17 September 1973), which continued to report its activities favorably until 1972, at which point these erstwhile allies quietly disappeared from the pages of (most) USec publications.

Recently the USec began mentioning another organization, the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party), as its Chilean section. The PSR acted during the first nine months of 1973 essentially as a left tail of the MIR, which was itself a left tail of the Popular Unity government. Thus the PSR called for the formation of a workers militia (something the MIR studiously avoided) and for extending the nationalizations and consolidating the "cordones industriales." However, it did not characterize the UP regime as a popular front, instead labeling it "reformist" and calling on it to extend the nationalizations (see *Intercontinental Press*, 26 March 1973).

> "Allende's biggest mistake was not giving us weapons. A lot of people, even women, would have fought."
>
> —peasant woman on a cooperative farm near Talca, Chile, quoted in New York Times, 24 September

A recent issue of the PSR newspaper, *Revolución Permanente* (15-31 August) published a statement on its attitude toward the Allende government: "From 1970 until yesterday [August 9] the UP government was a reformist government of a multiclass [!] character, expressing an alliance of working-class reformism with residual sectors of the bourgeoisie," a formula which could mean just about anything. However, this is contrasted to the new government which included the heads of the armed services: "Upon assuming [power] yesterday the new cabinet changed to a great extent the character of the government, converting it into a government of open class collaboration.... [because] working-class reformism has lost total hegemony in the alliance of classes."

In other words, according to the PSR, until August 9 the government was *not* one of "open class collaboration"; hence the PSR's failure to call for a workers government to replace the UP. (It should be noted that the phrase about "hegemony" of the reformist workers parties in the "multiclass alliance" is the same excuse given by the French Ligue Communiste for voting for the popular-front Union of the Left during the March 1973 elections.) The PSR policy thus not only contradicted Trotsky's warnings about the consequences of support for a popular front (even with the "shadow of the bourgeoisie") in Spain during the 1930's, but also the USec's own statement on Chile! (This, however, is not unusual. The USec last May called for intransigent opposition to the Cámpora government in Argentina, a policy which was not shared by *either* of the groups affiliated to the USec in Argentina!)

Another group in Chile which claims to support Trotskyism is the Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario (POMR—Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) centered in Concepcion, an industrial center south of Santiago in which both the MIR and the left wing of the Socialist Party have traditionally been strong. The POMR resulted from a split in the earlier Organizacion Marxista Revolucionaria, which was affiliated with the French OCI and supported the centrist policies of the Bolivian POR during 1971. At that time, the Bolivian POR concentrated on forming a bloc with the Communist Party inside the "People's Assembly" and failed to call for the overthrow of the bourgeois government of General Torres. Subsequently it joined a popular-front "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" with Torres and other nationalist army officers.

A statement by the POMR during last summer's government crisis in Chile (dated 7 August) included a number of demands for democratizing the CUT labor federation, workers control, a united-front military committee and an "independent political program for the working class." However, the only demand relating directly to the UP government called for "veto of the anti-working class ministers, workers election of the ministers and make them responsible to the mass organizations." This demand presumes that the government is a "workers government" in some sense, rather than a popular front which must necessarily tie the workers to at least a section of the bourgeoisie.

A third "Trotskyist" organization in Chile is the POR (Posadista) which, as its name implies, is affiliated with the fake "Fourth International" of Juan Posadas. Posadas split from his former friends of what is now the USec in the early 1960's, supporting the positions of Mao Tse-tung and calling for continental guerrilla war in Latin America. He has continued as a camp follower of the Chinese in more ways than one; Posadista publications, for instance, regularly refer to the "certainty of the ideas of Comrade Posadas." They also have taken up Mao's affinity for bourgeois nationalists, calling for a Latin American anti-imperialist alliance including Allende, Perón and the Peruvian military regime.

In Chile the POR (Posadista) characterizes the Allende government as a "Popular Government" and gives it full support, while pressuring from the left: "The government and the CUT, the trade unions, continue to be the principal instruments of the workers to carry forward these objectives" (which included "liquidating what remains of capitalism and developing workers power")! What is implicit in the formulations of the POMR and PSR is at least put down here in black and white (*Lucha Obrera*, 25 May 1973).

Thus all the groups in Chile claiming to represent Trotskyism failed to meet the crucial test, the ability to determine the class character of the UP government and to determine their attitude toward it from a revolutionary perspective. The lessons of Spain 1936-39 remained unlearned, and the working class has had to pay again, with its blood and the destruction of its organizations. ■

Chile CP Revises *State and Revolution*

The following are extracts from a speech by Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile.

"The state apparatus is the principal instrument of building the new society. In our country, it so happens that the popular government, which is set on bringing about deep-going revolutionary changes, uses a bourgeois bureaucratic state apparatus. This apparatus must be replaced. However, this objective cannot be achieved by creating a power alternative to the government but by reinforcing the latter, combating bureaucratic practices and establishing new production relations and diverse popular organizations that will gradually assume tasks and functions which this bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus cannot accomplish....

"On behalf of the Communist Party, we wish to put on record the notable patriotic role played by the military ministers, above all General Carlos Prats Gonzalez, who is in charge of the important and exacting office of Minister of the Interior.

"The armed forces were called on to perform ministerial functions so as to help, in common with the people, with all working men and women, in defeating the seditious movement of October and in guaranteeing that the March election, described by some spokesmen of the Right as "a goat leading nowhere," was held.

"The military institutions and those of their members who served in the cabinet for several months did their duty once again, earning thereby the people's appreciation and gratitude."

—El Siglo, *29 March 1973*

Workers' brigade armed with sticks in Chile.

GUARDIAN

Illegal Strikes Rock South Africa

Black Workers' Resistance Flares in Racist Hell

The recent murder of 11 striking gold mine workers by the South African police is a clear indication of the bourgeoisie's alarm at the prospect of the continuation of a strike wave that has swept through the black proletariat since late last year. A wildcat (termed "riot" by the bourgeois press) began when the company rejected demands for a pay increase by 80 machine workers at the Western Deep Level Gold Mine near Johannesburg. The *New York Times* (13 September) reported that the workers had recently received a 46 percent wage increase. But instead of expressing their gratitude for their miserable wages of $73 a month, the black miners responded by demanding a living wage. The police massacre came after the machine operators quit (which is illegal under South African law) and the revolt had spread to a barracks compound housing 8,500 miners. Government spokesmen later justified indiscriminate firing into the crowd by the need to stop the walkout from turning into a full-scale uprising.

This continuing strike wave is a tremendously important development in a country where 70 percent of the working class is black and "African" trade unions have been banned since 1953. Its vast scope and social power clearly demonstrate the vanguard role the proletariat will play in the South African revolution, particularly when contrasted to the failure of various pathetic attempts at guerrilla warfare. But the sporadic character and lack of direction to the wildcats underlines the burning importance of resolving the crisis of revolutionary leadership. South Africa is being rocked by a series of working-class uprisings and the entire left, from the moderate African National Congress to the reformist Communist Party and the left nationalists of the Unity Movement, all call for a guerrilla strategy for "national liberation"!

With its huge black working class, South Africa will play a key role in carrying the socialist revolution throughout the continent, simultaneously wiping out every vestige of European colonialism, toppling the venal and repressive military dictatorships which reign over much of Africa and eliminating the petty-bourgeois "socialist" regimes (Tanzania, Guinea, Algeria) which oppress the working masses through a combination of revolutionary rhetoric and state-capitalist exploitation. Thus the creation of a South African Trotskyist party, based on the program of permanent revolution and firmly rooted in the working class, is a task of world importance.

The Flames of Revolt

Until recently the South African government, whether under pro-British "liberals" or Afrikaner conservatives, has consistently suppressed strikes by black workers with massive police terror. During the 1920's and 1930's, despite white trade unionists' refusal to build interracial unions and the government's attempt to destroy the large industrial and Commercial Union (which included several tens of thousands of black, colored and indian workers), non-European workers periodically struck for higher wages and were able to maintain a few small trade unions. However, since the 1953 banning of multi-racial trade unions and prohibition of strike action by non-whites, the "climate of labor peace" of a concentration camp has reigned over the black proletariat. From 1957 to 1967 there were only 308 strikes involving non-European workers.

The methods of securing this labor peace include a pass system which makes 80 percent of the population legally equivalent to aliens in the country of their birth; the highest percentage of prisoners in the world (12,126,000 convictions for violating pass regulations in the last ten years!); and labor contracts which force workers to leave their families on tribal reservations, confining the laborers to compounds for a year at a time. The government refused to give legal recognition to African trade unions, permitting only useless "works committees" which can do no more than petition for government arbitration; yet since 1953 only 18 of these have been established. Gold mining, the largest employer and key industry in the South African economy, pays its black workers (90 percent of its labor force) one quarter of the official poverty wage level and 1/19 of the rate for white workers. The profits of the gold mining corporations during 1972 were five times the total wages bill for black workers in the industry!

The apartheid system of job reservation, however, is increasingly being undermined as an acute shortage of skilled labor has developed. In the metal industry, whites accounted for 70 percent of the work force thirty years ago, but only 10 percent today. Thus sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie are now interested in modifying the color bar to open some semi-skilled jobs to non-whites—in order to hold down the rise of white workers' wages (currently about 150 percent of the negotiated rates). Harry Oppenheimer, head of the giant Anglo-American Corporation mining complex, recently warned that "further delay in selecting and training Africans [for positions previously reserved for whites] would lead to continued disproportionate increases in the rate of pay of the existing skilled and semi-skilled labor force." A Natal employers' conference held in Durban last November called for granting trade-union rights to non-Europeans.

In this relatively favorable labor-market situation, a series of strikes has erupted during the last year and a half, affecting every section of the country. A three-month strike during 1972 by 13,000 mine workers in Namibia (Southwest Africa), a UN mandate area ruled by South Africa, was settled by a wage increase and some slight improvements in working conditions. Then in the port city of Durban, from January to March of this year, strikes broke out at more than 100 work locations, involving over 30,000 workers and for a time paralyzing the local economy. In the weeks following, wildcats spread to Johannesburg, Pretoria, Capetown, Port Elizabeth and Kimberly, affecting stevedores, bus drivers, municipal workers, building trades, textile, garment and baking industries. Several hundred thousand workers were involved, and despite the cautious response of the government, more than twice as many strikers have been arrested in the last two years as during the previous ten. It was notable that in Durban, scene of violent racial conflicts between Africans and indians in 1959, unity among the non-white workers reigned during the strike movement.

The government initially encouraged peaceful settlement of the strikes, partly because of the tight labor market, but also because they were virtually unorganized and leaderless, making them difficult to suppress without a massacre. It even announced in May that legislation giving many Africans the legal right to strike for the first time since 1942 would be introduced. On the other hand, this right would not extend to "essential services," public utility and government bodies, and a 30-day "cooling-off" period is required. Because of the continued existence of pass regulations, the fact that many mine workers are foreigners from Mozambique, the labor-contract system, the lack of organized trade unions and strike funds, it is unlikely that such legislation will significantly alter existing conditions. Also, most of the large wage increases granted earlier this year have already been eaten up by galloping inflation. Nevertheless, the strike victories—whatever their direct impact—may well represent the first breach in the solid wall of repression since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

SECHABA

Police fire tear gas on workers in Durban, South Africa during February strike.

The Labor Aristocracy

Due to the Nationalist Party government's apartheid policies, most white workers today hold either supervisory or skilled and semi-skilled positions, and because of the color bar they have always held a tremendously advantaged position in terms of wage levels (today white workers' average wages are 13.8 times the average black wage). This disparity separates white workers from the bulk of the proletariat, causing them to see their interests opposed to those of the rest of the class and more in harmony with those of the white bourgeoisie. From the early 1900's on, most of the bitter struggles by white unions were for the maintenance of the color bar and the establishment of job-reservation schemes. Most white workers in South Africa are thus part of what Lenin called an "aristocracy of labor."

White workers in South Africa are faced with a fundamental choice—to stand either with their white masters or with the non-white proletariat and peasants. As black workers organize, this question will be posed repeatedly in different forms: respecting and aiding strikes by non-white workers, organization of multi-racial unions, abolition of the color bar, abolition of the pass system and the compulsory labor-contract system. Communists can aid the process by posing the question clearly, using every opportunity to campaign for labor solidarity and against class collaboration and white supremacist ideology. This struggle, moreover, will not take place in isolation from the cyclical variations of the capitalist economy. In an economic downturn the racist ideology of class collaboration will lead to a drastic reduction of the living standards even of the more privileged sectors, and the temptation for the bosses to use low black wages to drive down those of white workers will become overwhelming.

Already some of the most reactionary trade-union bureaucrats are beginning to "see the writing on the wall." Art Grabbelaar, general secretary of the Trade Union Council, recently remarked: "If employers and TUCSA did not help organize African unions it would lead to dangerous frustrations [which] would build up and lead to a rejection of the privileged white group's policies and ultimately lead to violence for changing the present situation." This is no sudden outbreak of class consciousness, of course. Another labor faker, Gert Beege, a supporter of the extreme right-wing Reconstituted National Party (which complains that Vorster is too soft on racial matters made this clear: "There is no job reservation left in the building industry and in the circumstances I support the [single] rate for the job as the second best way of protecting our white artisans."

Such sentiments reflect the deteriorating position of white labor as against the bulk of the working class through the eyes of the labor bureaucracy, the agents of the bourgeoisie. A revolutionary leadership would attempt to overcome such sentiments among the mass of white workers by putting forward a program which centered on raising the wage levels of non-white workers to the "European" rate, while fighting against any reduction in the rates of white workers and demanding a sliding scale of wages and bours to provide jobs for all. Such a program would center upon a struggle to establish united multi-racial industrial unions in which every vestige of racial discrimination is eliminated.

This is not impossible—nor is it guaranteed. During the 1930's the Communist Party was able to establish a few multi-racial unions and there were occasional instances of white unions' support for strikes by black workers in the same industry. However, these unions were soon destroyed by the racial arrogance of the white workers, and for thirty years there have been no significant instances of interracial working-class solidarity. The magnitude of the task makes it clear that what is required is a political struggle in the unions on a revolutionary program: Any concessions to reformism will lead directly and immediately to betrayal of the interests of the class. The crucial task of establishing unions for the 5,000,000-strong black industrial proletariat must likewise be done on a class-struggle program, rejecting any form of state aid or regulation and particularly any form of cooperation with "liberal" capitalists like Oppenheimer, whose fondest dreams are to fatten their profits by smashing the white unions and driving all wages down to the current starvation-level of black workers.

The Communist Party from "White South Africa" to "National Liberation"

The South African Communist Party has the dubious distinction of being one of the few CPs which were fundamentally deformed from the very begin-

ning, even before the Stalinist counter-revolution in the Comintern. Shortly after its inception, the CPSA played a leading role in the 1922 miners' strike on the Witwatersrand, also called the "Red Revolt." The predominantly Afrikaner, exclusively white union struck against low wages and mine owners' efforts to introduce black workers into certain jobs previously reserved for whites. While the CP had some reservations about the racist aspect of the strike, it nonetheless supported it, arguing that the struggle to maintain the color bar was "reactionary in form and progressive in content." The slogan adopted by the strikers was "Workers of the World Unite for a White South Africa," and the CP acted essentially as the left wing of a white-supremacist movement. CPSA spokesmen wrote of the strike as the "most glorious event in the history of white civilization" (*International*, 2 June 1922). A few days later a CP trade-union leader wrote an article directed to police and armed civilians on the government's side: "Are you prepared to serve idotic capitalists as their stupid underlings and accomplices in suppressing your fellow Afrikaners? It is their intention to replace us and also you with cheap black labourers" (*International*, 20 March 1922)!

In 1927 the CP continued its policy of adapting to the backward consciousness of white workers and the labor bureaucracy by turning down the application of a non-European union for membership in the Trade Union Council. Bill Andrews, founder and future chairman of the CPSA and leading member of the TUC executive board, drafted the rejection of the application by the Industrial and Commercial Union. He argued that the white unions would be swamped by the 100,000-member ICU, and even if a smaller membership figure were substituted, important white unions would still be driven away. The statement went on to declare that the native masses would be used "to drag us down as nearly to their level as is possible."

With the onset of Stalin's famous "Third Period" of imminent world revolution in 1928, CP policy abruptly flip-flopped to the opposite extreme, calling for a "native republic," still under bourgeois rule, as an intermediate step before socialism. The chief South African proponent of the "native republic" slogan wrote:

> "To be revolutionary, a national movement in conditions of an imperialist yoke need not necessarily be composed of proletarian elements, or have a revolutionary or republican programme or a democratic base."
>
> —J.A. La Guma, "A National Revolutionary Movement of Black South Africa," 1928

This position was opposed by the majority of the CPSA, 1,600 of whose 1,750 members were non-whites. However, it was carried out under Comintern orders for the next six years, with little success in winning white or non-white workers.

The slogan of a bourgeois native republic, which held out little to black workers and less to their white class brothers and sisters, was unceremoniously dumped with the onset of the "popular-front" period in the mid 1930's. Since then the CPSA has followed the reformist logic of the pop-front line without wavering. Its string of betrayals included the abandonment of a united-front campaign against the extension of racial pass laws to the Cape province in favor of supporting an amendment to the pass law offered by a liberal Capetown counselor. During the 1950's the CP policy was characterized by support for the Progressive Party, a liberal, anti-color-bar party which is bankrolled by Harry Oppenheimer of the Anglo-American trust.

The current CP "support" for guerrilla warfare is of the most platonic kind. Its fundamental policy is support for the conservative-nationalist African National Congress, which serves as a convenient "popular-democratic-patriotic-national liberation front" group to enable the CP to simultaneously control the black masses and assure the bourgeoisie of its harmless intentions in case of a revolutionary upsurge. Thus in his trial in 1966, Abram Fisher, a prominent CPSA leader, stated:

> "Neither at that stage [1950] nor at any stage since then has a socialist revolution been on the agenda in South Africa....I...believe that socialism in the long term has an answer to the problem of race relations—that is, a socialist state. But by negotiations, other immediate solutions can be found....
>
> "We of Umkhonto [military arm of the ANC, supported by the CP] have always sought to achieve liberation without bloodshed and civil clash....We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to its senses before it is too late, so that the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war."
>
> —*What I Did Was Right*, 1966

This reformist whining not only misleads the masses concerning the nature of the South African state (calling on it to come to its senses!) and the goal of the class struggle ("democracy" rather than, heaven forbid, socialism), but it also suggests that revolutionary violence is somehow more abhorrent than the violence that has been committed against South African workers and peasants, particularly the non-white masses, throughout the years. The betrayals of the Communist Party and its reformist distortion of Marxism-Leninism are no academic question. They are the reason why today the African masses are without leadership, why tremendous workers' revolts such as those of last year have produced nothing beyond a slight liberalization of Nationalist Party rule. The alternative in South Africa today is not civil war or democratic peace, but mass murder or socialist revolution! And the building of a Trotskyist vanguard party is the key to the latter.

South African Trotskyism

The Trotskyist movement in South Africa during the 1930's was relatively small compared to the CPSA (it claimed 100 members at the time of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in 1938). However, it did have a certain influence among a section of "coloured" intellectuals in Capetown who had broken with the CP. One of these, James La Guma, had been expelled around 1930. In December 1935 he and Cissie Gool set up a National Liberation League whose program included no socialist demands, not even labor demands such as a minimum wage, and reserved a place in their national convention for "kings, chiefs and princes" of Bantu tribes and clans, always with a "predominantly non-European leadership."

The NLL held a conference with various non-white trade unions and left-wing political parties in March 1938 to form the Non-European United Front which opposed all color bars and supported working-class solidarity. There was a dispute between La Guma and Gool on the one hand, and the CPSA on the other, over the leadership of the NEUF. La Guma reportedly wanted to bar whites from holding office, while Gool did not oppose whites but only "the present reactionary and reformist policy" of the CP. The Trotskyists of the Workers Party supported Gool and denounced the CPSA leaders of the NEUF in their newspaper, the *Spark*. (H. and R. Simons, *Class and Colour in South Africa*, 1989).

The December 1941 SWP *International Bulletin* stated the "Fourth International group" in Capetown consisted of 25 people, but that they dominated discussion at NEUF meetings while the Stalinist CPSA was trying to expel them. Their program called for a workers and peasants government in addition to a number of democratic measures aimed at eliminating racial discrimination. Finally, in March 1946 *Fourth International* there is a brief note from the International Secretariat instructing the Organization of the Fourth International to fuse with the Workers Party. After this we have no information regarding a specific Trotskyist organization in South Africa.

However, over the years there has continued to exist a group of nationalist "coloured" intellectuals who have drawn on Trotsky's polemics against Stalinism in order to fight the reformist Communist Party. The most prominent of these is I.B. Tabata, the principal leader of the Non-European Unity Movement since its foundation in 1943. The Unity Movement is a left-nationalist opposition to the ANC which has been consistently supported by the CPSA. Thus it led the 1948 anti-pass-law campaign which was sabotaged by the CP-ANC coalition.

Despite the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat's consistently uncritical reporting of the Unity Movement, it has nothing whatsoever to do with Trotskyism. The ten-point program drawn up in 1943, and not altered since, is entirely democratic (equal franchise, equal education, inviolability of person, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, equality in the civil and criminal code, etc.). Not only does this program not mention socialism or transitional demands, but its call for revision of labor legislation does not even include raising the minimum wage for non-whites and the section on the land question does not even call for a bourgeois-democratic land reform! It is simply equal exploitation for all (see *World Outlook*, 14 May 1965).

South African soldiers on duty during strike wave earlier this year.

NEW YORK TIMES

Since 1966, the Unity Movement, along with the CP and the ANC, has endorsed "guerrilla warfare" as the strategy for national liberation. However, its fundamental call is for a "united front" based on "a minimal programme acceptable to all of us" (*Unity Newsletter*, November 1966). The Unity Movement's criticisms of the CP and ANC are limited to pointing out their purely verbal commitment to guerrilla warfare and to criticizing their one feeble attempt (in 1966) as individual terrorism rather than mass action.

Despite the enthusiasm for guerrillaism of the United Secretariat and its friends of the South African Unity Movement, guerrilla warfare as such is a petty-bourgeois strategy having nothing in common with Trotskyism. Rather than relying on acts of sabotage or even the mobilization of masses of peasants, Marxists seek to organize a powerful workers insurrection. Even a successful guerrilla struggle is incapable of establishing proletarian democracy, relying as it does on another class, and in the most favorable circumstances can establish only a deformed workers state (such as China, Cuba, North Vietnam) where the working class is excluded from political power.

A Marxist-Leninist party in South Africa would begin with a program of proletarian internationalism. Trotsky declared that even in backward countries only the working class supported by the peasantry can solve the democratic tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution, and that these cannot be solved without quickly passing over to the socialist phase of the revolution. How much more does this hold true for an industrialized nation such as South Africa where the proletariat constitutes the majority of both the white and non-white populations. A fundamental critique of the CP's reformism would stress not only its philistine homilies concerning a non-existent "peaceful road to socialism," but also its alliance with sections of both the white bourgeoisie and the conservative black petty-bourgeoisie in the form of, respectively, the Progressive Party and the ANC. Instead of the Stalinist program of a two-stage revolution requiring a prior "democratic" stage, it would pose the Trotskyist Transitional Program which calls on the working class to lead the poor peasants in the solution of both democratic and socialist tasks, through a workers and peasants government.

The difficult national-racial question will undoubtedly loom large in the future South African revolution. The only "native republic" which could resolve this question in the interests of the exploited and oppressed non-white masses would necessarily also be a "workers republic." Thus proletarian revolution, which would begin the transition to socialism by expropriating and destroying the bourgeoisie as a class, will overwhelmingly center on the black proletariat.

Should a revolutionary crisis develop in South Africa before the working class seizes power in the major industrial countries of Europe and North America, there could well be a protracted race-class civil war following an uprising by the black proletariat. It is not excluded that a majority of white workers may line up behind their capitalist masters and in opposition to the vast majority of the working class. In such a situation, revolutionary Marxists would firmly place themselves on the side of the oppressed black workers, while continuing to fight for a multi-racial workers and peasants republic.

There are, of course, other possibilities. Should the South African revolution follow successful proletarian uprisings in the advanced capitalist countries, the struggle could be considerably less destructive, with the bulk of the white workers united with the rest of their class. Or (what is much less likely) there could be a black revolt under bourgeois leadership, in which case socialists would be obligated to give military support while seeking to replace the existing leadership and transform the struggle into proletarian class war.

In all cases, however, the key to success is intransigent revolutionary struggle to unite the vast majority of the working class around the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution and under the leadership of the Bolshevik-Leninist party—the struggle, in short, to reconstruct the Fourth International. ■

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

(Editor's Note: *The recent wave of virulent anti-Trotskyism being spread by various Maoist groups relies on the standard Stalinist weapons of lies and distortion, and above all on ignorance about the true history of the communist movement. The present series, replying to the articles on "Trotsky's Heritage" in the New Left/Maoist* Guardian, *serves as an introduction to this history and a brief summary of the principal issues separating Trotskyism from Stalinism.*)

Mao Tse-tung (left) and Lin Piao applaud Red Guard demonstration in Peking, August 1966.

7/ MAO'S CHINA: FROM STALIN TO NIXON

The ghosts of the Mings and Manchus in the Forbidden Palace must be chuckling familiarly over the plotting of the disloyal heir apparent against the emperor. They no doubt believe that a new dynasty rules in Peking, one rather like their own. However, Marxists have the advantage over such ancient spectres in recognizing that the intrigues in Mao's court are, in the last analysis, generated and shaped by the pressures of the imperialist world order on an isolated and backward nation that has broken out of the capitalist system. The internal struggles within the Maoist bureaucracy, even in their most bizarre, personalist manifestations, are inextricably interwoven with the fate of the Chinese revolution and the socialist future of humanity.

Coming to power through a massive peasant uprising which destroyed capitalism in China and established a deformed workers state, the petty-bourgeois nationalist elite led by Mao was determined to restore China's status as a great power. During the 1950's the pressure of imperialism forced the Maoist bureaucracy to remain within the USSR-led camp. However, as it became increasingly clear that the Kremlin's rulers were determined to prevent China from attaining its place in the sun, the Chinese bureaucracy broke with the Soviet bloc. Once China had cut adrift from its moorings to the Soviet Union, the conflict between China's material backwardness and the great-power aspirations of its rulers produced a convulsive factional struggle in the late 1960's (the Cultural Revolution). The outcome of that struggle has been the transformation of Mao's China from an ally of the Soviet Union against American imperialism to a semi-ally of American imperialist diplomacy against the Soviet Union.

The Economics of Utopian Adventurism

The Cultural Revolution was directly related to the failure of the Great Leap Forward (1958-60) and its impact on Mao's standing in the party. The Great Leap Forward, in turn, arose from the impossibility of imposing orthodox Stalinist industrialization policies during China's First Five Year Plan (1953-56). The Stalin model of industrialization consisted in devoting the bulk of economic surplus to large, modern heavy industrial complexes. The food for the increased urban working class and agricultural raw materials are extracted from the peasantry through forced collectivization. This necessarily involves sacrificing total agricultural output and food consumption in order to increase the agricultural surplus available to the growing urban population. During the 1930's, the Russian food consumption fell 15 percent and there were widespread famines among the peasants, notably in the Ukraine.

However, China was simply too poor to apply the Soviet method for rapid economic growth. Compared to the Soviet Union in 1929, China in 1953 produced roughly one-half as much food per person. A reduction in food output comparable to that which occurred in Russia during the 1930's would literally have produced mass starvation in China. The conflict between China's poverty and orthodox Soviet-Stalinist industrialization came to a head in 1956, when rapidly expanding investment created shortages in consumer goods and raw materials leading to inflation. Instead of plowing through as Stalin had done, the Chinese bureaucracy abandoned the First Five Year Plan and retrenched. In 1957 investment was actually reduced and workers were laid off and shipped back to the countryside.

As often occurs under Stalinist regimes, economic retrenchment was associated with political liberalization (in this case, the Hundred Flowers Campaign). However, the aroma of blooming flowers was not at all to the bureaucrats' liking. The scope and depth of discontent which the Hundred Flowers Campaign revealed alarmed the Maoist regime. The bureaucracy felt it necessary to reassert its authority and impose greater discipline and an enforced sense of national purpose on the masses.

Another important source of the Great Leap Forward policy arose from the contradictory state of agricultural collectivization. In contrast to Stalin's Russia, the collectivization of agricultural production through 1956 had a large voluntary component. This was possible because the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) enjoyed considerable moral authority among the peasants through its victory over the landlords and the egalitarian distribution of land. The peasants had real influence over the scale and pattern of production in the cooperatives. However, the local party cadre who administered the cooperatives were expected to maximize output, which meant plowing back a larger share of income and putting in more labor time than the peasants would agree to voluntarily. Thus the rural party cadre were required to expand agricultural production without having the power to do so. Consequently there was pressure from the party ranks to transform the cooperatives into de facto state farms where the peasants could be ordered about.

These pressures culminated in the Great Leap Forward of 1958. The heart of the Great Leap policy was the amalgamation of cooperatives into mammoth, self-sufficient production units (the communes) of several thousand families. It was expected that the commune system would liberate enormous quantities of labor which would be used to expand industry by handicraft methods, to produce heavy industrial goods by primitive techniques (e.g., the backyard steel furnaces) and to carry out huge water conservation projects. Commune members were to be paid solely on the basis of labor input, in effect transforming the peasants into wage laborers with no property claims on either their land or direct product. The Great Leap was sold to the peasantry in a manner approaching religious millenialism. China would catch up with the West in a few years and achieve full communism within 15 years. In brief, the peasants were told that after a few years of heroic sacrifice they would be living in a paradise on earth.

Whatever its practical effects in accelerating economic growth, the "communist vision" behind the Great Leap Forward was one of reactionary utopianism. Instead of communism's resulting from the international division of labor of several advanced workers states (and the elimination of scarcity), Chinese-style "communism" was to be brought about by the primitive labor of millions of peasants (i.e., the equal sharing of poverty). But so long as there is massive poverty, the economic basis for the creation of a parasitic bureaucracy—and ultimately a return to capitalist exploitation through counterrevolution—will remain. The Chinese leaders are not unaware of this fact for, despite their absurd claim that China is a *socialist* state, each new "anti-party clique of black-minded, crime-steeped traitors" being thrown out of office is claimed to have been preparing the way for a return to capitalism. Socialism means the abolition of classes by the abolition of the material basis for class exploitation—economic scarcity. For Marxists, the proletariat is *the* bearer of socialism not simply because it is a victim of deprivation and oppression, but because it embodies the highest technical achievements of mankind, the material basis for a real cultural revolution. For Marxists communism means the replacement of a hundred peasants by a tractor; for Maoists, communism means the substitution of the labor of a hundred peasants for the (unavailable) tractor.

In practice, the Great Leap was an unprecedented attempt at the militarization of labor. The bureaucracy worked the peasants to the limits of physical endurance. The hellish conditions created by the forced-draft pace of production can be seen in the fact that it was necessary for the Central Committee to issue the following directive to the communal party cadre:

> "But in any event, eight hours for sleep and four hours for meals and recreation, altogether 12 hours, must be guar-

anteed and this must not be reduced."
—*Peking Review*, 3 December 1958

It is now universally acknowledged that the Great Leap Forward led to an economic collapse unique in the history of the Sino-Soviet states. The exact magnitude of the production decline remains unknown because the regime has never published any economic statistics for the years 1960-63, which is itself a telling sign of economic catastrophe. However, reasonable estimates are that food crop output fell 15-20 percent between 1958-60 (*Current Scene*, January 1964), while industrial output fell 30-40 percent between 1959-62 (*China Quarterly*, April-June 1970).

The precise reasons for the catastrophe caused by the Great Leap are numerous. Bad weather was indeed a factor, although the Maoists have turned it into a total alibi. The regime, believing its own hopelessly inflated statistics, actually cut back grain acreage sown in 1959. Commune managers diverted labor to the glamor projects of backyard steel smelting and irrigation, devoting too little to basic farming. In the hysteria to produce output statistics, quality control was totally abandoned. Most of the communal steel was unusable and more than half the reported newly irrigated land was non-arable. The drive for commune self-sufficiency resulted in attempts to grow crops (e.g., cotton) under impossible geographic conditions. The abrupt cut-off of Soviet aid in 1960 was an important factor causing the decline in heavy industrial production.

However, the overpowering truth is that it was the gross violation of the peasants' property interests and rigid militarization of labor that were the fundamental cause of the economic catastrophe. The peasants rebelled against the commune system in the only way they could—refusal to produce. That peasant incentives were at the heart of the Great Leap's failure is attested to by the Chinese bureaucracy itself. In its retreat, the regime was forced to make major concessions to individualistic, peasant appetites. In this sense, the Great Leap Forward was decisive. It dissipated the moral capital the Communist Party had achieved in the civil war and through the egalitarian distribution of land. After 1960, the peasants could no longer be motivated by social ideals or promises of future plenty, but only on the basis of hard cash.

Mao's Demotion and the Great Limping Backward

Mao was uniquely responsible for the Great Leap Forward. And of all the party leaders, he alone continued to defend it. He even defended the backyard steel furnaces, while observing that China's lack of railroads made it difficult to apply the ingots produced for any useful purpose. While the rest of the party leadership realized the Great Leap had failed because it grossly violated the peasants' self-interest, Mao claimed the failures were caused by the "errors" and "excesses" of the local cadre. Thus Mao never rejected the principles underlying the Great Leap.

Since he kept defending a policy that had led China to the brink of mass starvation, it was predictable that Mao would come under attack by other sections of the bureaucracy. In 1959, Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai, an orthodox, pro-Russian Stalinist, launched a direct attack on Mao for alienating the masses, producing economic chaos and fostering unnecessary friction with the Soviet Union. While Marshal Peng's frontal assault failed and he was purged, it weakened Mao's stature.

During 1959-61, as the disastrous results of the Great Leap became more and more apparent, Mao lost much of his authority among the leading cadre. He was nudged out of the central leadership and was replaced by a grouping led by Liu Shao-chi (Mao's long-time number two), Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-ping (the CCP secretary-general) and Peng Chen. Mao and his supporters (Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta) were reduced to a left-critical tendency within the broader party leadership. The changes in the central party leadership were hidden from the public, although two of Peng Chen's subordinates (Wu Han and Teng To) published thinly disguised attacks on Mao, which later served as the pretext for launching the Cultural Revolution.

To recover from the Great Leap, the Liu regime embraced a Bukharinite economic policy with respect to both agricultural and industrial production. The communes were disbanded and replaced with the lowest level of collectivization, the "production brigade" of about twenty families. The free market was encouraged, as were private plots and private ownership of livestock. In 1962, the private grain harvest in Yunnan was larger than the collective harvest. In 1964, in Kweichow and Szechuan there was more private than collective tilling.

In 1961 the government placed a total ban on new industrial construction. The pace of industrial expansion was to be geared to the freely marketed surplus coming from the peasants and production brigades. Under Chinese conditions, allowing industrial development to be determined by the growth of the peasant market is profoundly anti-proletarian in the most elemental sense. In 1964 China's leading economic planner, Po I-po told Anna Louise Strong that the regime intended to reduce the urban population by 20 million (Strong, Letters from China).

The return to a market economy combined with the CCP's sharp decline in popular authority created powerful *disintegrative* tendencies within the bureaucracy itself. Personal greed, careerism, the defense of narrow vested interests and regional war-lordism became rife. During the Cultural Revolution it was reported that in 1962 the Shanghai and other regional parties requested grain from Chekiang, one of the few surplus regions. The first secretary of the Chekiang party is reported to have replied, "Chekiang is not a colony of Shanghai....I have pigs to feed" (*China Quarterly*, October-December 1972). This response typifies the relations between different sections of the bureaucracy in this period.

Mao has represented the national messianic-utopian wing of the bureaucracy. He was therefore deeply disturbed by the growing decline in discipline, unity and sense of national purpose within the party cadre. In 1962 he set up a pressure group, the Socialist Education Committee, with the dual purpose of restoring the party cadre's sense of elan and of limiting the trend toward peasant individualism in economic policy. The efforts of the Socialist Education Committee proved impotent against the strength of bureaucratic routinism.

In view of the Cultural Revolution, it is necessary to emphasize the considerable overlap between Mao's policies and those of the Liu-led party center in 1961-65. While Mao was in favor of greater agricultural collectivization, he firmly supported policies which strengthened the social weight of the peasantry as against the working class, such as the transfer of the urban population to the countryside. Mao has always tried to liquidate the Chinese proletariat as a distinctive social group and dissolve it into the rural masses.

There was no significant difference between Mao and Liu over their attitude toward the proletariat. This was demonstrated by Mao's defense of the "worker-peasant" system during the Cultural Revolution, despite its deep unpopularity and negative economic consequences. This viciously anti-proletarian policy (instituted by Liu in 1963) required peasants to do industrial work during the slack season. They were paid less than the permanent workers, did not receive the extensive social benefits available to the regular workers and were not allowed to join the unions. In turn, permanent unionized workers were replaced by "worker-peasants" and forcibly shipped to the countryside! The "worker-peasant" system well conforms to Mao's "ideal" of a communist society and is an effective mechanism for holding down wages to increase state accumulation. The "worker-peasant" system was the single most important cause of labor unrest during the Cultural Revolution. The Maoists not only defended the system but suppressed the contract labor organizations which had emerged spontaneously to defend the "worker-peasants."

Nor is there any evidence that there were significant differences between Mao and the rest of the CCP leadership over foreign policy before 1965. It was Liu and Teng, not Mao, who organized the campaign against "Khrushchevite revisionism." Many of today's Maoists should consider that they were won to the Chinese line by the "anti-revisionist" campaign *led* by Liu, Teng and Co., *after* they had nudged Mao out of the central leadership.

Indonesia and Vietnam on the Road to Washington

During a party plenum in 1962 Mao revealed that Stalin had not trusted the CCP in the late 1940's, suspecting it of potential Titoism. Mao further related that while he sought to gain Stalin's trust, the CCP never sacrificed its independence. However, the Cold War polarization, particularly the Korean War, left China little choice but to become part of the Soviet-led bloc. During the mid-1950's the CCP sought to develop its own tendency within the Soviet bloc, actively maneuvering among the East European parties on a more-independence-from-Moscow line. As an important by-product of these activities, Mao's regime played a key role in pushing the Russians to crush the 1956 Hungarian uprising, then in justifying this internationally.

Part of the "Spirit of Camp David" (the Eisenhower-Khrushchev peaceful coexistence) was the understanding that the Kremlin would police the expansion of Chinese national power. The main instances of this and likewise the main events leading to the Sino-Soviet split were Khrushchev's attempt to get China to abandon its military pressure on the Taiwan Strait islands in 1958; Soviet reneging on its promise to supply China with the capacity to produce nuclear weapons; and the USSR's pro-india "neutrality" during the 1960 Sino-indian border war. China's increasingly strident political attacks on the Soviets led them to retaliate by cutting off all economic aid in 1960. This may be taken as the official date of the split.

Following the break from the Soviet camp, Chinese foreign policy consisted of an attempt to line up the "Third World"—a term defined to include Gaullist France!—against the two superpowers. In this period Chinese foreign policy registered some episodic diplomatic gains. However, in 1965 the Third World suddenly became off-limits for Chinese diplomats. A number of "friends of China" were toppled by military coups, notably Nkrumah, who appropriately was visiting Peking at the time. In the wake of these right-wing coups the Second Afro-Asian Conference, which the Chinese had expected to turn into an anti-Soviet forum, was cancelled. However, the truly crushing blow was the overthrow of Sukarno in Indonesia, which resulted in the bloody physical liquidation of the pro-Chinese PKI, then the largest Stalinist party not holding state power.

The rightist coups that swept Asia and Africa in 1965 demonstrated that the strength of U.S. imperialism lies not solely in its direct military power, but also in its organic ties to the propertied classes throughout the world. Whenever the class struggle reaches a certain intensity, the colonial bourgeoisie breaks its flirtations with Peking or Moscow and embraces the American ruling class as the main defender of the capitalist order in this epoch.

With China's Third World grand strategy buried under the decapitated bodies of the indonesian workers and peasants, a new danger threatened China—the U.S.' escalation in Vietnam. The manifest impotence of the "Third World" in protecting China, combined with U.S. imperialism's bombing its doorstep, caused sharp differences within the bureaucracy. A group around Liu, Peng Chen and People's Liberation Army Chief of Staff Lo Jui-ching wanted to halt the deterioration of relations with the Soviet Union and arrange some kind of military united front with the Kremlin over Vietnam. The Mao-Lin grouping wanted to continue to escalate the split with the USSR and to avoid another Korean War situation above all else.

In a sense the first battle of the Cultural Revolution was fought out in the

continued on page 12

Maoist solution to "low consciousness."

Soviet Dissidents: Between Leninism and Liberal

While the clandestine "True Work of Lenin" opposition group was crushed by Stalin's secret police, it was significant for its orientation to the working class and considerable programmatic continuity with Leninism. It has two important weaknesses, which taken together could indicate a syndicalist leaning: the failure to mention the need for a Leninist vanguard party; and its call for trade-union soviets, which amalgamates the trade unions to the state.

1948 Manifesto of "True Work of Lenin" Opposition Group

What are the goals of the communist resistance movement in the USSR?

Struggle against the system of government which rests upon the bureaucracy and the army and can be eliminated only by political revolution.

Establishment of direct democracy, in the form of a government of workers' and peasants' soviets, first step toward a classless society.

The bases of a soviet socialist republic are necessarily the soviets of industrial enterprises and kolkhozes [collective farms], which concentrate in their hands the legislative, executive and judicial powers, and are elected by all the workers under universal suffrage and with a secret ballot. All members of the soviets can, in case of verified incapacity, be removed by the same electoral process, and the period of time during which they will exercise their functions is not tied to a predetermined legislative period.

Every industrial enterprise is represented by the trade union relating to its particular branch of industry, the trade union being headed by a trade-union soviet. The latter is elected by the soviets of all the enterprises represented by the trade union. The trade-union soviets in turn meet to elect the supreme workers' soviet, which constitutes the highest legislative and executive authority.

The kolkhozes, on the other hand, must be grouped by district, and the peasant soviets elected by each cooperative elect the district soviets, which in turn elect the supreme peasants' soviet, whose task it will be to exercise the highest functions, alongside the supreme workers' soviet.

The professional bureaucrats must be replaced by peasants' and workers' commissions responsible for all the administrative, economic and social tasks necessary to the maintenance and development of society.

The permanent army, with its career officers, will give way to a workers' and peasants' militia, whose only superiors will be the soldiers' soviets elected by the armed forces.

In order to attain these objectives, it is necessary to sweep out the monstrous oligarchy of all-powerful bureaucrats and ambitious military men whose sole interest is to exploit the soviet people and to rob them of their political rights in order to remain in power. Only their downfall will open the road to communism.

—Samizdat I

The week-long secret political trial earlier this month in Moscow of Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin and the current tug-of-war between "western public opinion" and the Soviet bureaucracy concerning the fate of Andrey Sakharov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn illuminate the contradictory position of the Soviet bureaucracy which is determined to silence its internal critics, at the same time extending the "ties with foreign imperialists" which it accuses the oppositionists of establishing. The historical irony of the situation consists in the fact that the gravest danger to the existence of the Soviet system is posed, not by the socially impotent critics of official policy, but by the bureaucracy itself, zealous guardian of its own privileges. The bonapartist bureaucracy trusts only itself to play the balancing act of increasing bourgeois influence in the Soviet Union and undermining the planned economy, while at the same time preserving nationalized property forms. Not Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, but Brezhnev and Kosygin are the fiercest enemies of socialism and the objective agents of Western imperialism!

TIME

Krasin (left) and Yakir after recent trial.

Plagued by economic problems and forced into a significant trade alliance with American imperialism, the bureaucracy is intent on consolidating its home front and ensuring that only its own agents will be allowed to have "ties with foreign imperialists." Thus, the regime is bent on destroying the oppositionist intellectual currents. The immediate target is the underground journal, *Chronicle of Current Events;* the bureaucracy has threatened new arrests for every new issue that appears (it has not appeared since October 1972).

The real "crime" of Yakir and Krasin was, as the Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* (29 August) reported, that "the defendents knocked together the so-called Action Group for the Defense of Human Rights, seeking to create the false impression that some sort of political opposition existed in the U.S.S.R." The Action Group, set up in May 1969, simply called for the defense of civil liberties supposedly guaranteed by Article 125 of the 1936 "Stalin Constitution" of the USSR. Yakir also called for a posthumous trial of Stalin, a proposal which would undoubtedly send shivers up and down the spine of the bureaucracy, since a thorough reckoning with the crimes of the ex-"great Father of the Peoples" would also implicate most of today's Soviet leaders.

Yakir and Krasin confessed to having ties with foreign anti-Soviet organizations, notably the Posev, a publishing arm of the fascist NTS organization in Western Europe. Whatever the methods used to gain such confessions (involving interrogation over a period of 15 months, a violation of Soviet law), and whatever the personal strength or weakness of Yakir and Krasin, the charges are an obvious frame-up. The NTS is notorious for being infiltrated by the Soviet secret police, the KGB, which for years has as standing practice supplied the NTS with manuscripts by Soviet dissident authors, in order to turn around and accuse the authors of having ties to "foreign anti-Soviet agencies." Yakir, on the other hand, has reportedly testified against many of his former associates of the Action Group, a cowardly and criminal act which can only be condemned.

The workers movement throughout the world has a vital interest in achieving a return to proletarian democracy in the USSR. It was only by murdering Trotsky and virtually the entire generation of old Bolshevik cadres that Stalin was able to consolidate the untrammeled power of the bureaucracy and to move toward accommodation with the imperialists. As during the popular-front period in the 1930's (when Stalin decreed the execution of leaders of the Spanish workers movement as part of his vain attempt to achieve an alliance with France and Britain), so again today, the peaceful coexistence of Brezhnev and Nixon takes place at the cost of the proletariat.

We resolutely condemn the new witchhunt in Moscow precisely in order to defend the conquests of the October Revolution. It is necessary to draw a class line between revolutionary opposition to Stalinism and the bourgeois anti-communism of such "friends of the workers" as the *New York Times*. As Leninists we sharply oppose the peaceful coexistence fantasies of the Sukharovs and the mystical Russian nationalism of the Solzhenitsyns—which are simply more consistent versions of the policies of the bureaucracy itself. We must distinguish between liberal reformist currents which, like Dubcek in Czechoslovakia in 1968, seek to reform the bureaucracy; outright capitalist-restorationist elements (particularly some of the nationalists); and tendencies and individuals seeking to return to the path of Bolshevism.

As Trotskyists, we begin from our fundamental program of unconditional defense of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, against imperialism, and call for political revolution to remove the bureaucracy which is the principal threat to the achievements of the October Revolution. Only a return to norms of proletarian democracy, not only freedom to express dissenting political views but also the establishment of full power in the hands of the soviets (workers councils), and the building of a Bolshevik-Leninist party can lead forward to socialism instead of backward in the tail of the bureaucracy toward accommodation with imperialism.

The Post-War Opposition

By the end of the 1930's the last remnants of every organized anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union had been liquidated. Former members of the Workers Opposition, the Trotskyist Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist), the Democratic Centralists, and the Zinovievists may have maintained tenuous personal ties through the early 1930's (there were certainly groupings of Zinovievists in Leningrad at this time), but the massive purges sparked by the murder of Kirov on 1 December 1934 ended in the physical extermination of all these elements. Most tragic of all was the elimination of the Bolshevik-Leninist cadre in the forced labor camps—cadre who represented the continuity of Leninism in the USSR and the sole viable alternative to the bureaucratized Communist Party as the leadership of the first workers state. With the outbreak of World War II the Trotskyist program ceased to penetrate into the USSR even from the outside. The *Bulletin of the Opposition*, which began publication in July 1929, published its last issue in August 1941. The extent of its circulation and influence in the Soviet Union during its twelve years of existence is, in any case, unknown.

During World War II the Stalinist bureaucracy significantly relaxed its repressive measures, striving to unite all elements of Soviet society, from peasant to patriarch, behind the war effort. Badly frightened in the first year of the war by Nazi victories and initially pro-German sentiment manifested among sections of the Ukranian kolkhoz peasantry, the bureaucracy was forced to promise the population future concessions; for example the bureaucracy fostered the rumor, widely believed among the peasantry, that the collective farms would be disbanded with the end of the war, as a gesture of appreciation for the peasants' part in the conflict against aggressors.

After the crippling purges of the 1930's the relative liberalism of the war years encouraged the revival of oppositionist currents. A group called "The True Work of Lenin" (Istinnyi Trud Lenina), organized in 1948, called for a struggle against the system of government based on the bureaucracy and army and for a political revolution and a government of soviets of workers and peasants. It advocated international revolution and condemned Stalin's post-war annexations. Moreover, it had no illusions about post-Stalin "liberalization," formulating the thesis of "the era of peaceful coexistence between Malenkov and Eisenhower at the expense of the proletariat" (see *Samizdat I*, published by the French OCI as *La Vérité* No. 546, 1969). This program circulated clandestinely among students in Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa and Moscow and won hundreds of adherents. The group was broken up in 1950 and its members arrested.

Subsequently, at the Vorkuta forced labor camp, the Leninist students joined with a group of former Red Army officers organized in the Democratic Movement of Northern Russia and launched the massive Vorkuta strike of 1953. With Stalin's death and the

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Galanskov Ginsburg Litvinov Siniavsky Daniel Grigorenko

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

uprising in East Berlin that same year, the prisoners in Russia's camps expected the imminent crash of the Stalinist system and amnesty for themselves. The disappointment of both expectations led them to revolt. The tremendous strikes of 250,000 prisoners in the coal mines of the Vorkuta region resulted in a few concessions, but the majority of prisoners did not win amnesty until 1956.

The Impact of the 20th Congress

The crushing of the post-war political movement of students and political prisoners was also accompanied by a return to orthodoxy in the arts and sciences. Zhdanov's anti-Semitic assault on intellectuals and artists and Stalin's boorish attacks on philosophers, linguists and biologists signalled a planned campaign against any manifestations of intellectual and political independence from the bureaucracy. Only after Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in 1956 did the oppositionist movement revive, this time with the covert (and sometimes open) support of the liberal wing of the bureaucracy itself, especially of its military component, which had never forgiven Stalin his crippling purges of the army leadership in the late 1930's and his blunders in World War II.

Except for radical student groups such as the Union of Communards, which opposed the one-party system, the new opposition movement was marked by its origin as a response by intellectuals to the bureaucracy's own feeble denunciation of Stalin and his crimes. In the 19th century, the debate between progressives and reactionaries often took the form of counterposed analyses of the character and legacy of Peter the Great; similarly, in the late 1950's and on into the early '60's, the debate between "neo-Stalinists" and "liberals" took the form of defense vs. condemnation of Stalin. With the 22nd Party Congress in 1961 the "liberals" seemed to have gained the upper hand, and a whole series of documents exposing the Stalin era was discussed in top party, literary and military circles. The bureaucratically-sponsored anti-Stalin campaign reached its peak about 1962 and from then on declined.

The intellectual reformers believed that a thorough exposé of Stalin would bring about increased democracy and respect for personal rights in the Soviet Union. They became discouraged when even the liberal wing of the bureaucracy showed hesitations at publishing the numerous historical and literary works exposing the Stalin era which were being written or planned, and at rehabilitating all of Stalin's victims. Disillusioned, the anti-Stalin intellectuals turned to the already flourishing *samizdat* movement, which allowed them to express themselves freely on all literary and political questions, in their own self-published (i.e, non-censored) journals. Among the first *samizdat* literary journals were Ginzburg's *Syntax* (published in 1959), Osipov's *Boomerang* (1960) and Galanskov's *Phoenix* (1961 and again in 1966).

With Krushchev's ouster in 1964 and the cautious rehabilitation of Stalin by Krushchev's successors, the situation began to look black for the "liberals." In April of 1965 there was a demonstration of students in Moscow's Pushkin Square, calling for freedom of the press and expression, and for the liberation of Brodsky, Osipov and Bukovsky, imprisoned for their *samizdat* writings. Seeing that the democratic opposition movement had gotten out of hand, was growing and spawning new groupings, the bureaucracy decided on a hard crackdown. A campaign against writers, students and religious figures was launched in the summer and fall of 1965 with the arrest of Siniavsky and Daniel. But the Siniavsky-Daniel trial sparked numerous protests from writers, students, scientists and others, pleading for reform of the Criminal Code, and for legality based on the nominally democratic "Stalin" Constitution of 1936. In January 1967 Galanskov, who described himself as a "social-pacifist," and Ginzburg were arrested and tried for *samizdat* activity, and their trial also provoked letters of protest, with almost 700 signatures. The first issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, dated April 1968, was devoted to the trial. The opposition which came together around the Ginzburg-Galanskov case was strongly influenced by the "Prague Spring" movement of Dubcek. Activated by the Czech example, which claimed to give socialism a "human face" through bureaucratic reform, Alexis Kosterin, an old party member, came out in open opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy and regrouped around himself World War II general Piotr Grigorenko, the prominent anti-Stalin historian Piotr Yakir and others. Kosterin, Grigorenko, Pisarev, Yakhimovich and Pavlintchuk sent a letter to "the communists of Czechoslovakia" and the Czech people, expressing their solidarity with the Czech party:

> "Observing the activities of the new leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, we feel more and more admiration for its courageous, wise and inflexible struggle to restore the prestige of the Party, which was pretty much compromised as a result of the catastrophic policies of its previous leaders."
>
> —*Samizdat I*

The invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 shocked the liberal intellectuals and forced many of them into a more sharply anti-bureaucratic stance. They saw that even the supposed liberals, such as Kosygin, solidarized with the invasion; at the same time it seemed to them that the "evil" pro-Stalin wing of the bureaucracy, personified by Brezhnev and Suslov, had gained much ground. As repressions intensified the intelligentsia responded defensively. At Kosterin's funeral on 14 November 1968 the forces came together which one year later formed the Action Group for Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. One of this group's first acts was to send an appeal to the United Nations Committee for the Rights of Man, detailing repressions in the Soviet Union. The following year saw the founding of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, whose aim was the defense of the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens. This group is linked to the bourgeois civil liberties group, the International League for the Rights of Man (headquarters in New York City).

The bureaucracy began its campaign against the liberal intellectuals around the *Chronicle of Current Events* in December 1971 when the Central Committee of the Party voted to suppress the *Chronicle* and the *Ukrainsky Vysnyk*, a Ukrainian self-publisbed journal. The *Chronicle* is an underground publication which reports on every type of opposition in the Soviet Union, including nationalist and religious activities, petitions to the UN and defections to the West. Its danger to the bureaucracy consists in its systematic exposés of violations of civil rights in the USSR and in its popularity in the West, where it is used as a propaganda tool by anti-communists.

The campaign against the *Chronicle* was launched with searches, interrogations and hundreds of arrests. Some oppositionists, such as Chalidze, a founding member of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, chose forced exile (Chalidze has now become a professional anti-communist in the U.S.). Yakir, a leader of the Action Group, was arrested in June 1972 and recanted after several months of questioning (and probably torture). Krasin was arrested in September of last year.

Leninism or Liberalism?

The most striking characteristic of the visible post-1956 opposition, besides its liberal, classless outlook, is its total lack of continuity with the earlier movements of the 1920's and '30's and even with the underground groups of the late '40's. This can be explained in part by the systematic physical elimination of the cadre of the earlier movements and by the almost total absence of documents and writings of earlier, anti-Stalinist oppositions. Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* is apparently unknown to the present generation of Soviet dissidents, as is the concept of a degenerated workers state. Also significant, however, are the origin of the new liberal opposition as an appendage to the bureaucracy's own denunciations of the Stalin cult and the relatively privileged social position of the well-established intellectuals and scientists who are the leaders of the movement.

The much-celebrated "socialist intelligentsia," which the bureaucracy paints up as the devoted servants of the working class, is actually a petty-bourgeois stratum with close ties with the bureaucracy and with the bourgeois intellectuals and scientists of the West. The opposition lacks ties with the masses of workers and collective farm peasants and indeed does not see them as a revolutionary force. The clearest statement of the opposition's hostile attitude to the masses is Andrey Amalrik's book, *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* Amalrik counterposes the primitive nature of the masses to the sophisticated individualism of the intelligentsia:

> "...two ideas that the masses unoerstand and accept—the idea of force and the idea of justice—are equally inimical to democratic ideas, which are based on individualism....
>
> "Summing up, it can be said that as the regime becomes progressively weaker and more self-destructive it is bound to clash...with two forces which are already undermining it: the constructive moveme..: of the 'middle class' (rather weak) and the destructive movement of the 'lower classes,' which will take the form of extremely damaging, violent and irresponsible action once its members realize their relative immunity from punishment."

The current democratic movement has in fact never looked to the workers as the instrument of social change. As the liberal wing of the bureaucracy turned against it, some actually began to look to bourgeois forces to carry out desired reforms. The clearest example of this tendency is the political history of Sakharov. As early as 1958 Sakharov had pacifistic misgivings about the Soviets' acquiring defensive hydrogen weapons (*New York Times*, 10 September 1973). Sakharov (promoting a common theme of the liberal opposition) called for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, in the belief that the beneficent influence of the "democratic" West will pressure the "Asiatic" Russian bureaucracy into liberal reforms. (Solzhenitsyn referred to the recent crackdown on internal opposition as the "Chinesization" of Russia.)

In his 1972 *Memorandum* to Brezhnev Sakharov proposed, among other "reforms," a unilateral declaration by the Soviet Union of refusal to be the first to use weapons of mass destruction, permission for arms inspection teams to visit Soviet territory, a less "aggressive" policy in the Near East and Vietnam and for peaceful settlement and compromise, with the use of UN troops to insure "stability" in these areas. (The *Memorandum* also illustrates the close programmatic connection, in the oppositionist movement, of "peaceful coexistence" with the desire for the return of private enterprise to the Soviet Union by calling for more independence for economic enterprises from state planning and increased opportunities for private enterprise in "the service industries, the health service, small trading and education.") In a Postscript, dated June 1972, Sakharov added, "...As before, I consider that it will be possible to overcome the tragic conflicts and dangers of our epoch only through the convergence and mutual adaptation of capitalism and the socialist system..." (*Chronicle of Current Events* No. 26, 5 July 1972).

In the course of the Nixon-Brezhnev détente, Sakharov was forced to give up the idea of peaceful coexistence:

> "For a long time I believed that the East-West rapprochement, peaceful coexistence, would provoke beneficial changes at home. I was mistaken. During Nixon's last visit, the situation has only worsened. The authorities prove themselves even more intractable, because they are discovering that within the framework of the détente they can defy western public opinion, which more and more avoids taking an interest in the blows to liberty in the U.S.S.R."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières* No. 605, 4 April 1973

More recently Sakharov has "cautioned the West against a rapprochement with Moscow unless it was accompanied by democratic reforms that would lead to a more open society in the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 7 September 1973). The SWP has now discovered that Sakharov is not a socialist, that "he equates the Stalinist regime with socialism and condemns both" (*Militant*, 14 September 1973). But Sakharov's direction has been clear at least since 1972, when the SWP was still commenting uncritically on his activities!

Sakharov's use of peaceful coexistence to pressure the bureaucracy into reforms was not peculiar to his wing of the movement—the more "radical" Yakir sent a letter to Pompidou and Brezhnev, declaring that peaceful relations between France and the USSR were hindered by the persecution of dissenters in the latter country (*Chronicle of Current Events* No. 22, 10

continued on page 14

SWP Uses Watergate Methods Against Trotskyists

DETROIT—Taking time out from their international faction fight and legal suit against Nixon for his Watergate-type harassment of them, the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party recently expelled three of its members using evidence gathered with its own (rather inept) brand of "dirty tricks." Among other things, the SWP had four of its members hiding in the bushes around the Spartacist League summer camp in August and instructed a YSA member to act like a Spartacist sympathizer in the time-honored agent-provocateur manner. The victims, Irene Gorgosz and Michael Milin, both of the Detroit branch, and Gerald Clark of the Oakland-Berkeley branch, were the three signers of the "Declaration of Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency" submitted to the SWP pre-convention discussion. The charges brought against these comrades were "collaboration with the Spartacist League" and double recruiting. At the three sham "trials," the charges against these comrades were patently only pretexts for a political expulsion, exposing the hypocrisy and intriguing of the SWP majority.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency (RIT) had stood counterposed to both the International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the SWP majority-led Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (see *WV* No. 28, 14 September). The "Declaration" wages a broad attack on the SWP's deepening immersion in reformism and petty-bourgeois "movements" in the face of an intensifying capitalist crisis and working-class restlessness. At the same time its criticisms of the IMT are fundamental:

> "The International Majority Tendency in standing for the petty-bourgeois guerrilla road in the colonial world—which even if successful could at best lead to a *deformed* workers state, and at the expense of a working class centered revolution—has reaped with the PRT-ERP the inevitable consequences: that for such guerrillas, a Mao or a Castro, not a Trotsky, is their legitimate ideological hero and inspirer. In Europe, the IMT's latest fad is the phrase "new mass vanguard" and the revolution guaranteed within five years. These quick remedies are not one bit superior to the concept of 'red universities' as the bastions of revolution, or 'from the periphery to the center,' since for many years they lamentably failed to turn Stalinist and reformist bureaucrats into involuntary revolutionaries through the tactic of 'deep entryism.' And for the United States, the IMT has been content to endorse the whole past work of the SWP, suggesting only that it might have been given a somewhat more radical cover."
>
> —"Declaration of Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency," *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 31, No. 22, July 1973

In contrast the RIT stood on the general line of the two documents submitted by Gerald Clark: "The Only Road to Revolution is Through the Proletariat" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol.31, No. 1, April 1973) and "A Program for Building a Proletarian Party: In Opposition to the Centrism of the Party Majority" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 14, June 1973). Starting with the premise that the "question of building a mass, proletarian World Party of Socialist Revolution" is the "central task facing revolutionaries throughout the world," the first document traces the betrayals of both wings of the United Secretariat fight on the questions of Vietnam, Latin America, Cuba, the Middle East and strongly argues for the adoption of the Leninist conception of a democratic-centralist international.

The second document authored by Clark deals with the SWP's policies regarding students and the "new radicalization," nationalism, community control, the chicano and women's struggles, the antiwar movement and democratic centralism. In each case the document counterposes to the SWP's abandonment of Trotskyism a revolutionary proletarian approach to these questions. It emphasizes the critical necessity of the application of the Transitional Program as opposed to adaptation to the present consciousness of the "masses" and demonstrates historically the importance of democratic-centralist functioning in regard to party-building and youth-party relations.

A third important document, "The Fight in the United Secretariat: Reformist Appetite Versus Guerrillaist Centrism" by Michael Milin (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 28) examines the legalistic, class-collaborationist approach of the SWP on the one hand and the capitulation of the IMT to insurrectionary nationalist Stalinism on the other hand. Each side, while seeking to establish for itself orthodox Leninist credentials in contrast with the other, at the same time shrinks from fundamental criticism of the other side for fear of exposing its own past opportunism:

> "The central revision of revolutionary Marxism by the international majority is the separation of the *class organization of an insurrection* from the society emerging from it. A revolutionary workers state, in which the working class democratically governs on the basis of collectivized property, can *only* be established if the *armed forces of the labor movement itself* play the dominant role in overthrowing the capitalist state....
>
> "For many years, the SWP leadership was not only an ardent advocate of guerrilla war, but engaged in idiot enthusing over the Castro regime and Fidelista movement. The SWP's self-styled orthodox turn against guerrillaism is part of its *rightward* motion in adopting a reformist program acceptable to sections of the liberal bourgeoisie."
>
> —"The Fight in the United Secretariat"

It was for these *politics* that the SWP expelled the three RIT comrades.

Snakes in the Grass with Binoculars

The trial of Milin and Gorgosz was highlighted by the revelation that the SWP was modelling its intelligence-gathering methods on old cowboy-and-indian movies. The charge of "collaboration with an opponent organization" was proven on the basis of Milin's and Gorgosz's admitted attendance at certain sessions of last month's SL summer camp. However their admission was not sufficient, for the Detroit executive committee took the trouble to plant four spies for direct observation on the camp grounds during the *entire* duration of the camp:

> "The method used to "get" these two comrades was the method of Watergate. Surreptitiously sneaking into the woods surrounding the camp, the accusers spied on people whose only crime was that they were there and disagreed with the program of the party majority. Crawling on their bellies 'for the party,' comrades Kelly, Bechler, Fruit and Wallace, equipped, one assumes with binoculars and other assorted James Bond do-it-yourself spying devices, scanned the campsite in the hope of recognizing the 'disloyal' elements in the act. I could just imagine the look on comrade Kelly's face as he spotted not one, but two, three, many ex-*SWPers* in the crowd: comrades he once collaborated with when they were members of the party. But all that crawling around had its rewards: they spotted two faces they recognized, comrades Milin and Gorgosz. A job well done comrade Kelly! Maybe now they will give you a seat on the National Committee."
>
> —Clark to SWP Political Committee, 27 August 1973

As an additional reward the SWP might recommend its four intrepid woodsmen for an appropriate Boy Scout merit badge.

The Detroit exec had also gone to great lengths to find the exact camp location. While the camp itself was widely publicized and open to a broad range of interested people, the location was given only to those serious about attending. Stating that "it was a source of information [it] might want to use in the future," the exec refused to reveal how it discovered the location.

This unsavory activity was not the only devious tactic used by the SWP to "expose" the two "disloyal" elements. The two comrades were also charged with double recruiting on evidence provided by a majority agent, YSA member Steve Beumer. Professing to RIT supporters in July and August his intention to quit the YSA and his interest in the SL, this comrade miraculously abandoned his differences, went over to the majority and was accepted into party membership a mere two weeks after the Oberlin SWP convention in early August. In fact it was the party majority that engaged in double recruiting in order to procure an agent to work in its interests!

By the SWP's bureaucratic anti-Leninist norms, members of the YSA must be treated as members of an opponent group. SWP members function under party discipline within the youth organization. Thus the youth are treated as political infants incapable of making intelligent decisions. While they are privy to internal party discussions (a good percentage of the Oberlin SWP Convention attendance was composed of non-party youth), they are expected to refrain from taking a position on the party's disputes! It was this paternalist, front-group attitude toward the YSA which impelled the party and youth leaderships to rid themselves of the troublemakers in the RIT before the youth preconvention discussion scheduled for this fall.

"Dirty Tricks" versus Principled Political Struggle

This was not the first time that agents provocateurs were used by the SWP/YSA majority in order to create charges sufficient (in their eyes) for the expulsion of a dissident minority. In July of this year three YSAers were expelled for "political solidarity with SL" (see *RCY Newsletter Supplement*, August 1973). In their case much of the prosecution's evidence was supplied by a majority agent who, again professing interest in the politics put forward by the three in branch meetings, encouraged their expressions of sympathy to SL/RCY politics. The method of entrapment, well known to the FBI and narcotics agencies, can do nothing but promote cynicism and suspicion among the SWP/YSA ranks. Apparently SL politics are so threatening to the SWP that it is willing to use all types of "dirty tricks" to root out a suspect.

These tactics, which are used in place of open political struggle, have led to a fear of all political opposition and an atmosphere where intelligent discussion of opponent tendencies is necessarily reserved for guilty closet meetings. In fact the SWP ranks are treated to precious little "official" analysis of other organizations. Those rare references to other groups are usually superficial characterizations leading, for instance, to the lumping together of the SL and Workers League as "sectarian" or "ultra-left," a gross distortion of these two groups, whose main similarity at this point is the fact that both were expelled from the SWP in the early sixties. SWP/YSA members find themselves disarmed, then, in the face of opponents; they have only cynicism or nervous half-serious repetitions of vague generalities at their disposal for polemics. It is not surprising, therefore, that exposure to the *real* politics of the SL or of groupings moving toward the SL, politics which represent the continuity of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, is a serious threat to the reformist leadership of the SWP.

Prosecution Lies Exposed, Defendent Proclaimed Guilty Anyway

The Gerald Clark case was a manifest bureaucratic contrivance. Clark had been a member of the SWP for four years, a YSA member before that. As organizer of the Hayward, Cal. branch and a delegate to the 1971 SWP convention he was one of the few to vote against the "Youth Radicalization" document. His documents for the 1973 convention were deep-going criticisms of both the SWP majority and the IMT.

One of the SWP's eagle-eyed spies reported that Clark had attended at least the first four days of the SL summer camp. Clark had little trouble proving to everyone at the trial that he had not attended the camp at all. Its first charge completely discredited, the SWP leadership fell back on its second line of defense—you guessed it, Steve Beumer. At the Oberlin SWP convention, Beumer had approached Clark and the other RITers telling them that he was dissatisfied with the YSA. He asserted that he was interested in knowing more about the SL, at which point Clark mentioned that the SL was holding a summer educational camp. Beumer then tried to get Clark to attend the camp, but the latter wouldn't consider it!

However, the trial body made it clear that the formal charges were irrelevant. Clark was really being charged with *political agreement* with the SL and not organizational collaboration. Clark asserted that he was not an agent of the SL and, in fact, disagreed with it on important questions. The two major documents that he submitted to the pre-convention discussion should adequately answer any questions the SWP majority might have about his political beliefs.

These clearly political expulsions were motivated by the SWP's almost pathological fear of Spartacist politics. They enabled the SWP to rid itself of a known dissident and an irritating left-wing tendency, lest an open political struggle expose the reformism of the SWP leadership. ■

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Defend the Detroit Teachers' Strike!

The Detroit teachers' strike, like similar public employees' strikes in every major city in the country during recent years, is a defensive response to the budget-slashing and union-busting policies of the federal, state and municipal governments' attempts to solve the crisis in public financing that is always one of the first indications of capitalism's woes.

Already, Detroit-area teachers have been threatened with mass firings and replacement by substitute and unemployed teachers. In addition, the Detroit Board of Education threatened a strike-breaking injunction (although backing down only two days into the strike in the face of a resolute rank and file). However, the teachers in suburban Birmingham were recently forced back to work with a similar injunction—the first successful use of such a strike-breaking measure against any Michigan teachers union since 1966. This, combined with Gov. Milliken's rumblings of new and tougher anti-strike laws in the near future spell an ominous attempt to smash the rising militancy. City or state attempts to crush the strike would pose the virtual destruction of the union. In case of an injunction the Detroit union movement must answer with a citywide *general strike* to defend the teachers' right to strike.

Meanwhile, the mealy-mouthed platitudes about "unity" from Detroit AFL-CIO's "leader" Tom Turner are belied by his complete lack of action (aside from feeble offers to mediate between the Board and the school unions). This is strikingly similar to the cowardly performance of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO, which first threatened a general strike to defend last year's teachers' strike there and then at the crucial point backed down. Equally damaging was the complete bureaucratic isolation of the Detroit teachers union from the short-lived UAW strike. Anyone with even an inkling of the need for class solidarity could see the necessity of a fighting unity of both unions against the government-employer offensive and state wage controls. But as far as the labor bureaucrats are concerned, the two strikes might as well be occurring on different planets.

The Riordan "leadership" typifies the crucial limitations of the "liberal" business unionism of the AFT-UAW wing of the union bureaucracy (not to mention the overtly reactionary, racist, war-mongering central leadership of the AFL-CIO epitomized by George Meany). Michigan has traditionally been a hotbed of teacher militancy, with 47 teachers' strikes in 1967 alone. No thanks to the teachers of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT), however, who have done all within their power to cynically divert that militancy into powerless protests. In response to the firing of over 200 non-contract teachers in February 1971, Riordan initially called for a one-day walkout from which she immediately backed down in order to bureaucratically suppress the overwhelming sentiment among the ranks for a potentially uncontrollable full-fledged strike. Six months later, she accepted a contract under the Phase 1 guidelines which allowed for no pay increase whatsoever. This situation has lasted to this date because that same contract was held over in 1972, along with a provision that it could expire in April to facilitate the early school closing which the Board had threatened "for lack of funds." Similarly, when custodians struck for two days last May, Riordan refused to instruct the ranks of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) to observe the picket lines, though most did, treating it instead as a question of individual conscience. This do-nothing policy has led since 1967 to a sharp decline in pay and working conditions, successful contract violations by the Board and a drastic increase in class size.

The current demand for a 9.7 percent wage increase is completely inadequate to keep up with the skyrocketing inflation rate, and the demands of the leadership say nothing about the ever-increasing number of unemployed teachers (currently at a rate of 10 percent). Also, the long history of surrender by the DFT bureaucracy has "stiffened the backs of school system negotiators who have become accustomed in the past two years to telling teachers how much they would get and being able to make it stick" (*Detroit Free Press*, 6 September). The School Board's current tack is to push for "accountability," a scheme whereby pay increases and job security would be linked to annual evaluations by supervisors, an ideal method for weeding out the most militant teachers and destroying the union in the process. Rather than giving in to the Board of Education's pleas of poverty or reluctantly going along with a strike for wage demands that will not even begin to cover the pay losses under the current contract, the DFT needs to take the offensive and fight for a program which can really answer teachers' needs and unite the working class in support of the strike: For a real cost-of-living escalator and a major pay raise; for the division of available teaching hours among all employable teachers with no loss in pay, and the drastic reduction of class sizes; no "accountability," a demagogic attempt to make teachers responsible for the failures of the capitalist education system.

The existing oppositional groupings within the American Federation of Teachers have all proved incapable of providing a consistent class-struggle alternative to the Riordan-Shanker-Selden leadership of the DFT/AFT. The Committee for Responsible Unionism (such a respectable name!), affiliated with the United Action Caucus of the AFT and supported by such ostensibly Marxist organizations as the Communist Party, the International Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party, confines itself to simple minimal reform demands, without the perspective of replacing the bureaucracy through the mobilization of the ranks around a revolutionary program.

To get an idea of where this reformism can lead, one only has to look at the record of the CRU's friends, the CP, IS and SWP, who all blocked with "community-control" forces in the 1968 New York teachers' strike to urge scabbing and actively worked to defeat the strike. Their excuse was the Shanker leadership's insensitivity to social oppression and its capitulation to racist demagoguery; their reason was the popularity of "community control"—a slogan pushed by the Ford Foundation to attack union-protected job security and the union itself. The Spartacist League called for Shanker's ouster while defending the strike against union-busting.

Noticeably absent from the current propaganda of the CP, IS and SWP is their now discredited "community-control" position. These fakers will even shelve their own reformist program when it doesn't seem popular. However, the tiny Black Teachers Caucus is trying to sow discord between the community and the union by calling for scabbing, just as black nationalist groups did during the 1971 Newark teachers' strike. The negligible response thus far to the BTC call for strikebreaking (in a city with a predominantly unionized black workforce, including well over 40 percent blacks in the DFT) is a further indication of a healthy defeat for reactionary nationalism.

With the welcome demise of fraudulent community-control schemes, the question of busing has become a real focal point of racial conflict. Busing is, of course, a hopelessly inadequate response to deeply rooted problems of segregation and racial discrimination. But the basic democratic right of *equal access* to educational opportunity demands of socialists, who claim to advocate working-class unity, clear support for this minimum step toward equality. Groups like the Revolutionary Socialist League, whose recent publication *Socialist Teacher* condemns busing as insufficient, *without* defending it as a minimal democratic gain, simply capitulate to racist, segregationist sentiment.

The RSL now criticizes the reformist UAC in its general pamphlet, "The AFT in Crisis." Nonetheless, it fails to mention the UAC-affiliated CRU in its Detroit strike issue of the *Socialist Teacher*. Instead, this supposed "only Trotskyist organization ever," calls for an alliance of "public employees, parents and workers organizations to call for national funding of schools through a tax on corporations and banks"—a typical reformist scheme. It is necessary to raise instead transitional demands, like *expropriating* the corporations and banks, which point to the only *fundamental* solution to problems of wage freeze, deteriorating schools, unemployment—namely, socialist revolution.

The recently formed Rank and File Caucus, supported by the Workers Action Movement and Progressive Labor Party (which also advocated scabbing in the 1968 strike) pushes a vague call for "unity with parents and other workers" without calling for the concrete mobilization of other unions in strike action. The usual WAM reforms again characterize their program.

The other left organization whose supporters are active in the DFT, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, is a crackpot group which sees work-study programs as a CIA plot (!) and poses no alternative to the Riordan leadership because it sees the DFT, like all unions, as a hopelessly useless institution for working-class defense.

The betraying misleadership of the labor bureaucracy is today the key stumbling block between the working class and its socialist future, and it must be replaced by a revolutionary leadership. Thus, a key task of Marxists in this period is the formation of militant class-struggle oppositions in the unions, armed with a program which not only defends the workers' immediate gains and interests, but also leads the workers movement to a political struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

- *For complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state!* Down with the Public Employees Relations Act and all anti-strike legislation.
- *For a sliding scale of wages and hours!* An end to unemployment and deteriorating living standards.
- *Against racism and discrimination!* Full equal access to all hiring, training and transfers for all blacks, other minorities and women. Free 24-hour childcare so that all can work. An end to tracking and all other racially and sexually discriminatory prgrams in the schools.
- *For teacher-student-worker control of the schools!* Expropriate industry under workers control.
- *Break with the capitalist parties!* Build a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. ■

SUBSCRIBE

In the Fall of 1973 Women and Revolution, a Marxist journal dealing with issues of particular significance to the struggle for women's liberation, will make its reappearance as a publication of the Woman Commission of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League.

The journal will carry critical analyses of the various ostensibly revolutionary organizations and will bring to light new or long-neglected material from the history of communist work among women, as well as topical articles and reviews. The September issue will include articles on the Equal Rights Amendment, on work among women in Australia and New Zealand, on Rabotnitsa (The Working Woman)—a journal published by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, 1914-1918, and on the significance of the woman question in the recent International Socialist split.

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MAO...

PLA high command. Under the pretext of "professionalism" versus "politics," it was in reality a struggle over policy toward Vietnam and a Soviet military alliance. Lo Jui-ching wanted to actively prepare for a possible massive ground intervention into Vietnam. Lin fact, a call for "people's war" was, in fact a call for the *de-escalation* of the Vietnam war back to low-level guerrilla fighting so as to avoid the danger that China would be drawn into another Korean situation. Lin's victory over his chief of staff was a victory for China-first military isolationism.

The decisive point came in early 1966 when the formally pro-Chinese Japanese Communist Party attempted to work out a military united front of Communist powers over the Vietnam War. A joint Chinese-Japanese CP statement on Vietnam was negotiated which did not attack the Russians for "revisionism," thereby opening the door for Sino-Soviet collaboration. At the eleventh hour, Mao sabotaged the agreement and openly attacked the party leaders, notably Peng Chen, who were responsible for it. Mao was determined not to provoke the Americans' suspicion by a show of solidarity with Russia. Under the pretext of fighting "revisionism," Mao thus informed U.S. imperialism that as long as China was not directly attacked, it would not intervene even in the face of the most murderous attacks against the workers and peasants of other countries. Thus the détente with the U.S. was not simply a right turn marking a retreat from the Cultural Revolution. Mao's appetite for an alliance with American imperialism, in order to better prosecute the struggle with his "principal contradiction" with "Soviet Social-Imperialism," was in fact one of the essential underpinnings of the "Cultural Revolution."

There was a clear connection between the factional line-ups over domestic and foreign policy. Because the Liu-led center was prepared to let the bureaucracy sink into careerist routinism and creature comforts and to let the economy expand at the pace of a peasant cart, the party center could envision defending China only *within* the general Soviet military sphere. Because Mao and Lin were determined that China would be a super-power second to none, they were determined to mobilize and discipline the bureaucracy and masses to overcome China's material backwardness as rapidly as possible.

The Anti-Proletarian, Anti-Cultural Revolution

In brief the Cultural Revolution was an attempt to mobilize the masses to create the material conditions for Chinese great-power politics on the basis of national messianic fervor. To do this, the Maoists had to purge an increasingly conservative and self-interested administrative bureaucracy. For this task, Mao turned to the PLA officers and to plebian student youth. Once it had been purged of pro-Russian conciliationist tendencies it was natural that the officer corps should find itself in the Maoist camp. The officers' social position led them to be more concerned with the long-term strength of the Chinese state than committed to local vested interests. In addition, they were removed from the direct pressure of the Chinese masses and naturally favored extracting a larger economic surplus for armament production. The Chinese student youth were, in the main, the bureaucracy of tomorrow. They were the inheritors of the Chinese government and wanted that government to be great and powerful and its subjects hard-working and frugal. The vested interest of ambitious educated youth is in the future of the petty-bourgeois stratum. For that reason they easily embrace utopian ideals and attack those whose workaday concerns prevent those ideals from being realized.

With the support of Lin and the PLA command, Mao easily ousted his main factional opponents—Liu, Teng and Peng—in 1966, before the Cultural Revolution was taken into the streets. The wholesale purge of the bureaucracy proved more difficult. In the end, it proved impossible. To understand how the entrenched bureaucrats resisted the Cultural Revolution it is necessary to see what happened when the Red Guard "proletarian revolutionaries" confronted the Chinese proletariat—on the other side of the barricades!

Whatever illusions the Chinese masses may have had about what the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution meant, it rapidly became clear that it did not mean more for the proletariat. Under the slogan of combatting "economism," the radical Maoists made it very clear they intended to hold down wages and intensify labor. During 1966 there were a number of labor struggles culminating in the January 1967 Shanghai general strike and nationwide railway strike, the greatest clash between the Chinese proletariat and Stalinist government to date.

The railroad workers were one of the most self-consciously proletarian sections of Chinese society, with their own housing centers and schools. The Cultural Revolution was particularly hard on the railroad workers because, in addition to the normal traffic, they had to transport huge armies of Red Guards around the country. In addition, they were required to study the Thought of Chairman Mao after putting in a long day of work. Because of the extra traffic, existing safety regulations were violated. When the workers complained, the Red Guards attacked "old [safety] regulations which do not conform to the thought of Mao Tse Tung" (*Current Scene*, 19 May 1967). No doubt the Red Guards believed that the Thought of Mao was more powerful than the laws of physics! The railway union in Shanghai organized other workers in negotiations centering on either reducing the longer working hours or being paid for them. In December, the local Shanghai authorities granted a general wage increase. When the Maoist center in Peking reversed the wage increase, Shanghai and China's railroads stopped working.

The Red Guards and PLA overthrew the local Shanghai government and proceeded to smash the strike. The famous "Letter to All Shanghai People" (*Shanghai Liberation Daily*, 5 January 1967) began with the command "Grasp Revolution, Stimulate Production." The "Letter" went on to blame anti-party elements for inciting workers to leave their jobs and converge on Peking. This was curious propaganda coming from the supposed leaders of a "proletarian" revolution against those holding political power. The railway strike took longer to suppress and university students had to be used as unskilled railway scab labor.

After the January 1967 events, those bureaucrats under attack by the Red Guards had little trouble organizing their own "Red Guards," composed of workers, to defend them. The workers sensed that if the Red Guards took over they would be working twelve hours a day, seven days a week and studying the Thought of Mao for another eight hours. And in the street fighting that erupted throughout China's cities, the radical Maoists were not winning.

Despite the "participation" of the masses, the Cultural Revolution remained a struggle *within* the bureaucracy. It was a battle between the Mao-Lin faction and the atomized, conservative party apparatus. In the main, the students and workers were organized and cynically manipulated by the bureaucratic groupings. Revolutionary Marxists could not support either the utopian-militarist nationalism of the Mao faction or the various careerists struggling to keep their jobs.

From the standpoint of communists, the Cultural Revolution polarized Chinese society along the wrong lines by pitting subjectively revolutionary student youth, who believed they were fighting bureaucratism, against workers defending their standard of living. Had a Chinese Trotskyist organization been able to intervene, its task would have been to cut across these false lines of division and build a genuine communist opposition to the bureaucracy *as a whole*.

To the Red Guards, Trotskyists should have said the following: First, communist consciousness among the workers cannot be created by the methods of religious mysticism (has the spirit of Mao seized your soul?) but only when the workers are really responsible for governing Chinese society through democratic institutions. Secondly, the concept of socialism must be purged of military barracks asceticism. Communists are genuinely concerned about the material well-being of the masses and do not glorify poverty and endless toil. And perhaps most importantly, a communist society cannot be built in China simply through the willpower and sacrifices of the Chinese people. That requires the support of victorious proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries—revolutions which are blocked by Stalinist China's foreign policy. A central task for Chinese communists is to use the power and authority of the Chinese state to further the world socialist revolution. This means not only a break from the policy of supporting anti-proletarian nationalist bourgeois regimes, but also immediately demanding a military bloc with the Soviet Union, most urgently in Indochina, even while the USSR remains under bureaucratic rule.

To those workers drawn into defending the incumbent apparatchiks against the radical Maoists, Trotskyists should say the following: the material interests of the workers cannot be furthered by supporting the "soft," venal elements within the bureaucracy. Those material interests can only be served when a workers government controls the Chinese economy, replacing the deadening control of the conservative bureaucracy. To maintain political power, the workers government would indeed have to restrain wage increases in order to generate a surplus needed for military purposes and to absorb the peasantry into the industrial work force. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot survive with a small, aristocratic working class surrounded by a sea of impoverished peasants. However, a fundamental improvement in the material conditions of the Chinese people can only come about through resources supplied by more advanced workers states. Economic aid to China through international revolution need not be a long-term prospect. A workers revolution in China would give an enormous impetus to a socialist revolution in Japan, Asia's industrial power, with a highly conscious proletariat and brittle social structure. The complementary, planned development of Japan and China would go a long way toward overcoming the poverty of the Chinese people. And these are the politics the Trotskyist movement should have presented to the embattled Chinese workers and students during the Cultural Revolution.

Who Were the Victors?

With the incumbent bureaucrats able to mobilize groups of workers to fight the Red Guards, the radical Maoists were stalemated. The Maoist center then took a step which fundamentally changed the course of the Cultural Revolution and eventually led to its liquidation. In February 1967 the army was called in to support the Red Guards in "seizing power." Now the PLA officer corps is of the flesh-and-blood of the bureaucracy, tied to the rest of China's officialdom by innumerable personal and social affiliations. As a condition for militarily supporting the Red Guards the PLA command demanded that there be no wholesale purge of the incumbent administrators, that they be allowed to rehabilitate themselves. This was the so-called "mild cadre policy." The role of the PLA in preserving the bureaucracy was codified by a change in the formal program of the Cultural Revolution. When launched in 1966, the Cultural Revolution was supposed to produce a political system modeled on the Paris Commune. In early 1967, this was changed to the so-called "triple alliance" of "revolutionary rebels" (Red Guards), the PLA and the "revolutionary cadre" (incumbent bureaucrats). Clearly the officer corps was in charge.

Red Guard

The real relationship between the PLA and the Red Guards was revealed by the famous Wuhan incident in August 1967, although the army commander went too far. In a faction fight between two Red Guard groups, the army commander naturally supported the more right-wing one. When a couple of Maoist emissaries came from Peking to support the more radical faction the commander had them arrested. For this act of near-mutiny, he was dismissed. However, the fate of the principals involved in the Wuhan incident is highly significant. The mutinous commander, Chen Tsai-tao, is today back in power and the two Maoist emissaries were purged as "ultra-leftists."

The Wuhan incident temporarily turned the Maoist center against the PLA command and the Cultural Revolution reached its peak of anarchistic violence, including the burning of the British chancellery. By the end of 1967 the pressure from the PLA command to crack down on the Red Guards became irresistible. The 28 January 1968 issue of the *Liberation Army Daily* announced that the PLA would "support the left, but not any particular faction"—a not-so-veiled threat to smash the Red Guards. The article went on to attack "petty-bourgeois factionalism." About the same time, Chou En-lai asserted that the leadership of the Cultural Revolution had passed from the students and youth to the workers, peasants and soldiers. Throughout 1968, attacks on "petty-bourgeois factionalism," "anarchism" and "sectarianism" drowned out attacks on "capitalist roadism" and "revisionism."

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And it ended with a mango. The final curtain fell on the Cultural Revolution in August 1968 when Mao personally intervened to resolve a faction fight between student Red Guards at Peking's Tsinghua University, where the first Red Guard group was formed. Having failed to resolve the dispute to his liking, Mao is supposed to have said, "You have let me down and what is more you have disappointed the workers, peasants and soldiers of China" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 29 August 1968). Within 48 hours, China's first "Worker-Peasant Thought of Mao Tse-tung Propaganda Team," commanded by PLA officers, arrived as Tsinghua University and dissolved the Red Guards. For this service the Chairman personally sent the group a gift of mangoes. The Red Guards were suppressed by similar methods throughout the country. The more resistant activists were sent to the countryside to "remold" their thinking through toiling with the peasants, the usual fate for those who "disappoint" Mao.

The Mao faction did not win the Cultural Revolution. Mao had clearly expected to replace the administrative bureaucracy with cadre unambiguously loyal to himself interspersed with young zealots and engendering mass enthusiasm while doing so. Instead the popular reaction against the Cultural Revolution strengthened the resistance of the incumbent bureaucracy. Once the army was called in directly, Mao was forced to play a bonapartist role between the PLA officers representing bureaucratic conservatism and the radical student youth.

That the bureaucracy was largely conserved is demonstrated by the composition of the Central Committee elected at the Ninth CCP Congress in 1969—the so-called "Congress of Victors." The average age of the CC was 61 and the length of time in the party 25 years. Two-thirds of the CC elected in 1945 (who had not died or been purged before the Cultural Revolution) were re-elected to the 1969 Central Committee! The 1969 CC did show an increase in the proportion of those who had been on the Long March (the Maoist old guard) and a marked increase in the proportion of PLA officers (45 percent). Hardly what a naive Maoist enthusiast would expect as the aftermath of a supposedly anti-bureaucratic "revolution"!

The final liquidation of the Cultural Revolution came with the fall of the Lin faction. Lin Piao was associated with a series of manifestly bankrupt policies. On the domestic economic front, he was accused of wanting to launch a production drive in 1969 and of "allowing peasants to be deprived of their legitimate income" (Far Eastern Economic Review, *1973 Yearbook*). Clearly Lin was pushing for another Great Leap Forward. However, the Cultural Revolution had revealed enormous economic discontent and the willingness of the workers to fight the regime to preserve their living standards. A Great-Leap-Forward campaign in 1969 could only have been suicidal. In fact, since the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese economy has been more market-oriented, more inegalitarian, more localized than it was in 1965. The Mao-Chou regime seems anxious to assure the masses that great economic sacrifices will not be demanded of them. Almost every official statement on economic policy asserts the peasant's right to a private plot.

On foreign policy, the man who announced that "the countryside of the world would conquer the cities of the world" was equally a loser. In the late 1960's, only a political idiot could believe that China was successfully leading the "Third World" against the U.S. and Russia. The Cultural Revolution left China diplomatically isolated. Despite the Vietnam War, U.S. foreign policy up through 1968 continued to orient toward a bloc with Russia against China. With objective conditions favorable for diplomatic and economic gains, a rightward turn in foreign policy was inevitable. In is probable that Lin broke in opposition to the rapprochment with Nixon.

With his base in the army, Lin undoubtedly launched a factional struggle against the emerging Mao-Chou axis. He lost. It is quite possible that he planned a military coup as the Maoists now claim. However, whatever ill Lin may have wished Mao and Chou while he was alive, his corpse has more than made up for it. He is the perfect scapegoat for everything that went wrong because of the Cultural Revolution. Whenever a purged "capitalist-roader" is brought back into power, it was Lin who framed him up. When Chou apologized to the British for the burning of their chancellery, he put the blame on Lin.

With every passing day the victims of the Cultural Revolution seem to replace the victors. Even the "number two person in power taking the capitalist road," Teng Hsiao-ping, is back on the road with Mao. And yet the Cultural Revolution has clearly left a badly divided party. The secretiveness and extreme brevity of the Tenth Party Congress points to a tense internal situation. It is as if the slightest formal concession to inner-party democracy would produce murderous factionalism. The elevation of the unknown Wang Hung-wen to number three is probably a sop to the radical Maoists who are understandably distrustful of Chou En-lai—the man who is never on the losing side of a faction fight. However, Wang is probably a figurehead with no real base in the party cadre. When Mao dies, the CCP should have a succession crisis that will make the Cultural Revolution look like a formal debate. Of course, the Chinese proletariat may take the question of which bureaucratic aspirant succeeds Mao off the historic agenda by establishing its own democratic class rule.

Down with Mao and Brezhnev For Sino-Soviet Communist Unity

The most important development since the Cultural Revolution has been in China's foreign relations. State relations with the Soviet Union have drastically worsened, flaring into actual armed conflict in 1970. The Sino-Soviet boundary has become one of the most militarized borders in the world. The Mao-Chou regime's new love affair with Richard Nixon is clearly designed as a counter to what it sees as its principal enemy—the Soviet Union. This past year the Chinese attempt to line up Western imperialism against the Soviet Union has reached a new low. China is campaigning to strengthen NATO in order to divert the Russian army from Siberia. For example the 3 August *Peking Review* approvingly cites Lord Chalfont's letter to the *London Times* calling for expansion of NATO:

> "Chalfont has of late published a number of articles in *The Times* to expose the Soviet threat to European security and plead for strengthened defense cooperation by the West European countries."

Whatever episodic changes occur in diplomatic moods, the objective relationship of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet Union is fundamentally different than that toward China. The Soviet Union is economically and militarily qualitatively superior to China, and the military peer of the U.S. Therefore it is the Soviet Union which is the core of the anti-capitalist regimes in the world and the main objective obstacle to U.S. imperialism. (Could China have supplied the U.S.-blockaded Cubans?) Conversely, the Soviet Union could defeat China in a major war without imperialist intervention, while China could expect victory only in alliance with another power. Thus the logic of the great power triangle is for a U.S.-China alliance against the Soviet Union. However, great-power politics are not historically rational and a U.S.-Soviet attack on China remains a possibility.

Under any circumstances, a war between Russia and China would be an enormous setback for the cause of socialism. If a Sino-Soviet war breaks out independently of the direct intervention of imperialism, such as an expanded version of the 1970 border clash, Trotskyists must call for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. However, if the U.S. allies itself with one side in a Sino-Soviet war to the extent that the outcome could be the restoration of capitalism through imperialist victory, Trotskyists must call for unconditional military defense of that deformed workers state directly under the assault essentially of U.S. imperialism.

The focus of the Russian-Chinese conflict is the Siberian border. Significantly the legal basis for the conflicting claims is an eighteenth-century treaty signed by the Romanoff dynasty and the Manchus—who as we all know were scrupulous in their concern for national rights! Those new to the socialist movement may find it impossible to understand why the leadership of a deformed workers state should be willing to go to war with another deformed workers state over a sparsely populated slice of territory and connive with capitalist powers in order to do so. Does this mean that workers states can be imperialists, just like capitalist powers? Is there an economic drive making war between these two Stalinist-ruled countries inevitable? Not at all.

In fact, the Moscow and Peking regimes are *politically* threatened by each other's very existence, since both competing powers claim to represent the interests of the workers but are in fact the instruments of an isolated bureaucracy which can maintain itself in power only by forcibly suppressing any political life of the proletariat. Khrushchev and Brezhnev have dealt with Liu and Mao the same way Stalin dealt with Tito (against whom he had no territorial claims) and every internal opposition, from Trotsky on the left to Bukharin on the right, and with any potentially independent members of his own faction as well. A competing tendency claiming to represent the workers and with the resources of state power to propagate its views is doubly threatening to the precarious stability of these anti-proletarian regimes.

As Trotsky pointed out, the origins of the bureaucratic degeneration in the Soviet Union could be traced to the national limitation and isolation of the Russian Revolution in a backward country. This led to the elaboration of the nationalist ideology of "socialism in one country"—a necessarily *false consciousness* for a ruling bureaucratic stratum. Thus these supposed "Communists" speak airily of proletarian internationalism but at the same time truly believe that it is their sacred duty to extend the fatherland. And what is true for Moscow is equally true for Peking or the second-rate nationalist bureaucracies in Sofia, Tirana, etc.

In the conflict over Siberia, the Russians now have an overwhelming advantage. In addition to absolute nuclear superiority, the Soviet army would have an advantage in conventional war not offset by China's greater manpower reserves. The Russian side of the border is much more heavily populated. And the Turkic-speaking peoples inhabiting China's northern border regions are resentful of centuries of Great Han chauvinism and may well be sympathetic to the Russians. Moreover, the Kremlin is also hard at work lining up the support of the capitalist powers. In addition to purely financial considerations, a major reason Brezhnev is so anxious for foreign capital in the Siberian oil and gas fields is to give the U.S. and Japan a stake in keeping Siberia Russian.

However, the Soviet military advantage is rapidly being undermined by the development of Chinese nuclear capacity. Thus there is now pressure within the Brezhnev regime for a preventive nuclear strike against China before the Chinese develop much greater retaliatory capacity. The Soviet authorities are presently generating a major war scare, particularly among Siberian residents, based on the worst kind of "yellow peril" racism. A correspondent for the London *Economist* (25-31 August) quoted a school teacher in Siberia as stating that:

> "The Chinese radio, broadcasting in Russian, had threatened that the Chinese would occupy the south of Siberia, kill all the Russian men and keep the Russian girls for marrying."

If revolutionary workers governments were in power in Moscow and Peking, the conflict over Siberia would be easily resolved in the interests of the Russian and Chinese workers. Siberia would be open to Chinese immigration and jointly administered to ensure rapid economic development. Moreover, the existence of the unified and revolutionary workers states of Russia and China could well spark the Japanese socialist revolution, liberating Japan's economic resources for the development of Siberia, as well as of China.

Trotskyists understand that the Stalinist bureaucracies are caught in a fundamentally contradictory position. On the one hand they seek to defend themselves from imperialist attack, while on the other hand they strive for an impossible accommodation with the capitalist powers and fear above all the spread of world revolution, which would inevitably topple their parasitic regimes. In the long term, the deformed workers states (bureaucratically ruled states based on collectivized property forms) can survive only through the international extension of workers power. By pursuing nationalist policies, the Stalinist bureaucracies of China and Russia undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and open the way for its overthrow by domestic counterrevolution or imperialist conquest. The Chinese revolution (the most important defeat for imperialism since the October Revolution in Russia) is now mortally threatened by nuclear war. It is war not with an imperialist power, but with the other powerful deformed workers state—the Soviet Union.

Only by overthrowing the reactionary Mao and Brezhnev governments can the Russian and Chinese working masses prevent going to war against each other and instead bring about the political, military and economic unification of the Sino-Soviet states against world capitalism.

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Soviet Dissidents

November 1971).

There is a definite diversity of views among the various trends of Soviet dissidents. Thus the eminent novelist Andrey Solzhenitsyn has recently embraced pacifism and Russian Orthodox religion, while condemning the Chinese nuclear tests and supposed NLF massacres during the 1968 Tet Offensive in a bizarre article which does not even attack the massacres perpetrated by Western capitalist regimes, such as genocidal bombing in Vietnam (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 September 1973). On the other hand there was the old Bolshevik Alexis Kosterin (died in 1968), who is reported to have remarked that, "The only alternative to this regime and to Stalinist 'socialism' is Marxist-Leninist socialism, stripped of its mud and regenerated by its free development." Ivan Yakhimovitch, writing in November 1968, remarked: "Stalinism has become the main danger which threatens the workers' unity and solidarity in every country, the main threat to progress and peace....Whether the Stalinists are aware of it or not, they are more afraid of their own people than they are of the imperialists" ("Leninism, Yes! Stalinism, No!").

But despite the diversity, it must be said that even the most left of the current Soviet dissidents are a long way from Leninism and a long way even from the political level of the post-war student group "The True Work of Lenin." None of the democratic oppositionists opposes peaceful coexistence and calls for international class solidarity (on the contrary, most want a more consistent peaceful coexistence—which would further threaten the nationalized property forms of the USSR). None calls for a Bolshevik-Leninist party and a *political* revolution to defend the social and economic conquests of October.

Many Soviet critics of the bureaucracy have implicitly or explicitly adopted a "state capitalist" view of Russia, thus obliterating the class distinction between the degenerated workers state, with all its inequality, oppression and the political expropriation of the working class by the rapacious bureaucracy; and capitalism. This leads many to hold an idealized view of the U.S. which is not uncommon among petty-bourgeois intellectuals in Eastern Europe also. A particularly frightening example of this trend was a leaflet distributed by an anonymous "Citizen's Committee" in Moscow last summer:

> "Respected citizens! Our country is the world's richest in natural resources. It is the second greatest industrial power. But in terms of living standards, the workers of the Soviet Union rank twenty-sixth, the lowest of all the developed countries....
>
> "An unemployed worker in the West can buy from two to four times more goods with his or her unemployment benefits than our laborers and office workers can buy with their wages....
>
> "And it is not toward communism that we are heading—that is all lies. Our system is state capitalism, the worst and most rapacious system of government, which allows the rulers, free of any control, to dispose of all income and wealth in the country and to commit acts of coercion and arbitrariness. This kind of uncontrolled and ruthlessly rapacious government was what Germany had under Hitler's 'socialism.'"
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 11 September 1972

Every class-conscious worker would be repelled by such politics, which simply abandon the tremendous achievements made possible by the October Revolution. Trotsky, writing in 1940, had an *opposite* program:

> "The October revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik party was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The world organization which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy. Soviets of Workers and Peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate Commissars, Secretaries and G.P.U. agents.
>
> "But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October revolution are the nationalized industry and collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation Workers' Soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involved democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might. However, the conquests of the October revolution will serve the people only if they prove themselves capable of dealing with the Stalinist bureaucracy, as in their day they dealt with the Tsarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie."
>
> —"Letter to the Workers of the USSR"

In contrast to the despairing liberals of today who turn to Pompidou, the UN or "world public opinion" to reform the Soviet bureaucracy, Trotsky sought to defend the degenerated workers state from imperialism by political revolution in the USSR and social revolution in the capitalist West. This was the platform of the Bolshevik-Leninist prisoners who led the 1936-37 hunger strikes in the Vorkuta labor camps, and it was on this platform that the Communist former students and Red Army officers who organized the 1953 Vorkuta uprising fought. While these struggles were annihilated they represented an incomparably greater force than the pacific petitions and mystical moralizing so prevalent today.

SWP and OCI on Soviet Dissidents

Revolutionary socialists must unflinchingly defend democratic liberties in the USSR for the opinions of even petty-bourgeois liberals such as Sakharov. Aware that intellectual ferment among the intelligentsia has often preceded spontaneous proletarian outbursts in Eastern Europe (Hungary in 1956, for example), the bureaucracy strikes out at the anti-Stalin critics it tolerated and even supported for years in order to crush its real enemy—the working class. Like Tito in Yugoslavia, Brezhnev seeks to amalgamate bourgeois nationalists and socialists under the category, enemy of the Soviet state. Ironically, the same amalgam is established by those socialist opponents of Stalinism who uncritically and without distinction laud "Soviet dissidents."

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party tries to maintain a semblance of Marxism by distinguishing "liberals" such as Sakharov and "radical democrats" such as Yakir, Grigorenko and others. However, at the same time it had been uncritically reporting the protests of Sakharov for more than a year before noting that his criticisms attack the Soviet bureaucracy from the right; and to this day it still adopts a similar attitude of "positive neutrality" on the political statements of Solzhenitsyn. Moreover, there is in fact no sharp dividing line between Yakir and Sakharov, both of whom had oriented toward influencing bourgeois public opinion. Grigorenko, while a sincere militant and a socialist who was closely associated with Kosterin in the struggle for the rights of the Crimean Tatars, cannot be considered in fact a Marxist-Leninist. In calling for political support to Dubcek and the "democratization" campaign of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1968, he failed to make the crucial distinction between bureaucratic reformism and working-class revolution. This same mistake led earlier generations of oppositionists to place their faith in Malenkov and then Khrushchev. It is high time to learn the lesson of the bureaucracy's "de-Stalinization" campaigns once and for all! Only by struggling for Marxist programmatic clarity and reliance on the working class can the struggle of sincere democratic dissidents in the Soviet Union be carried forward toward socialism.

The OCI, though generally much to the left of the reformist SWP, has if anything an even more uncritical attitude toward oppositionists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Repeatedly referring to Grigorenko and Yakir as "communists," even after Yakir's capitulation (*Informations Ouvrières* No. 616, 20 June 1973), it even attempted to cover up for the pathetic appeals to bourgeois opinion:

> "The development of the communist opposition in the U.S.S.R. depends on its rooting itself among the workers and on the development of the class struggle in the capitalist world, as well as in the whole of Eastern Europe, manifested by the development of political organizations capable of giving to this struggle its revolutionary dimension, that is, the reconstruction of the Fourth International....that is why Pavel Litvinov and Larissa Daniel address themselves, in February 1968, to world public opinion; that is why the founders of the Action Group address themselves to the Committee of the Rights of Man of the UN. World public opinion and the UN should not be taken literally; they represent, in a form diverted, prudent and vague, the tie with the international class struggle and with the international workers organizations."
>
> —*Samizdat I*

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Brezhnev clowning during June visit to U.S.

In themselves, appeals to "world public opinion" are not unprincipled, as revolutionaries will even use bourgeois parliaments and the bourgeois press to make their views known to the masses of workers. Trotsky used the platform offered by the bourgeois press many times to expose the bureaucracy and was even willing to appear before the reactionary Dies Committee of the U.S. Congress. But the Soviet oppositionists appeal to bourgeois public opinion as a strategy rather than making use of a podium to reach the world working class. Like Pushkin's Aleko (in *The Gypsies*) who "wanted freedom only for himself," they want democracy only for themselves and are willing to ally with bourgeois forces to attain it. Of course their illusions about the nature of the UN were learned in the Stalin-Dimitrov school of anti-Marxism, but to make excuses for these illusions and even paint them up as proletarian internationalism is a tremendous disservice to socialist militants in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who are genuinely seeking a revolutionary strategy.

For Soviet Democracy! Down with the Bureaucracy!

We do not have, for obvious reasons, comprehensive knowledge of opposition currents in the Soviet Union. In Eastern European countries there have been a few isolated groups oriented toward Trotskyism. The contradictions of the present democratic oppositionist movement may soon lead to sharp divisions along political lines, with the possible crystallization of a left wing based on one or several of the underground groups which the *Chronicle* has criticized for "conspiratorialism." In the USSR, where the class nature of the Soviet state is an immediate and crucial question, there is good reason to hope that such a left opposition could be won to Trotskyism and the perspective of building a Russian section of the Fourth International. (To consider the Soviet Union "capitalist" as do the Chinese, or "socialist" as do various reformers of the Dubcek stripe, would have immediate disastrous consequences which, hopefully, could be relatively easily understood. It is one thing to have a "state-capitalist" position in the United States; it is quite another to hold such an anti-Marxist view in the USSR when one is faced with the fact, for example, that some of the most consistently socialist opponents of Stalinism have come from the bureaucracy and the army itself.)

But Leninist political clarity can be achieved only by a firm defense of the Trotskyist program rather than basking in the reflected popularity which the "Soviet dissidents" enjoy among bourgeois liberals. The fatalism, eclecticism and non-class outlook of Sakharov and the bureaucratic reformism of Medvedev do not show the way forward for the working masses of the Soviet Union, in spite of the integrity and personal heroism which many have shown.

Hands off the democratic oppositionists—For the restoration of full Soviet democracy! Toward the rebirth of soviets of workers and collective farmers! Down with the bureaucracy—for political revolution in the USSR! For social revolution against capitalism! Toward the formation of a Soviet Trotskyist party, Russian section of a reconstructed Fourth International! ■

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(near Broadway)
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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

Defend Carlos Feliciano!

Having been subjected to prosecution on frame-up charges for the past three years, Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano could be sentenced to up to seven years in prison as a result of a verdict reached in Manhattan Supreme Court on September 19. While he was found innocent on charges that he tried to bomb the General Electric Building in midtown Manhattan in 1970, he was found guilty on four other counts of possession of bomb-making devices and a gun. The prosecution's case was obviously fabricated, and Feliciano was acquitted of basically the same charges in a trial in the Bronx in 1972.

Just as the SL/RCY have in the past participated in united-front activities in defense of Feliciano and other political prisoners, regardless of our opposition to the bourgeois ideology and class-collaborationist practice of nationalism, it remains the responsibility of all working-class tendencies to fight the ruling-class attack on Carlos Feliciano! His case is to be appealed, and a demonstration has been called by the defense committee for October 12, the date of sentencing, at Foley Square in Manhattan.

For information, contact the:

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND CARLOS FELICIANO
Box 356, Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

WV PHOTO

Carlos Feliciano

Spartacist Local Directory

ATLANTA
Box 7686, Atlanta, GA 30309

BERKELEY-OAKLAND..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

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Letter

2 August 1973

Dear Comrades:

While Part I of comrade Knox's article "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions" (*Workers Vanguard* 25) provides in general an excellent intoduction to the subject, two significant errors caught my eye. Comrade Knox states that "... Cannon had broken with Foster in 1926 over the Passaic strike, which he felt was an example in which a new union should have been formed under Communist leadership."

The Foster-Cannon bloc, which originated in 1923 in opposition to the undemocratic Pepper regime and its labor party fiasco, split in August 1925 at the Fourth Party Convention over the question of how to deal with the "cable from Moscow" which gave the Ruthenburgite minority 40% representation on all leadership bodies against the will of the majority of the party convention. Cannon wanted to offer the Ruthenbergites 50% of the leadership in the interests of inner-party peace; Foster, angered by the unwarranted interference of the Comintern (in the early stages of Stalinist degeneration), wanted to refuse any leadership position and to surrender the leadership to Ruthenberg. The Foster-Cannon bloc split on this issue.

Secondly, Cannon defended the alfiliation of the Passaic union with the United Textile Workers, an AFL union. (The Passaic union was organized by Weisbord through a "United Front Committee"; this was done under the direction of Ruthenberg and was at least in part a factional maneuver against Foster and TUEL. The "United Front Committee" was stigmatized as an adventure in dual unionism, and no one in the Party seems to have been willing to take credit for organizing an independent union—except Weisbord, perhaps. In later years, Foster claimed that the strike had been led by TUEL!) In an article entitled "Passaic Strike Anniversary" (The *Militant*, 22 February 1930), Cannon argues that alfiliation was neither a mistake in principle nor in tactics: "To say that the affiliation amounted to a 'betrayal' of the workers is childish nonsense...." Cannon further argues that the affiliation was carried out in an "opportunistic manner": "This was particularly noticeable in the publicity of the strike committee which began to be tainted with defeatist apologies to the labor fakers." Cannon refers to "several motions" which he had introduced at the time of the affiliation to correct the "opportunistic manner" with which it was being implemented. But errors were "incidental," Cannon concludes, the policy both principled and correct. (I believe that there is an article in *The Militant* a few months after Cannon's, written by Shachtman, in which the latter argues that affiliation was an opportunist betrayal. I haven't had the opportunity to re-locate that article, but I think it must be in the 1930 or '31 *Militant*.)

Communist greetings,
Carl Watson

Sub-Drive Report

REGIONAL QUOTAS		SUBS TO DATE	
Bay Area	210	Bay Area	42
Boston	140	Boston	85-1/2
Buffalo	100	Buffalo	80
Chicago	90	Chicago	7
Cleveland	100	Cleveland	14
Detroit	120	Detroit	74-1/2
Los Angeles	90	Los Angeles	26
New York	300	New York	82
At Large	50	At Large	12
Total	1200	Total	423

Continued from page 16

Woodcock...

of the company through its arbitration or grievance proceedings.

Replace Grievance "Procedure" with Workers Control

The only solution to shop-floor problems is to eliminate all restrictions on national and local strikes, create workers committees in each department with stewards directly responsible to them and settle all disputes at once on the shop floor. This would completely eliminate the grievance "procedure," which is just a stalling mechanism anyway. Such workers' control on the shop floor would then be extended to include control over line speed, job description, hiring and firing, etc. and used to eliminate all racial and sexual discrimination.

Combined with a shorter workweek and struggle against layoffs, these gains would provide the basis for the struggle for a national sliding scale of wages and hours, workers control over production, expropriation of central industries and the struggle for state power by the working class as a whole, through the building of a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for these demands and a workers government. At every step the strength of the workers themselves, mobilized to use their power to withdraw their labor when and where necessary, would decide the outcome. Instead of this, the "gains" of Woodcock's contract serve only to provide a little candy coating to the continued muck of exploitation. While saying nothing about layoffs, control over jobs and line speed, it attempts to lock the workers more securely to the fate of the corporations and a dying capitalism through attacks on absenteeism, isolation from other workers' struggles, "partnership," etc. Already this class collaboration has allowed the U.S. capitalists to freeze wages and extend their foreign exports. As inter-imperialist rivalries intensify, this "partnership" will lead to submission of the working class to a new world war. Only the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party and caucuses in the unions based on a program of transition to the revolutionary seizure of power by the workers can provide an alternative to more class collaborationism and inevitable defeats at the hands of Woodcock and Co. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

"Voluntary Overtime" After 54 Hours a Week!

Woodcock Settles for Nothing

DETROIT, 20 September—After only two days of a strike against Chrysler, the United Auto Workers leadership announced that a settlement had been reached, thus promising to make this the shortest strike in UAW history. The settlement is not only a betrayal of the UAW's stated goals, grossly inadequate to meet the minimum needs of the auto workers, but a further victory for the Nixon government in its efforts to shift onto the working class the burdens created by the anarchy of capitalist production for profit.

Fruits of "Partnership"

For months before the strike, the Woodcock "leadership" talked of the lack of necessity of a strike this year. It then proceeded to keep the members completely in the dark as to the bargaining, both before and after the brief strike announcement, which came one hour before the contract expired. The tone of the announcements was one of great friendliness and cooperation between the company and the union. This class collaboration continued after the agreement was announced, whereupon the bourgeois dailies chimed in with fulsome praise for the rapid settlement and its "important," "precedent-setting" character. Naturally the UAW local leaders were ready with their line of "it was the best we could get" and talk of returning to work as soon as possible. Thus all the forces which had only a few weeks earlier united in condemning the spontaneous unauthorized strikes of Chrysler workers in Detroit and denouncing "reds," were again in firm accord on what was best for auto workers.

The "precedent-setting" gains took the form of vague "principles" gutted of almost all content. A "voluntary overtime" provision heads the list: it throws away the 40-hour week (does anyone remember the 40-hour week?) by making overtime voluntary only *after* 54 hours, or 6 days at 9 hours each. This just happens to be the standard overtime scheduling at most assembly plants, particularly Chrysler and General Motors. Every third Saturday is also optional, but only if applied for a week in advance and if the worker's attendance is perfect during the preceding week!

The question of wages automatically took on added importance once voluntary overtime was under discussion, since most workers with families are compelled to seek overtime for the money. Despite Woodcock's promises that economic issues would not be "downgraded," this was exactly what was done, in order to assure the companies that "voluntary overtime" would have as little impact as possible. After an initial show of ridicule the bureaucrats accepted Chrysler's insulting, pre-strike offer of 3 percent a year, modified only by an initial 12 cents across the board (for a total of 5 percent) in the first year, and minor improvements in the inadequate cost-of-living factor. This agreement is guaranteed to cause further erosion of auto workers' real earnings, which have been declining steadily since the sellout on cost-of-living in 1967. To present such a deal in the face of the rampant inflation, particularly on food, of the past three months, is bureaucratic arrogance at its worst!

The bureaucracy is counting primarily on "fulfillment" of the "30 and out" provision to secure passage of the contract. Although age restrictions on the retirement clause have been lifted, retirees will not reach the promised $650/month until 1976 and are not protected by a cost-of-living allowance, which fact could in short order render the pension virtually worthless.

Reject the Fraud

The contract is a fraud from beginning to end and must be rejected. There is no provision to prevent the massive layoffs which threaten all industrial jobs as the inevitable downturn in the business cycle sets in. It simply provides the remaining auto workers with a few inducements to work harder until they can escape after 30 years in the plant, assuming they can afford it. Overtime will still be compulsory, in effect, for the vast majority. No effort was made to make overtime rates prohibitive, which was the original purpose of such rates. The twin evils of unemployment and compulsory overtime for the employed can be solved only by a sliding scale of hours throughout society, through which available work will be divided up evenly among those seeking work, with restrictions on overtime. This should be coupled with a sliding scale of wages, i.e., full protection against rising prices for all workers. This struggle could be initiated in a UAW or other industrial contract through a compulsory shorter workweek with a big raise in pay, full cost-of-living protection and strikes against layoffs and cutbacks.

The Woodcock bureaucracy, however, like the rest of the trade-union bureaucracy, is not interested in the struggle of the working class against capitalism but only in "sharing" in the prosperity of "their" companies. This was shown most graphically by Woodcock's failure even to mention Nixon's vetoing of the AFL-CIO's very minimal minimum wage bill, his proposal to slash the minimum for young workers still further and the UAW's utter failure to do anything to thwart the attempts to break the teachers' strike throughout Michigan, all of which occurred simultaneously with the auto negotiations and strike.

No section of the working class can stand alone and isolated. A militant auto workers' strike could have raised demands of interest to all workers, such as a higher minimum wage with cost-of-living protection, and declared its solidarity with the teachers and for the right of all public employees to strike. Woodcock's lack of leadership and elementary solidarity leaves auto workers at the mercy of the low wage structure and wage-freezing government.

Woodcock also failed to protest the large price increases being granted to the auto monopolies by Nixon's Cost of Living Council, despite the obvious maneuverings by General Motors and the CLC itself in preparation for a possible attack on the auto contract. Seeking to prompt CLC action and possibly to reject the Chrysler terms, GM announced that the total cost of the contract might be as much as 10 percent. Meanwhile, to improve its credibility, the CLC temporarily put off Chrysler's latest bid for a price increase.

Woodcock's faint-hearted "opposition" to the wage guidelines serves only to legitimize the capitalist freeze on wages, while prices skyrocket. Although claiming to be against the wage control law, Woodcock still sits on Nixon's "advisory committee" to the CLC and Productivity Commission and furthermore made clear in advance his intention of "living with" the guidelines. After the settlement was announced, both UAW and Chrysler went through pre-planned refusals to state the percentage cost of the agreement. Asked how he expected to get CLC approval without a cost estimate, Woodcock said, "I live in blissful hopes that the CLC, having been such a miserable failure, will just go away" (*Detroit News*, 18 September 1973)! The contract avoids a fight against wage controls by simply providing for an escrow fund for any money taken away by the CLC until some other way to give it to the workers can be found.

UPI

UAW leaders Fraser (left) and Woodcock announce sellout contract to press.

Bureaucrats Seek Management Role

The real nature of the contract is revealed in provisions which received much less attention that the "voluntary overtime" and "30 and out." In the bargaining convention resolution's "harmony clause," which asserted the identity of interests between the union bureaucracy and the company, and in its demands for a partnership in management under the rubric of "humanize the work force," the Woodcock bureaucracy made its intentions plain. The contract will attempt to improve productivity, attendance and eliminate strikes. It includes a clause which actually *reduces* pay for probationary employees (first 90 days), and in effect lengthens the probation period by refunding the lost money in a lump sum only after six months, "if the employee is still on the job." This provides another club over the head of militant new workers and will save the company money on "turnover." Provisions on health and safety and "humanization" are based on extensive company-union cooperation rather than a move in the direction of workers' control of the shop floor. The company is to send the union a guarantee of partnership in employee-motivation "experiments," is to cooperate with committeemen in plant inspections, etc. This is "aimed at preventing shutdowns of the sort that plagued Chrysler Detroit-area plants earlier in the summer" (*Detroit News*, 18 September 1973).

Besides three well publicized wildcat strikes, including two plant seizures, these "shutdowns" included numerous walkouts over heat. Combined with a high rate of absenteeism, these "unauthorized" struggles have been the only real way the workers have managed to combat abuses in the plant such as dangerous conditions, overwork and grueling overtime hours. No amount of "cooperation" between management and existing union committees, which have been ignoring the conditions in the plants which led to these walkouts, is going to change conditions. This union structure is so committed to company "rights" under the contract and partnership with capitalism that it mobilized 1,000-strong throughout the Detroit area to crush the Mack Ave. sitdown strike.

(It was only the adventurism of the Progressive Labor/Workers Action Movement [PL/WAM] leadership of that strike which allowed the bureaucracy to get away with this by failing adequately to prepare for the strike with mass mobilization, instead relying on the tin god of "spontaneity": a quick action which it hoped would catch on. Workers recognized the premature nature of this action; there was strong criticism of WAM at the Mack plant and little attendance at a national WAM convention held in Detroit shortly afterward. The union bureaucracy revealed its basically contradictory character, however. While scabbing on the strike, it tried to justify its action in terms of what was "really" in the interests of the workers, i.e., not losing a day's pay!)

The contract includes a provision for immediate arbitration of any grievance as a voluntary alternative to the standard grievance procedure. Supposedly designed to speed up the incredibly cumbersome, time-consuming grievance procedure, arbitration will simply serve to eliminate some of the most glaring abuses while taking control out of the hands of the union entirely, placing it instead with a "neutral" body which will of course in its decisions always respect the standard norms of capitalist society. The union's demand that a worker be considered innocent until proven guilty was another promise which got lost somewhere in the behind-the-scenes horse trading. While this would have made things more cumbersome for the company instead of for the worker (which is why Woodcock had no intention of really insisting on it), it would nonetheless have left ultimate control in the hands

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 30 12 October 1973

NEAR EAST:

Turn the National War into Class War!

For the fourth time in the last quarter century, national war has broken out in the Near East between Israel and the surrounding Arab states, representing yet another tragic defeat for the Hebrew- and Arab-speaking workers and peasants of the region. The concern of the bourgeois press over who fired the first shot, or who really started the fighting, is of no consequence. Whatever the particular sequence of events, this is essentially a continuation of the 1967 war, a conflict between the chauvinist, expansionist appetites of the Israeli and Arab bourgeoisies. In such circumstances the only principled Leninist position is the call for revolutionary defeatism on both sides: the working masses can have no stake in the victory of either side in this reactionary war.

Marxists will certainly have no subjective sympathy for Israel, the victors in 1967, in the current war. The willfully oppressive Zionism which has gorged itself on the blood, lands and labor of the Arab Palestinians it conquered in 1948 and 1967 must be finished with for all time. The Jewish-exclusivist "Law of Return," the second-class citizenship for Arabs in Israel, the brutal expulsions of West Bank Arabs from their homes and lands, the super-exploitation of Arab labor must be ended. Israel must leave the territories occupied in 1967 and the Palestinian Arabs must be able to exercise the right to self-determination and to live in their homeland.

The Spartacist League supports the right of the Hebrew-speaking population of present-day Israel to self-determination. At the same time we are irreconcilably opposed to Zionism. Recognizing that it is the Arab populations of the Near East—in particular the homeless Palestinian Arabs, driven from their lands by a triumphant and arrogant Zionist state—that have borne the brunt of national oppression in the past period, we are prepared to militarily defend a struggle for self-determination for the Palestinian Arabs (even if it were temporarily under the leadership of petty-bourgeois radical nationalist forces, such as the Jordanian rebels brutally crushed by Hussein in 1970).

But so long as the Arab and Israeli states continue to be dominated by bourgeois regimes, oppressed peoples such as the Palestinian Arabs will be used as pawns and their absolutely just democratic demands will be subordinated to repeated national wars. The reactionary militarist Arab regimes are interested only in their own aggrandizement, and their victory in a conflict against Israel could result only in a repetition of the same chauvinist atrocities by the new victors. The brutal oppression of the Kurdish people in Iraq by the dominant Arab majority, and the genocidal campaign against the blacks of southern Sudan, show yet again that national oppression cannot be ended until national chauvinism itself is uprooted by the united class-conscious proletariat of the Near East. Arab nationalism, the ideological means by which reactionary petty-bourgeois, bourgeois and feudal rulers keep a stranglehold on the Arab workers and peasants, is no more "progressive" than Hebrew nationalism—Zionism.

Israeli tanks heading for the front. UPI

To be sure, Israel is a client state of the U.S. while Egypt and Syria are currently in the USSR's diplomatic orbit. Should the U.S. become decisively involved in attempted imperialist conquest of the Arab nations, or should the USSR's involvement call into question the defense of the USSR itself, Marxists would be compelled to modify this stand, recognizing that the conflicting national appetites of the Israeli and Arab ruling classes were no longer the decisive element.

Turn the National War into Class War! Toward a Near East Socialist Federation! For National Liberation through the Permanent Revolution!

U.S./USSR Summer Détente Cools

After all his clowning, embracing of Chuck Connors and attempting to make himself likeable to the American people, General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev must be feeling frustrated and angry. Since his visit to the U.S. in June, anti-Soviet sentiment has increased steadily both within the ruling class and throughout American society.

Taken together, the now-certain passage of the Jackson Amendment (making tariff cuts conditional upon the elimination of all Soviet emigration restrictions), the two-year acceleration of the Trident missile-launching submarine program, the defeat of the Mansfield Amendment for U.S. troop cuts in Western Europe and a large increase in the arms budget mark a sharp retreat from the Nixon-Brezhnev détente. With his usual contempt for Congress and the rest of the ruling class, Nixon is pushing ahead with *his* détente. However, the advocates of a harder line against the Russians are turning this into a popular issue against Nixon.

If Brezhnev could indeed understand Marxism, as he occasionally claims to, his frustration at the short life of the détente would be tempered by comprehension of the implacable hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet state.

Sakharov/Jackson vs. Brezhnev/Nixon

The apparent enthusiasm of the American ruling class for the Nixon-Brezhnev détente earlier this year reflected the intersection of several distinct political currents and interests. An important interest group pushing for the détente were those businessmen, like David Rockefeller and Armand Hammer of Occidental Petroleum, who were in a position to rake in sizeable profits through trade deals and construction/management contracts. The Nixon administration itself saw an opportunity to trade economic and diplomatic concessions (e.g., the recognition of East Germany) for certain pro-American actions in Soviet foreign policy, particularly in Indochina and the Middle East.

The most reluctant supporters of the détente were the cold-war liberals concentrated in the Meany-Humphrey-Jackson wing of the Democratic Party. They were temporarily won to supporting Nixon by the argument that increased economic relations would lead to the bourgeoisification of Soviet society and the strengthening of unambiguously pro-Western tendencies.

In the long run, it is indeed true that the massive involvement of U.S. capitalism in the Soviet political economy would generate consciously pro-imperialist, bourgeois-restorationist political groupings. However, the Brezhnev regime believed it could get what it wanted out of Nixon without relaxing its absolutist political control. From Brezhnev's side, the détente was deliberately combined with a campaign of intensified internal repression symbolized by the elevation of secret-police head Andropov to the Politburo of the Communist Party in June and the classic Stalin-type frame-up trial of liberal dissidents Yakir and Krasin early last month.

For Nixon and Kissinger the détente was another of their endless diplomatic maneuvers, specifically designed to get the Kremlin to strengthen the U.S. in certain troublesome areas in the imperialist domains. And from Nixon's point of view, Brezhnev has kept his side of the bargain. Difficult as the task is, the Soviet bureaucracy has really tried to keep Indochina in the "Free World." The Brezhnev regime helped pressure the North Vietnamese to sign the peace treaty which legitimized the Thieu regime in Saigon and U.S. financial and military support to its reactionary puppets.

Soviet diplomats collaborated closely with the U.S. to set up yet another "neutralist" Laotian government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, despite the overwhelming military advantage of the Pathet Lao. And most grossly, Brezhnev's government continues to recognize the mayor of the besieged city of Phnom Penh, Lon Nol, as the legitimate Cambodian head of state, although the Khmer Rouge controls the rest of the country.

The outcome of the revolutionary civil wars raging in Indochina has not yet been determined. However, should capitalism be overthrown in the region, it will be despite the best efforts of the Brezhnev regime to preserve it. For Nixon and company, the fate of

continued on page 5

FARM WORKERS' UNION:

Meany/Chavez Abandon Strike

PAGE 2

Farm Workers Weary of Pacifist Protest as...

Meany/Chavez Abandon Strike, Turn to Boycott

WV PHOTO

After almost a decade of organizing and struggle, the United Farmworkers Union (UFW) has been hurled back onto its home base, the grape fields, by the attack of the grower-Teamster alliance, during the 1973 harvest season. In contrast to the misty-eyed optimism of the maturing Chavez bureaucracy—"Sure the Teamsters have our contracts but we still have the people" (*El Malcriado*, 21 September)—militants seriously committed to the unionization of agricultural workers must consider soberly, in terms of its real impact on the class struggle in the fields, the UFW's drop from 70,000 dues-paying members in 1972 to a union with only 10 contracts covering 18,000 workers in California and Florida. It should not be forgotten that since the beginning of the century two other attempts at farm-worker unionization have already been smashed. Despite the reported pact between the UFW and Teamsters, based on Chavez' capitulation to Meany and the growers, the very existence of the United Farmworkers is still threatened. A union cannot survive on pious wishes; it must be victorious in class battles.

At the close of the picking season, the critical fact is that the UFW failed to halt production. With his policy of calling on the scabs to leave the fields with peaceful picketing, appeals to liberals and the moral protest of submitting to arrest and "filling the jails," Chavez claims only to have hurt the growers to the point that they are all losing some money on the crop. In fact it is a monumental defeat for farm workers that they are now forced—by their leadership's failure to win the strike through united labor action—to scatter themselves across the country in an attempt to reach virtually the entire population at innumerable store fronts and convince them, one by one, not to buy scab products!

In the present situation, while the Spartacist League politically opposes the adoption of the boycott strategy in place of a militant strike strategy, it stands in solidarity with the farm workers against the capitalist retailers who continue to stock scab products in their stores.

The present boycott is a direct result of the Chavez bureaucracy's refusal to lead a militant struggle during the strike. Militant mass picketing should have been combined with organized, armed self-defense and real attempts to prevent scabs from entering the fields. The only meaningful "boycott" is the prevention of scab products from reaching the market through the "hot-cargo" (refusal-to-handle) tactic on the part of the transport unions. Appeals to longshoremen, teamsters and cannery workers to link up their struggles with the farm workers by refusing to process, handle or move scab products would have met with favorable response: all these workers were themselves on strike at various points during the critical picking period. Instead, the Chavez leadership, capitulating to pressure from the AFL-CIO, served as the ultimately most important ally of the growers by enforcing an impotent, pacifist policy and refusing to call for any of these militant measures, since they are "illegal" under grower-capitalist laws! Instead of fighting, Chavez cowers before the power and authority of the ruling class, to whose every attack he responds with a retreat. When two farm worker pickets were killed and others shot in Kern and Tulare Counties by cops and company gunmen in August, Chavez halted all picketing "until the federal government guarantees adequate protection" (*El Malcriado*, 21 September).

In fact it was the Chavez leadership's sellout of the strike against the Teamsters' attempts to smash the UFW in the Salinas Valley lettuce fields which invited the Teamster-grower attack of 1973 (see *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973). While the Teamsters, after signing sweetheart contracts with the growers, did "back down" and sign a jurisdictional agreement favoring the UFW, these contracts remain in force and are defended by the growers against the UFW. Chavez abandoned the Salinas strike, resorting instead to an impotent lettuce boycott.

Now the same pattern is being repeated. The UFW and Teamsters have recently announced an "agreement in principle," terms of which are still under negotiation. But the Teamster contracts will probably remain in force. In any event, the Teamsters' hired goons and sweetheart contracts, in freezing out the UFW at the critical point, have served their purpose. Most alarming of all, in an attempt to render the UFW more palatable to the growers, Chavez has expressed willingness to compromise away the hard-won union hiring hall in favor of "joint" union-management control of hiring. It was replacement of the hated contract labor system with the union hiring hall which constituted the chief gain of the UFW contracts.

Class-Struggle Program From Militant Action Caucus and SL/RCY

The failure to conduct a militant strike strategy has not been for any lack of expressed support for the farm workers or for militant policies by California labor. A "caravan to Delano" organized by the Los Angeles AFL-CIO drew 600 workers to a rally in Delano September 8. The rally was addressed by representatives of organizations that had collected money for the farm workers, as well as by Chavez and other leaders. Jane Margolis, a former exec board member of CWA Local 9415 (Oakland, California) and a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus, an opposition group based on a class-struggle program, addressed the rally for MAC. In a rousing speech, she called for labor solidarity throughout the state, for hot-cargoing of scab products and for a general strike of California labor to defend the farm workers, reading a support resolution with these points which the MAC had prepared for introduction at the next 9415 local meeting. Cheering and applauding workers greeted her with an ovation.

Among the ostensibly left organizations the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth have alone combined militant defense of the farm workers' struggle with a class-struggle policy in sharp counterposition to the Chavez leadership's sellout pacifist defeatism. All others—Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists—have been grovelling before the UFW leadership, so as to appear "militant" in defense of farm workers while in reality talling after whatever is popular like a bunch of gutless liberals. SL/RCY members have thus been the target of considerable red-baiting and harassment from UFW bureaucrats clearly worried by the evident approval our slogans receive from the workers and even some lower-level union leaders. But the UFW bureaucrats are not alone—they are abetted by supposed "revolutionists" whose whole policy is one of subservience to the union's existing reformist leadership. Chief among these is the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU).

On 9 September about 40 SL/RCY supporters arrived at 6 a.m. to join a picket in Livingston, home of the rich Gallo vineyards. Despite the presence of a small army of thugs hired to "guard" the fields, Livingston was one of the last strongholds of mass picketing and confrontation. The SL carried bilingual signs reading: "Defend the UFW—Teamsters out of the Fields!", "Expropriate the Fields Under Workers Control!" and "Militant Defense of the UFW Picket Lines!" These slogans were well received and our chant, "Viva la huelga, la huelga general!" evoked real enthusiasm among the farm workers.

When several bus loads of RU supporters arrived at the picket line at 10:30, they then joined the farm workers in chanting "Viva la huelga general!"... until they realized that the chant had been initiated by the SL/RCY contingent! The RU tails after any program it thinks the bureaucracy supports—even to the point of *accidentally* supporting a class-struggle slogan! At one point during the picket, the RU-led contingent stopped the whole line to shout such epithets as "you don't do anything to support farm workers!", thereby exposing the entire picket line to attack from the police. The RU ended up picketing on the other side of the road from the SL/RCY and the farm workers.

The September 9 Livingston action was typical of many throughout the state. After the picketing, SL speakers addressed the workers in Spanish, attracting interested crowds of 20-30 workers. But from the official podium came a vicious stream of red-baiting, not naming the SL directly, but referring to "outsiders," "disrupters," etc. This was then picked up by the RU supporters mingling in the crowd with talk of "patrones" (bosses) and "Teamster provocateurs." It is in this way that the false leaderships of the workers—reformist trade-union bureaucrats and Stalinists—respond to the expression of revolutionary politics, since they have only defeatism and reformist bankruptcy to counterpose as a strategy.

The SL/RCY have been able to distribute their literature and put forward their ideas in the face of red-baiting and harassment only because of the direct intervention of farm workers themselves in our behalf. The RU, though intimidated, becomes increasingly frenzied at this because it assumes that those like themselves who demonstrate their willingness to sell out—to tail the established leadership and serve as its unquestioning supporters—should be rewarded with popularity and influence, while those like the SL/RCY who oppose the bureaucrats' policies of betrayal are disrupters whom the workers ought instantly to reject. The evident popularity of a revolutionary line, despite the preaching of the bureaucracy, only drives the RU and other tailists to frustration and hysteria.

Meany/Chavez Consolidate Grip at UFW Convention

The first constitutional convention of the UFW, held in Fresno 21-23 September marked an important step in the long transformation of the UFW from a loose-knit "movement" union into a standard AFL-CIO business union. The purpose of the convention was to consolidate the control of Meany over the union, through elimination of local autonomy, consolidation of the bureaucratic leadership around Chavez and formalization of the already firmly established boycott strategy as an alternative to militant strike struggle. (This is undoubtedly pleasing to the conservative Meany who has been saying for years that strikes are "outmoded.") With the lack of a class-struggle opposition caucus in the union, the road is now open for a Meany-Chavez-Fitzsimmons deal to accommodate the growers and sell out the farm workers.

The convention revealed the continuing adaptation of the liberal-radical Chavez clique to Meanyite business unionism in its handling of the critical question of non-citizen labor. In the official Convention Call, Chavez had whined, "The Immigration Department allows the growers to use illegal aliens to break our strikes." Thus instead of calling for open borders and international class struggle to raise the living conditions of Mexican workers now barely surviving at near-starvation levels, Chavez calls on the imperialist U.S. government, devourer of scab grapes, to shake a finger at the nasty growers for using illegal strikebreakers and to increase deportations of Mexican nationals!

The convention was from the be-

ginning a tight, bureaucratic operation to ram through the policy decisions already agreed upon by the Chavez core leadership and George Meany. Several times on the first day a few delegates attempted to slow down the passage of convention rules in order to allow time for discussion, but this was no obstacle to the Chavez steamroller. Representation was highly discriminatory against large units. Worse, introduction of a resolution at the convention required the signatures of 25 delegates, a provision more restrictive than those of many more conservative unions. Discussion on the articles of the constitution was bureaucratically cut short to allow plenty of time for guest speakers: Woodcock from the UAW, Paul Hall from the SIU and Senator Edward Kennedy of the Democratic Party.

Chavez Bares Anti-Communist Face

The adopted constitution demanded that all members "reject the use of violence in any form for any purpose whatsoever." But not surprisingly, this humble submission is aimed strictly one way: toward the bourgeoisie. Every ostensibly Marxist organization which tried in any way to disseminate its views, as through the legal distribution of literature, was threatened by a heavy squad of UFW goons! The red baiting began with an attack on the International Socialists' *Workers' Power*, which had dared to make a timid criticism of Chavez from the left. A delegate moved to expel "all newsmen distributing anti-UFW literature," pointing to someone at the rear of the hall. Chavez immediately took the podium and ordered the removal of the person, who had not been distributing anything but had merely been seen with the IS salesmen. He was immediately descended on by over a dozen goons and pushed out. Later, *Workers Vanguard* reporters were also excluded. "The press is supposed to be impartial, at least while they're here," noted Chavez; but the bourgeois dailies were allowed to remain undisturbed, with no attempt to determine their "impartiality" toward labor!

The next day (Saturday) the witch-hunt was stepped up to make the convention "clean" for the all-important guest speakers. Literature tables outside the hall were ordered removed by UFW officials and police working together: first the Spartacist League, then the Socialist Workers Party, finally the Workers League. UFW goons patrolled the mall throughout the day trying to drive off all left-wing salesmen.

Fake Left Grovelling

The response of the left to this red-baiting, bureaucratic convention was predictably more of the same disgusting opportunism. Of the CP and RU, of course, nothing need be said. To groups whose view of the world depends on the myopic vision of the Soviet and Chinese ruling bureaucracies respectively, the UFW is the height of "progressive" bureaucratism and a vital link to alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Likewise, the Maoist October League turns defeats into victories through the magic of tailism: "the grower-Teamster alliance may have run into its Waterloo" (*The Call*, September 1973).

The philistine, ex-Trotskyist SWP is not to be outdone by the Stalinists. Well-practiced in talling every form of liberal, nationalist and petty-bourgeois protest politics including, on occasion, capitulation to the Democratic Party, the SWP makes *no mention* of even its own exclusion at the hands of the UFW goons at the convention, nor does it raise the slightest criticism of Chavez. Neatly separated from the rest of its report on the convention, the *Militant* (5 October) attacks Kennedy—gently—for "evasiveness." The SWP has been head-over-heels in love with every pacifist sellout by Chavez, underlining its own complete abandonment of any trace of working-class politics by enthusiastically contributing arguments to support such betrayals as the boycott "strategy." (The 5 October *Militant* wrote that "the Company [Gallo Wine] is highly susceptible to a well-organized boycott of its products." Not mentioned is that the lettuce boycott was a failure, and the last grape boycott lasted five years!)

Bridges' Hypocrisy

Perhaps the most disgusting bureaucratic role during the farm workers' struggle, in addition to that of Fitzsimmons, Meany and Chavez, has been the betrayal of the Bridges bureaucracy of the ILWU. Long-time "friends" of the farm workers, this Stalinist-backed "leadership" managed by a close margin to prevent any direct criticism of the Teamsters at the Longshoremen's convention last Spring in order to protect its chummy relations with the Teamsters warehouse division during contract negotiations (see *WV* No. 22, 8 June 1973).

Now that the picking season and the longshore/warehouse contracts are safely in the background, the Bridges bureaucracy is making a few pro forma noises about militancy in defense of the farm workers and "rift" with the Teamsters. On the last day of the UFW convention, Jimmy Herman of ILWU Local 34 announced, "our union is committed now to take another look, the law notwithstanding, at what we have to do to stop the grapes on those boats in some manner, shape or form" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 September). Fine words for the farm workers' ears! But back home in the ILWU, the union leadership has consistently opposed any moves to hot cargo grapes—an action which would open the way for a state-wide labor offensive which could actually win the strike.

As Chavez' ties to the reactionary labor bureaucracy and the ruling-class Democratic Party are strengthened through sellouts and compromises of the interests of farm workers, the need for a revolutionary leadership that will represent the independent interests of the workers in the UFW and the labor movement as a whole takes on increasing urgency. More than ever, the lessons of the last round of struggle show that Chavez must be replaced by a revolutionary leadership based on a program that will win not merely the right to existence for the UFW but *lasting* gains for the working class internationally. As long as the leadership of working-class organizations limits the struggle to what is acceptable within the bounds of capitalism, workers will again see the gains of patient years of courageous struggle reversed in a matter of weeks. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Defend Chile, Vietnam Class-War Prisoners

As the reactionary junta which seized power in a coup last September 11 continues to consolidate its power, the situation of Chilean workers grows even more desperate. Even the bourgeois press now confirms that more than 5,000 workers and labor leaders have been massacred during the first two weeks since the overthrow of the Popular Unity (UP) government headed by Salvador Allende. (Unofficial reports place the figure at roughly 20,000.) Mass executions are taking place daily in the National Stadium, where thousands of workers and Latin American leftist political exiles are being held. Meanwhile the air force has bombed factories and workers' districts in the Santiago area and army troops are besieging several of the copper mines. The popular-front Allende government—more fearful of the independent power of an aroused proletariat than of the forces of bourgeois reaction—allowed the workers to remain unarmed and defenseless against the bloodbath now occurring. And the worst may be still to come.

In the face of this murderous attack on the Chilean working class it is the elementary duty of all socialists and the labor movement as a whole to undertake vigorous protest actions, demanding Down With the Reactionary Junta! Free All Class-War Prisoners in Chile! Unions should undertake protest work-stoppages and other measures, such as the boycott of Chilean ports proposed by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 29, 28 September). Marxist-Leninists must wage a sharp struggle against any form of illusions in the possibility of making a revolution through a popular front of bourgeois and workers parties (such as Allende's UP government) and a parliamentary road to socialism. Precisely these illusions led to the present inability of Chilean workers to respond to the reactionary coup with civil war. No to Popular-Front Governments! For a Workers and Peasants Revolution in Chile!

The Stalinist Communist Party of the U.S., whose friends in Chile constantly preached faith in the "democratic" military, called for alliance with the Christian Democrats (who endorsed the coup) and demanded that the workers return occupied factories to their "owners" during Allende's regime, has continued its pathetic policy of begging the United Nations to intervene. The various "Chile Solidarity Committees" have distinguished themselves by demanding above all that the U.S., which helped engineer the coup, refuse to recognize the junta!

The Socialist Workers Party, which once represented Trotskyism in the U.S., has completely adapted to the Stalinist line in practice, while maintaining verbal orthodoxy in the safety of its press. Thus it participates in protests not as the SWP but as supporters of the USLA, an SWP-dominated committee to aid Latin American political prisoners, and its banners and chants say nothing about the popular-front and "peaceful-road-to-socialism" illusions it purports to combat. Its real position was indicated in a September 12 leaflet of the Boston SWP which called for "defense of the Chilean people and their democratic rights." However, this failure to maintain an independent working-class line is only the beginning.

DAILY WORLD

Luis Corvalán, Chilean CP head, is threatened with death sentence by the junta. Despite CP's sellouts in Chile his execution would be attack on entire workers movement. Free Corvalán!

Subsequently the SWP/USLA has launched a campaign to defend 23 prominent political prisoners and Latin American political exiles in Chile in the hopes that "a campaign focused on these well-known figures will help dramatize the plight of the thousands of other political prisoners"! Thus instead of driving home the point that a massacre of labor leaders and the destruction of all workers organizations is taking place, requiring a united working-class defense in this country and a struggle for a proletarian revolution in Chile, the SWP chooses to focus on the plight of a number of scientists, artists, writers, etc., as well as a few of the most prominent left politicians.

At the same time we note once again the fact that more than 100,000 political prisoners continue to languish in Thieu's jails in Vietnam and that their cause has been largely ignored by the U.S. left. It is necessary to launch a fight to FREE ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS IN CHILE AND VIETNAM! ■

SYGMA

"In conformity with the Constitution, the army is not involved in politics."
—Luis Corvalán

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

PENGUIN

(Editor's Note: *The recent wave of virulent anti-Trotskyism being spread by various Maoist groups relies on the standard Stalinist weapons of lies and distortion, and above all on ignorance about the true history of the communist movement. The present series, replying to the articles on "Trotsky's Heritage" in the New Left/Maoist* Guardian, *serves as an introduction to this history and a brief summary of the principal political issues separating Trotskyism from Stalinism.*)

Leon Trotsky

8/ TROTSKYISM vs. SWP REVISIONISM

The last four articles of the *Guardian* series on "Trotsky's Heritage" are devoted to demonstrating that Trotskyism is reformist and "counter-revolutionary" by discussing the current policies of the Socialist Workers Party and, to a lesser extent, of the Workers League (WL). Not once is the Spartacist League mentioned. This is no accident. The SWP, which was once the leading party of the Fourth International, has long since abandoned the path of revolutionary Trotskyism for the swamp of reformism. First adapting itself to Castroism in 1961-63 by foreseeing a "guerrilla road to power" and to black nationalism with the theory that "consistent nationalism" leads to socialism, the SWP made its dive into reformism in 1965, becoming the organizer of a popular-front antiwar movement dominated by bourgeois liberals. Since then it has extended this class collaborationism into new fields, organizing single-issue movements for the "democratic" demand of self-determination for just about everyone, from blacks (community control) and women to homosexuals and American Indians.

The political bandits of the WL, on the other hand, have made their mark in the U.S. socialist left by constantly shifting their political line in order to temporarily adapt to whatever is popular at the moment (Huey Newton, Red Guards, Ho Chi Minh, Arab nationalists, left-talking union bureaucrats) only to return to a more "orthodox" position soon after. Its constants are a belief that an all-encompassing final crisis of capitalism will eliminate the need to struggle for the Bolshevik politics of the Transitional Program and an abiding passion for tailing after labor fakers of any stripe, from pseudo-radicals to ultra-conservatives.

Thus it is easy to "prove" that Trotskyism is reformist by citing the policies of the SWP and the WL. But this has about as much value as "proving" that Lenin was for a "peaceful road to socialism" by citing Khrushchev.

Feminism and Trotskyism

Because of the rotten betrayals of the SWP during the past decade, Trotskyism has become confused in the minds of many militants with the crassest reformist grovelling before the liberal bourgeoisie. It also gives Maoists like Davidson plenty of opportunity to make correct attacks:

> "Their [SWP's] approach is to tail opportunistically each spontaneous development in the mass democratic movements. Each constituency, in succession, is then dubbed the 'vanguard' leading the proletariat to socialism, with the added provision that the 'vanguard of the vanguard' in each sector is presently made up of the student youth."
>
> —*Guardian*, 13 June 1973

This theory, formerly called the "dialectic of the sectors of intervention" by the SWP's European friends, is a denial of the leading role of the proletariat and is expressed in their programmatic capitulation to feminism, nationalism, student power, etc. Elsewhere, Davidson criticized the SWP for tailing the nationalism of the black petty bourgeoisie and the WL for tailing the chauvinism of the labor aristocracy (*Guardian*, 30 May 1973). Again this is correct.

But such criticism is cheap—it represents not the slightest step toward a Marxist program of proletarian class struggle. Thus after criticizing the SWP for tailing petty-bourgeois feminists, Davidson counterposes the "mass democratic struggle for the emancipation of women." This is the tip of the iceberg, for behind the contention that the struggle for women's liberation is only "democratic" (and not socialist) lies a call for maintenance of the bourgeois family (simply "reforming" it by calling "for husbands to share equally in the responsibilities of the home") and for an alliance with "even the women of the exploiting classes."

SL Embodies Trotskyist Program

Instead of capitulating to bourgeois pacifism the SL called for class-struggle opposition to the Vietnam war: for labor strikes against the war, bourgeoisie out of the anti-war movement, military support to the NLF, all Indochina must go communist; instead of petty-bourgeois draft refusal the SL was unique in consistently advocating communist work in the army.

Rather than capitulating to bourgeois nationalism the SL called for an end to all discrimination on the basis of race, opposition to community control and preferential hiring, for a transitional black organization on a program of united class struggle.

In the struggle for women's liberation, the SL opposed capitulation to bourgeois feminism and the equally reactionary abstentionism of various workerist groups: We called for women's liberation through socialist revolution, bourgeois politicians out of the women's movement, free abortion on demand and adopted the prospect of the eventual creation of a women's section of the SL, as envisioned by the early Communist International.

Alone of all the ostensibly Marxist organizations the SL has upheld the Leninist norms of youth-party relations, with the youth section (Revolutionary Communist Youth, RCY) organizationally separate but politically subordinate to the party.

Nationalism vs. Class Struggle

On the question of black nationalism, Davidson criticizes the SWP for tailing petty-bourgeois nationalists ...and then declares that U.S. blacks constitute a nation and should have the right to secede. The nationalist theory of a "black nation" in the U.S. ignores the fact that blacks (and the other racial-ethnic minorities) are thoroughly integrated into the U.S. economy, although overwhelmingly at the bottom levels, have no common territory, special language or culture. Garveyite "back to Africa" movements, the theory of a black nation and all other forms of black separatism have the principal effect of dividing the proletariat and isolating the most exploited and potentially most revolutionary section in separate organizations fighting for separate goals. Both the SWP, with its enthusiasm for community control, and Maoists like Davidson's October League and the Communist League with their reactionary-utopian concepts of a black nation, serve to disunite the working class *and tie it to the bourgeoisie*. The SWP's enthusiasm for a black political party leads it to enthuse over clambakes of black Democrats (such as the 1971 Gary convention), while black-nation separatism aids bourgeois nationalist demagogues like Newark's Ford Foundation-backed Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones).

In part the capitulation to black nationalism by wide sectors of the U.S. is a distorted recognition that this most exploited sector of the working class will indeed play a key role in an American socialist revolution. Black workers are potentially the leading section of the proletariat. But this requires the integration of its most conscious elements into the single vanguard party and a relentless struggle for the program of united working-class struggle among black workers. Conscious of the need for special methods of work among doubly-oppressed sectors of the proletariat, the SL has called for a transitional black organization not as a concession to black separatism but precisely in order to better combat nationalism among the black masses ("Black and Red—Class Struggle to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist*, May-June 1967).

Leninism vs. Workerism

Since the demise of the Weatherman-RYM II section of SDS in late 1969, black nationalism and feminism have been joined by a crude workerism as the dominant forms of petty-bourgeois ideology in the socialist movement. Adapting to the present backward consciousness of the working class, workerists have sought to gain instant popularity and influence by organizing on the level of militant trade unionism. Failing to heed (and in some cases denying) Lenin's dictum that socialist consciousness must be brought to the working class from the outside, by the revolutionary party, the radical workerists today carry out trade-union work which is in no way distinguishable from that of the reformist Communist Party in the 1930's and 1940's. Falling in behind every militant-talking out-bureaucrat, and not a few in-bureaucrats as well, they fail to wage a political struggle in the unions, saving their support for the NLF, Mao, etc., for the campuses.

Among ostensibly Trotskyist groups, workerism has taken the form of denying the need to struggle for the whole of the Transitional Program in the trade unions. Some fake-Trotskyists argue that wage demands alone are revolutionary (Workers League), others that the Transitional Program must be served to the workers in bits and pieces, one course at a time (Class Struggle League); still others verbally proclaim the Transitional Program in their documents, but see the strategy for power as based on giving "critical support" to every available out-bureaucrat (Revolutionary Socialist League). The SWP, for its part, does almost no trade-union work at all and in its press gives uncritical support to liberal bureaucrats, both in power and out.

The Spartacist League, in contrast, calls for the formation of caucuses based on the Transitional Program to struggle for leadership of the unions. While willing to form united fronts in specific struggles, the SL sees the fundamental task as the creation of a com-

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Continued from page 1

...Détente

Soviet dissidents and Jews is a diversion from its concept of the détente; those imperialist politicians who expect the Soviet bureaucracy to weaken its own national power base are simply being unrealistic.

In contrast to Nixon, Senator Henry Jackson believes the Russian power and influence within the "Free World" should be countered primarily by military muscle; concessions which might strengthen the USSR should be granted only if the Russian political system is changed to allow the emergence of loyal pro-Western and implicitly bourgeois tendencies. The liberal wing of American imperialism believes the basis for such a pro-Western opposition exists among the dissident intellectuals and oppressed national minorities, which is why the *New York Times* has been devoting so much attention to them in recent weeks.

But it is not just the *New York Times* which is upset. For some months both liberal and conservative wings of the bourgeoisie have been dissatisfied with Nixon's handling of the "ship of state." The Watergate affair has put the moral authority of the U.S. government at an all-time low, the Phase III and IV price controls have been an unmitigated disaster and the main "benefit" of détente has been to bolster Nixon's status. Having apparently decided it would be too costly to get rid of Nixon himself, the bourgeoisie has evidently decided to dump Agnew (with Nixon's toleration—i.e., approval) as a concession to public morality and to restore some balance and imperialist order in U.S. foreign policy.

By inflicting a serious defeat on Nixon, Henry Jackson has emerged as an important and dangerous politician. In an exceptionally pure form, he represents those political forces favoring an aggressive cold-war policy toward the Soviet Union. On the one hand, he has intimate ties to the Pentagon and is the natural candidate for civilian front man for a government dominated by the military. Likewise he is the darling of the arms contractor and has well-earned his nickname, "the Senator from Boeing." On the other hand, Jackson has the direct support of the Meany-Lovestone leadership of the AFL-CIO, the social democrats and the cold-war liberal establishment in general. Of all American politicians, Jackson has the social base and orientation to lead a popular anti-communist crusade against the Soviet Union. And the rising tide of anti-Soviet liberalism might well deposit Jackson in the White House in 1976.

The role of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn in contributing to Jackson-led resurgence of anti-Soviet liberalism is significant. The eminent physicist and writer not only provided the moral cause célèbre, but actively led in the rearming and rededication of the American cold-war liberal establishment. It was Sakharov who refurbished the "1984" image of a totalitarian Soviet monster foolishly nourished with American grain:

> "Large amounts of Western technological aid to the Soviet Union, he said, would help the Russians get rid of economic problems they cannot solve on their own and would enable them to concentrate on accumulating strength. 'As a result,' he said, 'the world would become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine.'"
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 August 1973

In commenting on the Senate vote for the Trident submarine, an effective weapon of mass murder carrying advanced MIRV missiles (and costing $1.3 billion each), Jackson singled out Solzhenitsyn's/Sakharov's warnings to maintain Western strength against Brezhnev's duplicity as a major impetus.

Equally important in motivating Congressional action, however, was the Soviet Union's recent successful launching of a MIRV missile at least two years ahead of what U.S. experts felt was possible. This and the serious economic dislocations resulting from last year's mammoth Soviet wheat deal have led wide circles of the bourgeoisie to the conclusion that Nixon has been "too soft" on the Russians in trade and arms limitations negotiations.

A heavy burden of responsibility for the strengthening of the Pentagon and resurgence of cold-war liberalism lies with those who built up the moral authority of the "great humanists" Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. This includes the American left-liberal establishment which transformed these two Russians, who apparently tolerate Marshal Thieu's South Vietnam and the Chilean junta (Sakharov's appeal on Neruda had not one word of criticism of the Chilean coup or the junta's mass executions of workers and labor leaders), into political saints. And it definitely includes the ostensibly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and Workers League, who mirrored the popularity of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn among the liberal student-academic milieu and trade-union bureaucracy respectively, thereby objectively contributing to anti-communism.

The Price of Bread and Oil

A major impetus for the détente was the belief that expanded economic relations with the USSR would be quite beneficial for American capitalism. And an important cause for the erosion of the détente has been disappointment with these expectations. In particular there is widespread sentiment within the ruling class that it got burned by the Great Grain Deal. When the Soviets bought one-quarter of the American wheat crop for a billion dollars in the summer of 1972, Wall Street was enthusiastic. Soviet imports were expected to help the U.S. balance of payments and prevent the grain "surplus" from driving down (!) domestic prices. However, years of stagnant production intersected an uncompetitive international position forcing the U.S. to *cheapen* the price of its commodities to the world market through currency devaluation. The large jump in exports to Japan and Western Europe, as well as Russia, led to empty supermarkets and galloping food prices at home—and widespread discontent in broad sections of the U.S. population. The latest public opinion polls show less than one-third of the public approving of Nixon's performance as president. The wheat deal enabled liberal bourgeois politicians to be simultaneously anti-Nixon, anti-Soviet and anti-inflation, an irresistible vote-catching combination. To add insult to injury, the Nixon administration allowed the Russians to buy the grain well below the market price, subsidizing the exporters by some $300 million. It will be a long time before the American ruling class allows the Soviets to buy grain or anything else below world-market prices.

The sudden transformation of the U.S. grain "surplus" into a shortage is a particularly glaring example of the destructive irrationality of the capitalist economic system. In a socialist society, the remarkable improvements in agricultural technology during and after World War II would have been the basis for eliminating hunger and malnutrition for the entire human race.

Instead the increased productive capacity led, via falling commodity prices and farm incomes, and the mammoth agricultural acreage allotment program designed to keep land *out* of production, to a decline in agricultural resources, particularly labor and acreage cultivated. With increasing world and domestic demand against a relatively unchanging supply, it was inevitable that the "surplus" would give way to shortage and rapidly rising prices. The Soviet grain deal and devaluation simply accelerated an inherent trend in the American economy. In a planned economy, U.S. agricultural output could be tripled or quadrupled within a decade.

The American ruling class looked to the USSR not simply as an export market, but as a dependable source of cheap fuel. In the past five years, the economic power of the feudal landlords of the Arabian peninsula has grown all out of proportion to their military or general productive power. Plans seem to be afoot to deal with the arrogant sheiks by transforming sections of the Arabian peninsula into greater Iran. In addition, elements within the American ruling class believe that the Kremlin rulers may be more cooperative to the oil cartels than the satraps of Abu Dhabi and Qatar.

However, as another cold-war liberal, Hans Morgenthau, pointed out, the security and profitability of American capital in Russia depends on an arbitrary bureaucracy over which the U.S. has no direct control. (And the Iranian army cannot take over Siberia.) The majority of the American ruling class has swung around to the position that it wants qualitatively greater leverage over Soviet internal politics before tying up a lot of money there. Most American capitalists believe it saler to lend money to a government which will allow a pro-Western liberal like Sakharov to denounce it than to one which will forcibly shut him up. They are, of course, right. Whether or not they can get Brezhnev to go along is an altogether different matter.

Andrei Sakharov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (right)

NEWSWEEK AP

Similarly the bourgeoisie has opted for a stronger military posture against the USSR, epitomized by the passage of the Trident program and the rejection of Mansfield's program of troop cuts in Europe. In the arms-limitation negotiations the U.S. will now have to reverse the concessions on number of missiles which Nixon granted to the Russians earlier this year (*New York Times*, 26 September). On trade talks Nixon will be forced to seek stiffer terms, both monetarily and in terms of political concessions on Jews and dissidents. The euphoria of the early days of the détente is over as the basic contradictions in the interests of the leading imperialist power and the most powerful deformed workers state come to the fore. Chou En-lai recently remarked that between the U.S. and the USSR, because of their basic conflict of interests, "contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary" (*New York Times*, 1 September). How true! (Of course, the same is true of U.S.-China relations—though Chou fails to see this.) These underlying realities are now asserting themselves, despite last summer's affirmations of everlasting harmony.

Doing business in Russia is now profitable for particular American corporations so that the expansion of trade, loans, joint projects and the like has a certain autonomy of strategic political considerations. No doubt David Rockefeller and Armand Hammer would like Solzhenitsyn and the Jews wanting to go to Israel to disappear off the face of the earth, so they could go about making money in peace. However, those capitalists interested solely in expanding their business with the Soviets are going against the majority line of the American bourgeoisie organized as a ruling class. And when the American ruling class through its state decides to engage in economic warfare against the Soviet Union, that this will mean losses for Occidental Petroleum or even Chase Manhattan will not be a major obstacle.

Watergate and the Bankruptcy of Realpolitik

The Watergate scandal considerably strengthened the opponents of the Nixon-Brezhnev détente. Last spring, with most people believing his administration consisted mainly of petty criminals and his Phase III economic policy leading to Latin American-style inflation, the only thing Nixon had going for him was his posture as world statesman. Kissinger attempted to defend his boss by advising people to put the "permanent" (the détentes with Russia and China) before the "ephemeral" (Watergate). To counterbalance its domestic catastrophes, the Nixon administration became rather desperate for diplomatic successes, real or apparent. Last spring, the bargaining position of the American ruling class was considerably stronger than Nixon's vis-à-vis the Brezhnev regime. There was an understandable feeling that a stronger president domestically could have gotten more out of the Soviet rulers.

Watergate contributed to the erosion of the détente in another way. It focused attention on the importance of democratic ideology as a mechanism of capitalist rule. The so-called "unnatural" alliance of ideological liberals and conservatives over both Watergate and the Jackson Amendment is, in fact, unusually principled for bourgeois politics. Kennedy, Ervin, Jackson and Goldwater instinctively understand (as Nixon does not) that the American ruling class, with its aspirations toward world empire, cannot govern simply with big guns and cold cash, but must claim to act in the name of universal ideals and the interests of humanity. Nixon, Agnew and Kissinger are not well suited to rally the American people to make sacrifices to defend the "Free World." By his open contempt for even the *forms* of democracy and legality at home and in the USSR, and by obvious infatuation with power politics of the most petty and cynical variety, Nixon is stripping away the moral authority of the American ruling class in the U.S. and in the Soviet Union. It is the opponents of Nixon's realpolitik who are following Kissinger's advice in putting the permanent before the ephemeral.

Communist Anti-Stalinism, Yes! Liberal Anti-Communism, Never!

Now that his guardians, the American bourgeoisie, are putting an end to Nixon's summer romance with Leonid Brezhnev, certain fundamental truths of Marxism stand revealed. One is the undying hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet deformed workers state. Peaceful coexistence is really and truly a reformist illusion. A few months ago it might have appeared that Brezhnev and Nixon were like-minded reactionaries trying to run a dual world empire, a view shared by many left-liberals, "Third Camp" social democrats, "Third World" nationalists, syndicalists and Maoists. However, U.S. imperialism is not content to maintain the status quo with the Soviet Union, engaging in mutually advantageous deals. With ambitions toward world empire, U.S. capitalism strives to dominate the Soviet Union. Short of military conquest, this means fostering pro-imperialist political tendencies within the Soviet Union on the pretext of struggling for democratic rights.

Because the Kremlin so often engages in counterrevolutionary class collaboration with American imperialism, the line between left-wing criticism of the Soviet bureaucracy and liberal anti-communism is often deceptive and easily crossed. It is precisely the cynicism, opportunism, anti-democratic and oppressive practices of the Stalinist bureaucracy that provide the mass ideological basis for American imperialism. Therefore it is doubly, triply necessary for revolutionary socialists to draw the hardest line between the advocacy of democratic rights as a cover for imperialist attacks on the Soviet state and the advocacy of workers democracy as a means of mobilizing the Soviet masses against world capitalism. ■

Zionism and Nationalism in Brezhnev's Russia

Russian dissidents have occupied a prominent place in the news recently, as Soviet-American trade relations and the right of emigration for Soviet Jews have become issues of congressional dispute. Senator Henry Jackson, the darling of the Pentagon and Boeing Aircraft, spoke in Congress on September 27 remarking that the current Trident MIRV missile program would not have passed without the "courageous protests" of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. These Russian "democratic oppositionists" seem to care little whether U.S. imperialism is able to bomb the USSR back to the Stone Age. While the slaughter of Chilean workers once again reaffirms the murderous treachery of the "peaceful coexistence" policies of Brezhnev & Co., Sakharov's distinctive contribution to the international class struggle recently was to refuse to take a stand on the reactionary junta on the grounds that "Chile is too far away" (*New York Times*, 26 September). Many of the liberal opponents of the Russian bureaucracy can see only their own immediate oppression while everything else—mass murder by the U.S. in Vietnam, the oppression of blacks in South Africa, the reactionary role of Zionism—means nothing to them. A revolutionary opposition, in contrast, must be internationalist in every sense. Among its tasks is a resolute struggle against all national oppression on the basis of working-class solidarity.

While the democratic opposition movement in the USSR is relatively isolated and unstable, the struggle against national oppression has at times led to mass demonstrations and protests, such as those in Lithuania last year. It has also produced popular support in some cases for *nationalism*, a bourgeois ideology which is opposed to proletarian internationalism. Consequently, a key perspective of Trotskyists toward the USSR and Eastern Europe must be to cut the ground out from underneath nationalism by combining the struggle against national oppression with the political revolution to replace the chauvinistic and anti-working-class bureaucracy with democratic soviet rule by the workers.

If the Soviet Union is no longer the feudal-autocratic "prison house of nations" that tsarist Russia was, it is still made up of unequal parts and is no more a free "Union" than it is "Soviet." The Moscow bureaucracy, predominantly Great Russian in origin and outlook, encourages a policy of Russification throughout the USSR, and promotes the ideology of Great-Russian chauvinism which can only cause resentment among other nationalities. It was on this issue that the dying Lenin planned to make a decisive stand against Stalin. Stalin's brutal treatment of his fellow Georgians demonstrated to Lenin that the typical Russian bureaucrat of tsarist times—the *dyerzhimorda*—had reappeared, this time decked in Soviet garb. Lenin advanced a federated structure for the Soviet state in opposition to Stalin's "autonomization" scheme (which would have given the non-Russian nations only cultural, not national, rights within a specifically Russian federation).

Russification and Nationalist Response

Today Russification primarily takes the form of the dispersal of Great Russians throughout the USSR, where, as the "leading" (and in some sense "conqueror") nation, they impose their own national culture and language. While this dispersal is often seen by the other nationalities as a deliberate policy, the process is actually a complex combination of political factors (e.g, the fact that Russians play the leading political and administrative role in the USSR) and purely demographic trends. The surplus of agricultural population in European Russia and the rapid growth of cities in Central Asia and Siberia induce Russians, and to a lesser extent Ukrainians, to migrate to the prosperous cities of the East and Far East. Other instruments of Russification are the privileged status of the Russian language as *lingua franca* in the Soviet Union, and the assimilation into Russian national identity of the ruling elites of the non-Russian nationalities.

The response in the Baltic countries and the Ukraine has been a resurgence of nationalism on a genuinely mass scale. Rather than viewing the bureaucracy as a parasite sitting atop the property forms of a workers state, sucking off the surplus produced by the entire working class and seeking a détente with the imperialists, nationalists see it as the embodiment of centralism and the logical continuator of the imperialist expansionism of the Russian tsars. The bureaucracy has always encouraged this identification. Appealing to Great-Russian nationalist sentiments, Stalin declared World War II the "Great Patriotic War." He conciliated the Russian Orthodox Church and on 7 November 1941, anniversary of the October Revolution, admonished the Red Army to seek inspiration in such historical figures as Alexander Nevsky, Dmitri Donskoy, Suvorov, Kutuzov and others, all heroes of Holy Russia and tsarist imperialism.

Responding to the consistent oppression of non-Russian nationalities during the late 1920's and 1930's, fanatic anti-Russian nationalism led many Soviet citizens to welcome even the fascists as an alternative to the oppressive bureaucracy. During World War II the Germans were welcomed in some of the border regions, and hundreds of thousands of Soviet prisoners of war of several nationalities agreed to enlist in Nazi-organized National Legions to fight against the Soviet Union (Allen Kassof, ed., *Prospects for Soviet Society*).

Today anti-bureaucratic struggles in Eastern Europe and the fight against oppression of minorities at home vitally affect and inspire the oppositionist movement in the Soviet Union. Especially the civil-rights struggle of the Crimean Tatars had a radicalizing effect on Russian intellectuals similar to that of the black civil-rights movement in the U.S. However, support for the rights of the Tatars has not taken on a revolutionary socialist character. On the contrary, key elements of the opposition have swung sharply to the right, in sympathy for "Western democracy" abroad and bourgeois nationalism at home. Thus in protesting against anti-semitism the opposition has come to look upon Zionism with open sympathy. In May 1971 Soviet physicist Valery Chalidze wrote, with Sakharov's approval, a letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in which he declared that "Zionism is not a reactionary political trend, not anti-communist or anti-Soviet, as represented in our press, but the concept of Jewish statehood" (*Chronicle of Current Events* No. 20, 2 July 1971). In fact, like all other forms of nationalism, Zionism is a chauvinist bourgeois ideology. It is also a major obstacle to proletarian unity in the Near East. But this can be of little concern for Chalidze. Having procured himself a well-paying professorship in the U.S., he now declares that there is no difference between Stalinism and communism.

Lenin and Trotsky on the Ukraine

For Leninists the key to the national question is the struggle for proletarian internationalism. We recognize the right to national self-determination, even under bourgeois leadership, in order to eliminate hostility between the workers of different countries. But while the national question has not disappeared from the stage of world history, like every other democratic demand it must be subordinate to the class question. A striking example of this was Lenin's policy toward the bourgeois Rada which declared Ukrainian independence from Russia immediately after the October Revolution: in the "Manifesto to the Ukrainian People With an Ultimahm to the Ukrainian Rada" (December 1917), he first recognized the right of the Ukrainian people to national independence, then asked if the Rada would continue to aid the tsarist White Guard troops against the Soviets and finally announced that if a satisfactory answer was not forthcoming within 48 hours the Council of People's Commissars would declare war on the Rada.

UPI

Jews protesting in Moscow early this month because Russian government had denied them exit visas to Israel.

The October Revolution and the Leninist nationalities policy succeeded in overcoming traditional hostility and uniting the Russian and Ukrainian workers in the struggle for socialism. This achievement was symbolized by the fusion of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks with the extreme left wing of the Ukrainian national movement, the Borot'ba Party. Borot'ba continued to insist on independence for the Ukraine, but Lenin did not see this as reason for a split, since the Borot'bists loyally served the Soviet government. In the 1920's the Communist Party of the Ukraine conducted national-educational work under the slogan of "Ukrainization," a policy approved by party and Comintern, but arbitrarily reversed by Stalin in 1928. The Stalinist policy of forced assimilation of non-Russian nationalities and the severe dislocations and famine which collectivization inflicted on the Ukrainian peasantry caused a revival of the nationalist movement, this time under the control of clericalists and fascists.

In the late 1930's Trotsky attempted to resolve the contradictions of the pre-war plight of the Ukraine and halt the spread of fascism by rousing the masses with the slogan, "A united, free and independent workers and peasants Soviet Ukraine". He declared that the unification of the Ukraine could not be accomplished through reliance on any imperialist power, but only through proletarian revolutions in both halves of the country. "Proletarian revolution" meant socialist revolution in the west and political revolution in the east, as the masses of the western Ukraine (under Polish rule until 1939) would not voluntarily place themselves under the rule of the Russian-chauvinist Stalinist bureaucracy. Trotsky argued that the achievement of an independent Soviet Ukraine would strengthen, not weaken, the USSR in the coming war. A successful political revolution against the oppressive bureaucracy would mobilize the masses of workers and peasants, while national independence on a soviet basis would eliminate a tremendous source of discontent that could otherwise be used by Hitler against the Soviet Union.

This contention was confirmed in the negative by the experience of World War II, when large numbers of disaffected Ukrainian peasants initially collaborated with the Nazis and participated enthusiastically in the slaughter of Jews, and the pro-fascist Bandera movement waged a bitter struggle against Soviet rule. In 1941 when the Germans occupied Lvov, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led by Bandera proclaimed the "restoration of the Ukrainian state" and formed a government whose aim was war against the USSR. After the defeat of the Nazis, Bandera's partisans continued to struggle against Soviet rule on into the 1950's. It took the Soviet authorities several years of large-scale military and police operations to rout the Banderaites.

Unlike his latter-day epigones, Trotsky did not see self-determination

as the final goal of all human aspirations. He affirmed the necessity of social revolutions in the West and a political revolution in the Soviet Union as the guarantee of the defense of an independent Soviet Ukraine. Simultaneously he declared battle against the bourgeois nationalists for the fate of the Ukrainian masses:

> "Not the slightest compromise with imperialism, fascist and democratic! Not the slightest concession to Ukrainian nationalists, clerical-reactionary or liberal-pacifist. No 'Peoples Fronts'! The complete independence of the proletarian party, as the vanguard of the working people!"
>
> —"On the Ukrainian Question," *Bulletin of the Opposition*, May-June 1939

The National Question Today: the Ukraine and the Baltic Countries

After World War II the Ukraine was unified under bureaucratic rule. Thus the slogan for a "united Ukraine" no longer has any meaning. Yet the Ukrainian question persists, and in recent years the repression of Ukrainian intellectuals has reached alarming proportions. In August-September 1965 there were sweeping arrests of young intellectuals in the Ukraine, accompanied by official "rumors" of nationalist activities. Ivan Dzyuba, the best-known of the Ukrainian dissidents, was arrested for protesting the illegality of the subsequent secret trials. Arrests continued to hit Kiev, Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk and other cities with large-scale house searchings and interrogations. Again there were "rumors" of "hidden arms, secret press," etc. In January 1972 over a hundred Ukrainian dissidents were arrested, and repression continues to this day.

We unreservedly support the right of self-determination for the Ukraine, already theoretically guaranteed by the Soviet constitution, and seek to make this right real by a political revolution of the working class to overthrow the Russian-chauvinist, anti-proletarian bureaucracy. Depending on the increasing seriousness of national protests, Trotskyists may at some point again raise the slogan for an independent Soviet Ukraine, in order to combat nationalist illusions in the masses, while intersecting their struggles against the bureaucracy.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's underground political organizations supported by elements of the working class appeared in the Ukraine. The United Party for the Liberation of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian National Committee were composed mostly of industrial workers (Bulletin of the "Set Them Free" Committee, Vol. 1, No. 1). These movements were effectively repressed by the secret police. Despite the claims of the bureaucracy and its apologists, the protests against national oppression in the Ukraine and the Baltic states are not necessarily animated by bourgeois nationalism. For instance, another group, the Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union, formulated a program for an independent socialist Ukraine and for democratization in the Soviet Union, with an end to bureaucratic methods of administering the economy, and improvement in the lot of the peasantry. The leader of this group was sentenced to death. Evidence of the potentially mass character of such proletarian movements was the demonstration of hydroelectric station workers in Kiev in May 1969, who carried placards reading "All Power to the Soviets."

Socialists must have no illusions about the mood of the masses in the Soviet bloc. Large numbers are certainly influenced by nationalism. Some, driven by blind hatred of Russian domination and by the property hunger of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, may actually support bourgeois restoration. But for the masses of workers and peasants such a "solution" would mean new and far greater oppression. This is why, even with their intense hatred of national oppression, the Hungarian workers and peasants in 1956 fought to replace the Russian-dominated bureaucracy not with national capitalism but with workers democracy, vigorously defending the socialist conquests and appealing to the Soviet troops as class brothers.

The political revolution in the USSR will have a large element of absolutely justified national protest against decades of Russian-chauvinist oppression by the bureaucracy. Trotskyists in the Ukraine would intersect these movements with the slogan for an independent Soviet Ukraine and with the Transitional Program as a whole, while ceaselessly combatting Ukrainian nationalism. Their comrades in Russia would see as one of their major tasks winning the Russian workers to support the right of self-determination for the Ukraine and for the Baltic countries, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

In the latter countries, which had 20 years of political independence under bourgeois rule between the wars and were forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940, nationalism is very strong, even in the working class. When the self-immolation of two students and a worker in Lithuania led to demonstrations and street-fighting in Kaunas and Vilnius in May 1972, workers at a synthetic fiber factory in Kaunas struck in sympathy. More than 400 were arrested during the demonstration in Kaunas on May 19, and of the eight "leaders" sentenced last October at least half were workers (*Le Monde*, 8 February 1973). In Latvia during the early 1960's, opposition to Russian chauvinism won the support of the majority of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party. This provoked Khrushchev to a purge of high-level cadre from party and government organizations, including ten CC members. They were uniformly replaced with Great Russians and Russian-born Latvians.

Ever since 1940 the USSR government has followed a deliberate policy of settling Russians in the Baltic countries so that in 1970 Latvians comprised only 57 percent of the population of the Latvian republic and 40 percent of its capital (Riga). The policy of forced assimilation was protested last year in an open letter by 17 Latvian Communists. Directing themselves to CP leaders in the West, the writers emphasized that they were Communist Party members of 25 to 35 years' standing, that several fought underground during the period of the bourgeois Latvian republic (before 1940). The open letter denounced the "policy of Great Russian chauvinism and . . . the forcible assimilation of the small USSR nations" as "caus[ing] great harm to the communist movement, to Marxism-Leninism . . ." (*Intercontinental Press*, 3 July 1972).

Nationalism vs. Socialism

The letter of the Latvian CP leaders makes it clear that there may be splits in the bureaucracy and that some of the most dedicated fighters for socialism may come from within the present Communist Parties. But this can occur only through a consistent struggle by the Trotskyists to crystallize a Bolshevik-Leninist party around the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. Thus, for instance, the Latvian oppositionists do not go beyond Dubcek-style bureaucratic reformism in their letter. Moreover, like Dubcek they make concessions to bourgeois nationalism. One of their protests amounts to rejecting immigration from Russia and large-scale industrialization, since this would lead to immigration of non-Latvian workers. While Bolshevik-Leninists must protest forced assimilation and the liquidation of the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union (such as occurred with Karelia), an insulated agricultural economy cannot aid Latvian workers or the cause of world socialism.

The workers movement inevitably encompasses not only those who, like Lenin and Trotsky, represent the historic interests of the proletariat and promote the development of universal human culture, but also more backward elements who are concerned with narrower questions of national development, while also supporting proletarian revolution. However, the ideology of nationalism, which places "nation" above class, ultimately serves the capitalist class and is totally hostile to proletarian internationalism. Revolutionary Marxists must know how to distinguish between just protests against national oppression and expressions of nationalism; likewise it is necessary to deal differently with the nationalism of bourgeois counterrevolutionaries and the nationalist sentiments of the oppressed working masses. But this cannot be done by claiming, as does the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, that "consistent nationalism" equals socialism and by tailing after every nationalist opponent of the bureaucracy. In the deformed workers states, "consistent nationalism" means bourgeois counterrevolution!

Cultural and political repression of national minorities constitutes only one side of the national question in the USSR, and there is another side which is usually ignored by bourgeois liberals and by pseudo-socialists who tail nationalist currents. Not only the Russians have gained from the October Revolution! The abolition of illiteracy among previously backward tribes is striking evidence of the cultural advancement of the Soviet peoples. The nationalities quota system for admittance to higher educational institutions in the USSR, despite its defects and biases, has ensured access to higher education for all nationalities. The economic boom enjoyed by Central Asia and Siberia has not been matched by European Russia; indeed, much of the migration of Great Russians has been caused by the relatively poor quality of the soil in Russia and the more rapid industrial development of other regions. And all the nationalities of the USSR have benefitted from the liquidation of capitalist property relations!

For Trotskyists, the class issue takes precedence over the national issue. In 1918 the Bolsheviks modified their position on the self-determination of nations, allowing secession from the Soviet Federation only if the majority of workers and peasants in the area supported this course. Similarly, Trotsky's call for an independent Ukraine specified that it must be a *workers and peasants Soviet Ukraine*. We do not allow democratic demands to serve as a cover for counterrevolution. Trotskyists will form a united front even with the bureaucracy itself to protect the social gains of the October Revolution against bourgeois restoration.

Of course, those like Shachtmanites and anarchists who deny that the Soviet Union is any kind of workers state must have a totally different orientation. The International Socialists' position on the Soviet national question is a systematic application of Shachtmanite doctrines. Since it was "Stalinist imperialism" that subjugated the small nations of the Russian Empire and gulped up all of Eastern Europe, it is only right to bloc with bourgeois nationalists against such "imperialism":

> "Socialists oppose any form of imperialism, whether that of the reactionary capitalist world system or that of the equally reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy. Therefore we support the right of self-determination for all peoples caught up in the web of these imperialist systems."
>
> —*Workers Power* No. 78, June 1973

For the SWP, which formally maintains the orthodox Trotskyist position on the nature of the Soviet Union, there is less excuse for uncritical tailing of any and all national struggles. But in practice, if not in theory, the opportunist SWP capitulates to bourgeois nationalists and the liberal imperialists just like classical Shachtmanites. It uncritically reports such groupings as the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSPP) and the "Set Them Free" Committee of Canada, which have built popular fronts with liberal anti-communists around the issue of defense of Ukrainian dissidents. At the 2-4 March 1973 "international conference

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Due to Stalin's chauvinist policy of discrimination against non-Russian nationalities, many Ukrainians welcomed invading Germans in 1941.

Debate SL in Cleveland

RSL Reaffirms "Third Campism"

CLEVELAND—At its debate here September 28 with the Spartacist League on the class nature of the Soviet Union, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) cavalierly dismissed the social conquests of the October Revolution and labeled the USSR a "state-capitalist" society. Despite continued economic planning, nationalized means of production and state monopoly of foreign trade in the Stalinist-ruled countries, the RSL claims that a bourgeois counterrevolution has already occurred and socialists must begin all over again. Behind this revolutionary-sounding position lies its refusal to unconditionally defend the USSR against imperialist attack. Such petty-bourgeois capitulation before anti-communist hysteria was the touchstone of Shachtmanism on the Russian question. As the debate revealed, the RSL merely trails after its historical patronage.

(The RSL was expelled by the right-wing majority of the International Socialists in late July. At the time it had not taken a position on the "Russian question" and democratic centralism, the issues over which Shachtman broke with Trotskyism in 1939. In the meantime the RSL appears to have consolidated around slightly revised Shachtmanite positions. It also seems to have lost its appetite for political debate with the SL. Although the RSL originally proposed debates around the country, only five of its supporters attended the Cleveland debate out of an audience of about 40. Supporters of the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth came from Detroit and Buffalo in order to press home to the RSL the contradictions in its positions.)

SL/RCY supporters awaiting a new refurbished version of how capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union without a civil war and violent overthrow of the workers state were to be disappointed by the RSL presentation. They were instead served scraps and leftovers from Shachtman's theory of "bureaucratic collectivism," now redubbed "state capitalism." According to RSL speaker Cass Mayhew, although the workers suffered a major defeat in 1924, it wasn't until 1934-38 that the new ruling class was consolidated as the last of the Soviet oppositionists vanished in the Great Purges.

In his rebuttal, SL spokesman Richard Cramer pointed to the unreasonable demands this position places on dialectics and logic. If the social character of the workers state is determined simply by whether or not the proletariat controls the state, then with Stalin's capture of the Bolshevik party apparatus and the consequent political expropriation of the proletariat in 1924, surely there had been a full-fledged capitalist restoration. The goals, program and methods of operation of the Stalinist rulers were fundamentally the same in 1929 as they were in 1939. The RSL goes through all its "theoretical" contortions to produce a two-stage theory of peaceful counterrevolution ("Stalinism in reverse"?) because it wishes to claim the struggle of the Left Opposition during the 1920's and 1930's as its own. But if Russia became "state-capitalist" in 1924, this would have made Trotsky deeply unprincipled, since up to 1933 he advocated a faction fight inside the Stalinized Communist Party—i.e., entering or remaining part of a bourgeois party!

Cramer challenged the RSL to locate fundamental economic changes in the Soviet Union between 1934 and 1937. If in the USSR labor exchanges as a commodity, a charge the RSL makes to prove Russia's capitalist nature, then it must never have been a workers state. There is no fundamental difference between the relations of workers to the enterprises today and the time when the Soviet state and CP were led by Lenin and Trotsky.

SL supporters pointed out that precisely when state planning (despite the enormity of its bureaucratic distortions) was first being introduced into the Russian economy, the RSL discovers the "basis of capitalist development" being laid. And precisely as the Stalinist bureaucracy was devouring its own offspring (very few Stalinists themselves survived the purges), revealing the extreme instability of this parasitic caste, the RSL proclaims the consolidation of a whole new ruling class.

Trotskyists, in contrast to the left-Shachtmanite RSL, have always insisted that the Stalinist bureaucracy represents not a new ruling class, but a privileged petty-bourgeois layer which has usurped political power from the proletariat while maintaining the property forms of a workers state. This excrescence of the workers movement must be overthrown by a political revolution to restore democratic rule through Soviets. But this does not mean there will be no economic aspects of the political revolution. A huge disproportion has arisen between the possibilities flowing from planned production in the Soviet Union and the parasitic squandering of this potential by the ruling bureaucracy. Yet the economic aspects are secondary; they are reforms. The RSL cannot distinguish between a social revolution to replace one class rule by another and a political revolution which, leaving the economic foundations of collectivized property essentially unaltered, re-establishes the political power of the proletariat.

According to the RSL, since they are "capitalists" the Stalinist bureaucracies can produce nothing resembling human progress in the epoch of imperialist decay. According to the feeble Shachtmanite theories, the Russian and Chinese "ruling classes" cannot have initiated new industrial revolutions over one third of the globe—so the RSL simply denies reality. (The SL speaker cited the obvious contrast between the industrial development of the Chinese deformed workers state and the stagnation of capitalist India.) For these petty-bourgeois moralists, what makes the Soviet bureaucracy a "capitalist class" is not its relationship to production but its style of life! "The SL says Brezhnev's sons will not inherit Brezhnev's positions, but [they] will live very comfortable lives indeed in comparison to the average workers," said Mayhew. (One wonders, with the RSL's methodology, why they call Russia, China, et al., "state-capitalist." Why not "state-feudalist"? If they derive such satisfaction from referring to the bureaucrats as "bosses," just think how good it would feel to call them "aristocrats"!) SL speakers pointed out that the RSL had substituted its subjective repulsion for reality; it has transformed Marxism from a rigorous scientific theory into empty tub-thumping and moral posturing.

The SL was accused of "forgetting about the class struggle" by insisting on choosing sides between imperialists and the deformed workers states, whose property forms embody the historic interests of the proletariat, despite the fact that anti-proletarian bureaucracies hold political power. In declaring that these states are not in any sense proletarian, and therefore should not be defended against capitalist attack (unless there is present some spontaneous struggle of the workers not connected with the Communist parties or Red Army) the RSL aligns itself with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Historically, failure to maintain a Trotskyist position in defense of the Soviet Union inevitably leads to failure to maintain a revolutionary line in general. (Thus the Chinese leaders, who consider the USSR to be capitalist, see nothing wrong in calling for the preservation of NATO in order to put military pressure on Russia from the West.) The RSL wants to separate Shachtman's position on the Russian question from his general adaptation to petty-bourgeois opinion. But the most striking example of Shachtman's adaptationism was expressed by his programmatic capitulation on the Russian question when the liberals discovered the Stalinist monster after the 1939 Stalin-Hitler pact!

Like the "radical dandies" Trotsky described as hopping carelessly from twig to twig, the RSL brushes aside the conquests of the October Revolution while eclectically adopting contradictory positions on related issues (in order not to become unpopular). Cramer pointed out that the implications of the Russian question don't stop with defense of the USSR. Does the RSL take a side on the military war between Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek? Even after the United States has withdrawn from Vietnam, the RSL retains the position of its parent, the right-Shachtmanite International Socialists, which claims that the Vietnam struggle is for "self-determination." If it were consistent in its policies, the RSL would have to consider the NLF as the agent of "Stalinist imperialism" and call for revolutionary defeatism on both sides—as the IS did until it became popular to defend the Viet Cong. But what is really occurring is not a struggle of two competing imperialisms. There is a class war going on in Vietnam, with the bourgeoisie on one side and the peasants on the other! Trotskyists take sides in the class war, while also calling for the formation of a Vietnamese Trotskyist party to replace the Stalinist misleaders who have continually sought to accommodate U.S. imperialism and its puppets through formation of a "coalition government."

Similarly Shachtman maintained that the Stalinist parties in the West were bureaucratic-collectivist. He therefore blocked unconditionally with the trade-union bureaucracy against the CP, even when the CP line was to the left. With its own position that Russia is state-capitalist, the RSL to be consistent should claim that the Western CPs are bourgeois parties, since they are clearly agents of Russia's Stalinist rulers. However, Mayhew argued that they must be defended against the capitalist state. Why? Would the RSL, like Shachtman, bloc with the French social democrats against the CP? Or, like the German centrist group Spartacus-BL, does it maintain that the social democracy is also bourgeois? These questions were left unanswered.

Likewise the RSL failed to explain how in the Hungarian revolution, when the proletariat took over the factories and set up workers councils, 80 percent of the Stalinist bureaucracy went over to the revolution and the CP rank and file provided much of the leadership. Is this the behavior of a bourgeois class faced with a threat to its class rule?

Thus at the debate's end, while the SL/RCY had not been treated to any new explanation of "state capitalism" in the USSR, at least they received a clearer picture of the RSL. The RSL has in no sense cut off its fundamental Shachtmanite roots; its refusal to defend the gains of the October Revolution against imperialist attack makes this absolutely clear. ■

Spartacist Local Directory

BERKELEY-OAKLAND..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO..... (716) 837-1854
Box 412, Station C
Buffalo, NY 14209

CHICAGO..... (312) 728-2151
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

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Corrections

It has come to our attention that in *WV* No. 26 (3 August) the picture story on "Rightest Coup Fails in Chile" placed the earlier coup attempt on June 21. The correct date was June 29.

In *WV* No. 28 (14 September), the concluding article on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions" cited miners' union president John L. Lewis as having supported the Republican Wendell Wilkie in the 1944 elections. Lewis supported Wilkie in 1940 and in 1944 backed Thomas Dewey (also Republican). In the same article the post-war membership of the Communist Party is given as 10,000 after a period of decline. In fact the CP membership was close to 80,000 and had increased during the war.

In *WV* No. 29, (28 September) the article "Defend the Detroit Teachers' Strike" has an unfortunate typographical error. After noting the militancy of Michigan teachers the article states "no thanks to the teachers" of the DFT. It should, of course, read "no thanks to the leaders" of the DFT. The article on "Chilean Leftists on Allende" in the same issue lists a source for the United Secretariat's endorsement of the MIR as *World Outlook*, 17 September 1973. It should be 17 September 1965.

Concerning the article "Woodcock Settles for Nothing" in the same issue, several auto workers have questioned whether the phrase "humanize the work force" reportedly in the UAW bargaining convention resolution might not be a misprint for "humanize the work place." It is not. Apparently the Woodcock bureaucracy not only treats the membership like animals but actually believes its ranks are subhuman.

There were also several minor typographical errors in this last issue. We are attempting to overcome these by improving our proofreading procedures and apologize to the readership.

Continued from page 7

Zionism and Nationalism in Brezhnev's Russia

to defend Soviet political prisoners," held in New York, these groups endorsed a plan to 1) work together for defense of Soviet political prisoners, 2) work out "a broad formulation on the questions of social justice, democracy, and national self-determination," and 3) encourage the study of various social systems and ideologies (*Militant*, 20 April 1973). Not a word about socialism or the political revolution; not a hint of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism!

The conference went on to collect signatures for a petition demanding the release of political prisoners in the Soviet Union. This petition appeared in the *New York Times* during Brezhnev's June 1973 visit to the U.S. and was signed by such notables as former U.S. Attorney-General Ramsey Clark and former Kennedy aide Arthur Schlesinger Jr., one of the architects of the Bay of Pigs invasion! The SWP, which has been active in the campaign to free Ukrainian socialists Dzyuba and Chornovil, organized by the New York CDSPP and the "Set Them Free" Committee, has not uttered a word of criticism on the politics and strategy of these groups. Under present conditions when the most prominent Soviet dissidents, like Sakharov, are urging the U.S. Senate toward economic blackmail against the USSR, a campaign around Soviet political prisoners involving prominent politicians can only have an anti-communist thrust. In any case, the minimum condition for Trotskyist participation in any organization to defend Russian political prisoners is that it explicitly refuse to defend active counterrevolutionaries.

Soviet Jews and Zionism

Zionism is one form of nationalism which the SWP does not support, since it represents the "nationalism of the oppressor" Israeli state. However, in the Soviet Union Zionism is the "nationalism of the oppressed," which the SWP claims leads to revolutionary communism!

After the October Revolution Soviet Jews were recognized as a separate nationality with rights to cultural autonomy, and Yiddish was legalized for schools in the Jewish areas. But Jewish national development was never very successful, as the Jews were a predominantly urban group, scattered in cities throughout the Republic. The artificial Jewish Autonomous Republic in the Far East (Birobidzhan) did not flourish, because most Jews were in fact on the road to voluntary assimilation. Before World War II, the rate of intermarriage between Jews and Russians was very high.

With the outbreak of World War II, assimilation of Jews ceased abruptly. The effect of German occupation (during which Jews in the occupied areas were decimated by the Nazis) and the anti-semitic response of large numbers of Russians and Ukrainians, startled Soviet Jews into a national identity they had not previously developed. The post-war establishment of the state of Israel and Stalin's campaign against Jewish culture (and Jews in general) served to deepen growing national consciousness.

Anti-semitism has always been used by the bureaucracy as a cover for its predatory policies and administrative blunders. By labeling the Left Opposition as discontented Jews, Stalin aimed to discredit and isolate it from the workers. Similarly, after World War II, Stalin's crackdown on intellectuals took the form of a campaign against "cosmopolitanism" and involved a large-scale purge of Jews from party, government and academic posts. Stalin and later Krushchev always tried to place much of the blame for the country's economic problems on Jews. For example, Krushchev's "anti-speculation" campaign of the early 1960's, ostensibly directed against economic sabotage (whose main cause is bureaucratic planning methods and bureaucratic theft) was actually intended to whip up anti-semitism. More than half those sentenced to death were Jews; in the traditionally anti-semitic Ukraine, 90 percent of those sentenced to death were Jews, although Jews comprise only 2 percent of the Ukrainian population (Zvi Gitelman, *Nationalities and Nationalism in the U.S.S.R.: the Jews*).

The result of this bureaucratic discrimination is the recent upsurge of Zionism. This phenomenon mainly affects Jewish scientists and professionals of the post-war generation, who hope to gain a more comfortable existence through emigration to Israel (often a way-station for their final destination: the U.S.) and sections of Jewish youth, who are asserting a national identity in reaction to the Stalinist anti-semitism which has raised Jewish culture to the status of "forbidden fruit."

While the educated Jewish petty bourgeoisie can hope to establish high-paid careers in the West, many workers and youth who have emigrated to Israel for purely romantic reasons soon regret their error and try to return to the Soviet Union. However, for Jews who have not experienced the unemployment, capitalist exploitation and discrimination of capitalist Israel, anti-bureaucratic discontent often takes the form of Zionism, just as for non-Jews it can take the form of Ukrainian or Latvian nationalism, or even retreat to Russian Orthodox religion. Today Zionism is supported by only a small minority of the some 3,000,000 Jews in the Soviet Union; nevertheless, it remains a significant symptom of the political and cultural malaise affecting all sections of Soviet society.

Through the joint efforts of the American Zionist community, which has no intention of giving up its profitable businesses in order to go to Israel, and the Israeli bourgeoisie, which needs new sources of immigration to secure its hold on the West Bank, Russian Jews have recently become a pawn in American-Russian relations. The Jackson Amendment now under consideration in the U.S. Congress would prohibit lowering of import duties on goods from the Soviet Union until the latter permits unrestricted emigration, particularly for Jews. Socialists must oppose this legislation which amounts to using the state power of the American bourgeoisie to force concessions from the USSR through economic blackmail. Rather, the labor movement must defend the deformed workers states against imperialism, which includes supporting the unrestricted access of the USSR to world trade, and for that reason opposing the Jackson amendment.

At the same time it is necessary for revolutionaries to oppose the Russian bureaucracy's emigration tax currently being applied particularly against Jewish professionals. There is nothing wrong with insisting on recovery of the capital spent by the state in the education of highly-trained scientists, technicians, etc. In an emergency situation even a total prohibition of emigration, especially for trained professionals, can be justified. Such measures have been taken by a number of the poorer capitalist countries whose economic development is threatened by a "brain drain" of educated personnel. In July 1918 Trotsky declared he was drafting ex-officers of the tsarist army because they "had received their education at the people's expense" and now had to repay the debt (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 October 1973).

But such measures should not discriminate against any particular social or national section of the population. In the present situation, where even the Russian bureaucracy does not claim to have an emergency shortage of scientists and is permitting the emigration of trained professionals, a regulation requiring all college graduates to work a certain number of years in the USSR before being eligible to emigrate would be equitable. (This principle has long been accepted even by social democrats. In the late 1940's the British Labour government favored state education of doctors on the grounds that this would give the government the right to require the graduates to work in those areas where their skills were most needed.) The present discriminatory tax only increases pro-Zionist sentiments among Jews in the USSR and anti-communism in the West, thereby aiding the enemies of socialism throughout the world.

Revolutionary Trotskyists firmly support the right of Russian citizens, including Jews, to freely emigrate to the country of their choice. This is the counterside of our opposition to ethnically, nationally and otherwise exclusionist immigration laws. Thus during the late 1940's the then-Trotskyist SWP campaigned for opening U.S. borders to the thousands of Jews languishing in European refugee camps. Therefore, we also oppose the reported intention of the Austrian government, under social-democratic Premier Kreisky (and with the support of the Austrian Nazis), to refuse transit to Jewish emigrés leaving the USSR.

However, at the same time it is necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against the chauvinist "Law of Return" which makes all Jews automatically citizens of Israel, while simultaneously excluding the Palestinian refugees who were driven from their homes by successive Israeli military operations. We have always defended the right of the Hebrew-speaking population to continue to live in the Palestine area, while likewise defending the rights of the Arab refugees to return to their homeland. A real peace in the Middle East is only possible by uniting Arabic- and Hebrew-speaking workers and peasants in a common struggle against capitalism. But this general proposition does not eliminate the national question in Palestine. It is necessary to recognize the right of self-determination on both sides and also to call for general secularization. The alternative is national war and possible genocide, pitting the less than three million Israeli Jews against tens of millions of Arabs. So long as the religious-exclusivist "Law of Return" and the theocratic state of Israel remain, the Hebrew-speaking population of Palestine will be building not a Promised Land free from oppression but a death-trap for Jews.

The National Question and the Political Revolution

The Jewish question in the Soviet Union is not a national question at this time, although the bureaucracy's anti-Jewish policies could unleash a wave of anti-semitism in the population, creating a national problem where none existed before. This can best be avoided by eliminating all ethnic discrimination and by permitting full linguistic and cultural rights for the Jewish minority. Such measures would aid full assimilation a hundred times more than a ban on emigration to Israel. Similarly, in the case of the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans, peoples who have no possibility of forming a viable nation-state, let alone a viable workers state, revolutionaries must call for their right to live wherever they want, particularly in their former homelands, in order to partially right the wrong done to them by Stalin. To go further than this and advocate national existence would be utopian and reactionary.

However the question takes on a different and more complex character when Trotskyists attempt to relate to national movements in traditional and viable nations, such as the Baltic republics and the Ukraine. Trotskyists, unlike ultra-lefts, recognize that in these countries, the national question is still on the agenda, in spite of the international nature of the modern world economy, and unconditionally support their right to self-determination.

Trotskyists do not condemn anti-bureaucratic struggles such as the Hungarian uprising of 1956 because they include diverse elements, even bourgeois nationalists. No revolution, social or political, begins in a pure form. Rather, we seek to intervene and lead these movements onto the correct path of proletarian revolution. To place one's trust in the class-collaborationist bureaucracy, that "bourgeois organ of a workers state," rather than in the working class, as the Marcyites (now the Workers World Party) did in supporting the crushing of the Hungarian revolution, is not only criminal but in the long run self-defeating. The bureaucracy is no guardian of socialist interests! It is continually generating restorationist tendencies within itself and encouraging the rise of nationalist and even fascistic elements in society at large!

When the tight lid of bureaucratic rule is lifted, even for one day, all the social forces, both healthy and morbid, which have waited as if in suspended animation suddenly come to life and vie for power. The Transitional Program permits the proletarian vanguard to intervene and polarize the situation, winning the working class and a section of the petty bourgeoisie to its banner. But the forging of the vanguard party requires a firm and consistent struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology, including the deadliest of all—nationalism. ■

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TROTSKYISM

munist opposition—not just militant trade unionism. Together with Trotsky we affirm that the Transitional Program is the program for struggle in the unions. This does not mean that every caucus program must be a carbon copy of the SL Declaration of Principles—it is necessary to choose those demands which best serve to raise socialist consciousness in the particular situation. What is essential is that the caucus program of transitional demands not be limited to militant reformism, but contain the political perspective of socialist revolution.

Davidson quotes from Trotsky's 1940 conversations with SWP leaders to claim that Trotskyist trade-union work amounted to "anti-communism." We have recently published a series of articles on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions" (*WV* No. 25-28) detailing our criticisms of the SWP's policy of one-sided emphasis on blocs with "progressive" bureaucrats and its failure to build a communist pole in the unions. However, it was perfectly correct during the late 1930's to concentrate the Trotskyists' trade-union work on opposition to the Stalinists: these were the agents of Roosevelt in the labor movement, the authors and enforcers of the no-strike pledge during World War II. Of course, no one can accuse Davidson's friends in the October League or Revolutionary Union of attacking the Communist Party (or for that matter any militant reformist bureaucrat) in their trade-union work. Rather they uniformly support left bureaucrats in office (such as Chavez of the Farmworkers) and form blocs with out-bureaucrats when the incumbent leadership is too conservative to awaken any illusions at all among the workers.

Consistent with his pattern of distortion of Trotsky's positions in the earlier articles of the series, Davidson seeks to create the impression that Trotsky endorsed the SWP's practice of blocking with "progressive" bureaucrats against the Stalinists. Not so! In 1940 Trotsky explicitly criticized the SWP for softness toward pro-Roosevelt unionists and insisted on an orientation toward the ranks of the CP.

The Struggle for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International

The degeneration of the SWP from Bolshevism to centrism did not simply occur one day in 1961, but was the result of a process of programmatic (and ultimately organizational) degeneration of the Fourth International after World War II. The critical point came with the split of the FI in 1953 which signified the organizational demise of the unified world party of socialist revolution. At the heart of the split was the program put forward by Michel Pablo, head of the International Secretariat of the FI, of "deep entry" into the reformist Stalinist parties, redubbed centrist in order to justify the new line. Pablo no longer saw the crisis of revolutionary leadership as the key roadblock to revolution and the construction of the Fourth International as the solution. Instead he adopted the objectivist theory that the overwhelming crisis of capitalism (his "war-revolution thesis") would *force* the Stalinists to undertake at least deformed revolutions. Thus Pablo's "Theses on International Perspectives" of the Third Congress of the FI (1951) state:

> "The objective conditions determine in the long run the character and dynamic of the mass movement which, taken to a certain level, can overcome all the subjective obstacles in the path of the revolution."
>
> —*Quatrième Internationale*, August-September 1951

When it became clear that the implication of Pablo's line was the organizational liquidation of the FI into the dominant Stalinist and social-democratic parties, and when this was brought home by a liquidationist pro-Pablo faction (headed by Cochran and Clarke) in the SWP itself, the party majority reacted sharply. James Cannon wrote:

> "The essence of Pabloist revisionism is the overthrow of that part of Trotskyism which is today its most vital part—the conception of the crisis of mankind as the crisis of the leadership of the labor movement summed up in the question of the party."
>
> —"Factional Struggle and Party Leadership," November 1953

The organizational destruction of the FI by Pabloist revisionism in 1953 had come about as the result of a number of factors affecting the entire Trotskyist movement after World War II, but particularly the European sections. For one thing, virtually their entire pre-war leadership had been murdered either by the Nazi Gestapo or the Stalinist GPU. The living continuity with Trotsky had virtually been broken. Furthermore the sections had been decimated and largely isolated from the working class, while the Stalinists had been able to expand their influence through leadership of anti-Hitler partisan struggles. At the same time Stalinist regimes were set up under the protection of the Russian Army in Eastern Europe, and peasant-based insurrection in China led to the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a deformed workers state. Faced with these unexpected developments the initial response of the Trotskyist movement was to maintain that the Eastern European Stalinist regimes were still capitalist. Not until 1955 did the SWP, for instance, decide that China had become a deformed workers state. Having unwittingly vulgarized Trotsky's dialectical understanding of Stalinism, the orthodox Trotskyists stressed Stalinism's counterrevolutionary side until their theories no longer squared with reality. This disorientation enabled the revisionist current around Pablo to justify its opportunist appetites by concluding from the limited social transformations in Eastern Europe that non-proletarian, non-Trotskyist forces can lead any form of social revolution.

The SWP had been least affected by this process, having emerged from the war with its leadership intact, its membership and ties to the working class increased and the Stalinists still relatively weak compared to Europe. It was natural that in 1953 the SWP should lead the fight for orthodox Trotskyism. But in fact the party waged only a half-struggle, virtually withdrawing from any international work until the late 1950's. The "International Committee" which it formed with the French and British majorities who opposed Pablo hardly functioned at all. As the party lost virtually its entire trade-union cadre in the Cochran-Clarke fight, and the greater part of its entire membership left during the McCarthy years, the leadership began moving to the right in the late 1950's in search of some force or movement it could latch onto in order to regain mass influence.

It found this in the Cuban revolution, which evoked a wave of sympathy throughout Latin America and in the U.S. The party leadership declared that Cuba was basically a healthy workers state, although not yet possessing the forms of workers democracy (!) and that Fidel Castro was a natural Marxist (i.e., he supposedly acted like a Trotskyist even though he talked first as a bourgeois nationalist and later as a Stalinist).

Not surprisingly, this was the same line taken by the Pabloists in Europe. If the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracies could carry out a social revolution in Eastern Europe, they reasoned, why not also a petty-bourgeois nationalist like Castro. Thus in practice the SWP was coming over to the Pabloist line. At the same time an opposition was formed inside the SWP (the Revolutionary Tendency, predecessor of the Spartacist League) which considered Cuba a deformed workers state and criticized the SWP leadership's capitulation to Castro and the European Pabloists. The RT in 1963 proposed a counterthesis ("Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International") to the majority's document which was the basis for the SWP's reunification with the European Pabloists to form the "United Secretariat." While the party majority supported a peasant-based "guerrilla road to power" the RT upheld the orthodox Trotskyist position that only the proletariat could lead the struggle for agrarian revolution and national liberation.

The RT was expelled from the SWP in 1963 for its revolutionary opposition to the majority's Pabloist tailing after petty-bourgeois forces. Subsequently the gap between the SWP's policies and the Trotskyism of the Spartacist group continued to widen. The ex-Trotskyist SWP capitulated in turn to black nationalism, bourgeois pacifism and feminism, to the point where today it is a hardened reformist organization with appetites to become the dominant social-democratic party of the U.S.

We must learn from this history of defeats that revisionism leads to the same consequences whether it comes from Stalinist origins or from erstwhile Trotskyists. The Maoist line defended by the *Guardian* in no way offers a proletarian alternative to the reformism of the SWP. Instead of the SWP's single-issue reformist campaigns in alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie (NPAC, WONAAC), the Maoists propose multi-issue reformist campaigns in alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie (PCPJ). The only road to socialist revolution is to make a sharp break with Stalinist and Pabloist revisionism and return to the Marxist program of proletarian class independence, uniquely embodied in the U.S. by the Spartacist League. Internationally this means an unrelenting struggle for the creation of a democratic-centralist programmatically-united Trotskyist tendency to carry out the task of reconstruction of the FI. Down with Pabloism! For the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Sub-Drive Report

At the half-way point of our subscription drive (three out of the total of six weeks), the national quota has been almost fulfilled. The capacity of the SL/RCY to obtain subscriptions was clearly underestimated. The main reasons for success to date have been systematic hard work by the locals, the rapid growth of the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth over the last period and the quality of *Workers Vanguard*, which is becoming widely recognized as the only serious Marxist press in the U.S. The increased interest in *WV* has also been reflected in our street sales, which have increased from roughly 4,000 a month last spring to more than 7,000 every two weeks at present. On the basis of the enthusiastic response so far we can expect to substantially extend the *WV* subscription base, enabling us to increase our modest yet unmistakable impact on the left and aiding the efforts of the SL to affect the living struggles of the labor movement.

Short regional tours, run by each local, have contributed to the drive's success in the early weeks. This has extended the influence of the SL/RCY to many areas where we have not before been present. Along with *WV*, street sales of *Young Spartacus* have doubled during the period of the drive, greatly aiding its stabilization as the bi-monthly newspaper of the RCY. *Women and Revolution*, which appeared at the end of September, is also enjoying a phenomenal success with several hundred sold in the first week alone. Subscribe now! (Don't forget that in addition to being the best press on the left, *WV*, *YS* and *W&R* are also the fastest—being sent, at great expense, by first class mail. Because the cost of mailing alone far exceeds the subscription price, we suggest to opponent organizations on the left that one of the best ways to drive the SL into *financial* bankruptcy is to encourage your members to subscribe to *WV*!)

The subscription drive has also brought us into conflicts with company police and union goon squads at a number of plants around the country, particularly Buffalo, Cleveland and Detroit. As shown in the sub totals for these areas such clashes have not hindered the success of our sales. However, we will vigorously fight every effort to deprive the workers of the right to hear and read the views of all working-class tendencies. The right to free discussion of ideas inside the unions is intimately linked to the right to read the labor press. The same goon squads now being used to suppress the left newspapers outside the plant gates will be used for suppressing dissidents in the union meetings and, as the UAW bureaucracy's mobilization to squash the Mack Avenue wildcat this summer showed, for breaking strikes. Insist on your right to know the truth—protest all attempts to stop sales of left newspapers in the factories and on campuses! Defend workers democracy! Subscribe to *Workers Vanguard*!

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UAW...

knows that the wildcats were a response to real and serious grievances—*which the UAW bureaucrats have done nothing about.* Did these labor fakers get even the minimum demand of voluntary overtime in the Chrysler contract? Will the local settlements do anything about the intolerable safety conditions in most of the plants? No! The UAW leadership is increasingly isolated from the union ranks—last summer's wildcats make this plain for all to see. Woodcock is playing with fire. Having blamed the spontaneous revolts of the auto workers on reds, assuming the workers would accept his sellouts as a "lesser evil," he may one day soon find his ranks willing to ally even with reds, who are at least willing to pursue the class struggle.

Local Gangsterism

The frenzy of the UAW tops is now being expressed by local leaders who encourage goon attacks like the recent criminal assault on *WV* salesmen in Cleveland. An 18-member, standing goon squad was formed by the Local 1005 bureaucracy, currently headed by William Brake, at the Parma plant. The officially-inspired gang of brawlers (mostly composed of committeemen and other officials) has attacked, in addition to the Spartacist League (SL), sellers of *Modern Times*, a local Cleveland New Left syndicalist paper; *People Get Ready*, a similar paper supported by the right-wing Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU); and *Workers Power*, the paper of the left-social-democratic International Socialists (IS).

SL paper salesmen have also been harassed at the Ford and GM plants at Mahwah and Linden, New Jersey, by groups inspired by the bureaucracy. These same groups have driven off salesmen of the fake-Trotskyist Workers League and syndicalist *News and Letters* at Mahwah and left-Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League and the opportunist-adventurist Workers Action Movement (WAM—supported by Progressive Labor) at Linden.

In striking contrast to the pervasive anti-communism of the late 1940's and 1950's, in which social democrats and Reutherite trade-union bureaucrats led a widespread purge of reds from the unions, the UAW's rationale for the present witchhunt lacks even the lame excuse of the McCarthy era that Communists were "agents of a foreign power." This time, the reds are seen as the spark which set off strikes in a situation in which the bureaucrats are forced to admit that "working in [an auto] plant, or any plant, for that matter, is no picnic," because complaints "often are ignored by plant managements," and numerous other abuses are common-place (*UAW Solidarity*, September 1973).

Partnership In a Fraud

Company provocations, such as mass firings of militants, as well as other grievances, promoted "unofficial" strikes throughout the auto industry during August and September. The calculated strike-breaking efforts of the UAW "leadership," culminating in the Mack Avenue atrocity, were an act of direct partnership with the companies in their effort to weaken and demoralize the workers before a strike, crush resistance and thereby help prevent any real gains by the workers. This is all done in the name of enhancing the supposedly "legitimate" interests of the companies in making as much profit as possible (as long as they share some crumbs with the workers!) and increasing productivity so as to improve competition with foreign capitalist rivals.

The Chrysler "settlement" confirmed the bureaucracy's success in this. Against hostile but disorganized and apathetic ranks, the bureaucrats have rammed through what is one of the greatest frauds ever perpetrated on auto workers. The contract's main purpose is revealed as improving productivity through controlling absenteeism—through a "voluntary overtime" clause which is so hemmed in with restrictions that it is bound to ensure the performance of *more* work rather than less! Its "crumbs," in the form of a dental plan and 30-and-out provision, are wholly inadequate, and its wage "increase" is guaranteed to result in further erosion of real wages. While this contract has been put over at Chrysler, it still must be forced on reluctant Ford and GM workers, who, moreover, have time to think about it while "negotiations" proceed, first with Ford, then GM. The official union goon squads and attacks on reds at Ford and GM plants are a direct attempt to intimidate the workers and cow internal opposition at this sensitive time, when the officials know what a rotten sellout they will soon have to defend to the ranks.

Night-Riders in the "Leadership"

While ultimate responsibility for the Parma goon attack resides in Solidarity House, the Local 1005 bureaucracy contributes its own special impetus to the anti-red campaign, resulting in a particularly zealous, efficient and brutal record. In the early 1960's a redneck contingent organized mainly as the "Unionist Party" won control in the local. The Dixie flag was contemptuously displayed in the union hall and racial incidents including shootings occurred in the plant, although the news was suppressed by the management and local bureaucracy. The incidents in the plant created such tensions that the International, together with GM management, was compelled to intervene. The International tacitly supported the firing of ex-president Gene Murphy, who had just returned from jail for passing bad checks, in the middle of his campaign for office, and kicked other racists upstairs to International staff. The current president, Brake, then won election on the "Progressive Party" ticket, but his "liberalism" was a mask for the creation of a regime based on the same racist elements and including many tag-alongs from the previous administration.

Erosion of real wages, the wage-price freeze, the union's role in suppressing worker militancy and rising discontent among black workers over the local's open racism contributed to a great decline in support for Brake. Running for his third term in the Spring of this year, he lost in the primary and then barely won in the run-off election. With a new sellout coming and the militancy of workers in nearby plants such as the Chrysler Twinsburg stamping plant, which was one of the few plants to turn down the Chrysler contract, as inspiration for Local 1005 members, the already discredited Brake gang needs all the help it can get to stay in power. The standing white goon squad is a barely disguised threat of KKK night-riding terror to intimidate the black workers into submission and line up the whites, against their real interests, to see black workers and "reds" as their enemy.

The lesson of the anti-communist purge and hysteria of the post-World War II period is that anti-communism and denial of basic rights of workers democracy within the labor movement inevitably go hand in hand with the creation of an impervious, entrenched and self-satisfied bureaucracy, which is not only against reds but against *any* serious struggle for the workers' basic interests against the companies'. Feeding on racial hostility and the passivity of those who have given up fighting, such a bureaucracy is willing—even anxious—to sell out every important gain of the workers' struggle and preside over the decline of the unions into impotent caricatures of themselves. It is necessary for all workers interested in militant, democratic unionism to unite to combat renewed outbreaks of race hatred and anti-communism, as a necessary precondition for returning the unions to the only path for victory—the class struggle.

For United-Front Defense Against Bureaucratic Anti-Communist Goon Attacks!

The responses of the ostensibly revolutionary left in Cleveland to the initial appeals of the Spartacist League for a united front over the attack of September 27 leave much to be desired, however. Supporters of the Revolutionary Union-backed *People Get Ready* categorically refuse to consider any joint action with the Trotskyist Spartacist League, despite our common victimization by the same anti-communist bureaucrats. This is hardly surprising, since the RU's Stalinist methods are identical to those of the trade-union bureaucracy. In June, salesmen of the RU-supported *Bay Area Worker* physically attacked *Workers Vanguard* salesmen outside the Fremont, California GM plant. When the Spartacist League mobilized in force to defend its rights the attacks ceased. The RU has reportedly also attacked salesmen of the Workers League *Bulletin* at the Milpitas California Ford plant.

"WORKERS VANGUARD Defends BULLETIN's Right to Sell"

The Spartacist League categorically defends the right of all tendencies within the labor movement, no matter how insignificant or politically discredited they may be, to freely propagate their ideas. Only in this way will the workers be freed from arbitrary, bureaucratic restraint and able to judge courses of action solely upon their merits. Thus when the *Bulletin* (24 September) claimed that vicious attacks by the RU were continuing, the SL verbally informed the RU that attacks on the WL salesmen would be considered attacks on it, and showed up for the next *Bulletin* sale at the plant gate with a sign reading, "*Workers Vanguard* defends *Bulletin's* right to sell." The sale was uneventful.

At least some progressive service will have been performed if the attacks by anti-communist goons against the RU in Ohio and elsewhere drive home to the best militants of the RU the lesson that their own Stalinist goon-squad sectarianism is responsible for their plight. Like the Communist Party in the 1930's, the RU will eventually discover that its failure to practice and defend workers democracy will rebound upon it as it is driven out of the unions by the same bureaucrats it is cuddling up to today. Better to learn this lesson now!

As for the Workers League, with its cynical lack of any and all principles, deeply ingrained habits of lying and sectarian exclusion of other groups from its public meetings, it denies the need for united-front defense. Having at first denied the need for defense at the previously mentioned Fremont sale, WL supporters were spreading lies about the SL's *unwillingness* to defend them... until the SL showed up anyway.

The IS and its recent left-excretion, the RSL, have so far proven to be too busy (presumably out peddling their workerist, opportunist politics in safer quarters) to risk the appearance of serious cooperation in defense efforts with the "sectarian" SL. The reformist Communist Party cannot, of course, even contemplate the rupture of its comfortable relations with the trade-union bureaucracy (particularly Woodcock!) which any return to the Leninist principles of its long forgotten early years would entail. And the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, meanwhile, perhaps because the memories are just slightly fresher and its ties to the bureaucracy far weaker, has a slicker put-off: it deigns to cover its inaction by desiring to be "kept informed" of developments.

Only the minuscule and essentially irrelevant Class Struggle League and the *Modern Times* grouping in Cleveland have clearly indicated willingness to cooperate with the SL in united-front defense against bureaucratic goon-squad anti-communism. A *Modern Times* supporter accompanied the SL sales crew on September 27 and participated in efforts to fend off the attackers. The hard syndicalist and anti-political *Modern Times*, however, completely lacks the political perspective required to make the struggle against goon-squad bureaucratism a reality in the unions (where the issue, in the final analysis, must and will be settled). It opportunistically tails after simple trade-union militancy, which leads it to adapt to backwardness among the workers and to cowardly capitulation in the face of the bureaucracy even when it is under direct attack itself.

The cavalier, temporizing response of most of the left in Cleveland and elsewhere to this issue might ordinarily be simply written off as another example of its general promiscuity with political principles and opportunist grovelling before the trade-union bureaucracy. However, failure at this time to defend the right of all groups to freely propagate their views within the labor movement amounts to criminal capitulation before the new anti-communist purge drive of the red-baiting UAW bureaucracy—which affects every socialist tendency and rank-and-file militant directly.

The struggle for workers democracy in the UAW must be consciously linked to the political victory of auto workers. The Chrysler contract defeat is due to the lack of an organized, class-struggle opposition to the reformist, sellout bureaucracy of Woodcock-Fraser. Now this bureaucracy seeks to ensure its continued right to betray auto workers through gangland thug attacks. The Spartacist League has consistently emphasized the need for a political opposition in the unions organized in caucuses based on a class-struggle program. In addition, the SL has struggled intransigently to combat gangsterism and promote genuine workers democracy in the labor movement. Any approach to the struggle in auto lacking these elements will be incapable of achieving victory for auto workers or the working class generally. ■

SL/RCY Public Offices

BAY AREA

Wednesday and Thursday 1:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:30-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

BOSTON

Wednesday and Friday 1:00-5:00 p.m. 7:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 11:00 a.m.-3:00

639 Massachusetts Avenue
Room 335
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Phone 492-3928

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-6:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

WORKERS VANGUARD

Goons criminally assault SL supporters selling WORKERS VANGUARD at Parma, Ohio Chevrolet plant.

WV PHOTOS

Goons Assault *WV* Salesmen in Cleveland

Frenzied UAW Bureaucracy Attacks Reds, Militants

CLEVELAND—Nine members and friends of the Spartacist League were assaulted and beaten by 15 thugs in a well-organized goon squad outside the Chevrolet transmission plant in Parma, Ohio, near Cleveland, on September 27. The sudden, unannounced attack took place only minutes after SL supporters had begun to sell *Workers Vanguard* on the street to workers going into the plant in the afternoon. The goons ripped the papers out of the hands of the salesmen, grabbing and beating those who made the slightest resistance. In an obviously well-rehearsed maneuver, they broke off their engagement as soon as the SL supporters were clear of the area, and disappeared quickly into the plant parking lot. (However, despite the goon squad's attempt to avoid identification, *WV* managed to get photographs of the entire incident and pictures of the individual thugs as they assaulted our salesmen.)

The entire incident lasted no more than a few minutes, but in the course of it two SL supporters were knocked to the ground, one was kicked in the head, another given a black eye and others badly bruised. The SL members defended themselves as best they could against the large and well-coordinated force. The obviously pre-planned attack was timed so that it took place rapidly and in the view of only a few workers, who were waiting to cross the street into the plant. The goon squad was noticeably all white, in marked contrast to the racially-mixed workforce at the plant.

This vicious attack was not an isolated incident. It was part of a pattern of events sweeping the UAW nationally since the Mack Avenue sit-down strike in Detroit in mid-August, one month before the auto contract expirations. UAW tops mobilized 1,000 local officers into a gigantic special goon squad to crush that "illegal" strike, which they admit was part of a series of wildcat strikes in Detroit sparked by serious, real grievances. After the strike, the same goons served as an attack force against "extremists" outside the plant.

Thug attacks on leftist paper sellers continued for a few days until the bureaucrats were discouraged by such events as workers coming out of the plant at Dodge Main to defend the right of leftists to sell their papers. Meanwhile, an extraordinary article on wildcat strikes and the role of "extremists" was printed in *UAW Solidarity* (September 1973). Denouncing "irresponsible radical groups" who are "masters at exploiting" legitimate grievances, the article served as a call for the entire UAW bureaucracy to mount a purge against all leftists and militants, whether inside the union or outside selling their papers.

Woodcock's maneuver is obvious, and was spelled out explicitly by UAW leaflets distributed at Detroit plants after the Mack Avenue sit-down: blame the reds for the strikes. But if it was only "a handful of outside agitators" behind the wildcats, why did it take a 1,000-strong army of UAW bureaucrats to put them down? Every worker in those plants, whether or not he supported the particular tactics,

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Picket Solidarity House!

The continuing attacks on left-wing paper salesmen by official UAW-backed goon squads constitute flagrant denial of the most basic rights of workers democracy. These attacks are part of a general attempt to intimidate and silence all opposition to the sell-out, reformist bureaucracy, both inside and outside the union.

The Spartacist League affirms the right of all tendencies and groups within the labor movement to freely propagate their views, in public and in the unions. We call on all those groups and individuals who stand in solidarity with the auto workers against the companies (i.e., are not strikebreakers) and support militant, democratic unionism to join with us in protesting the attacks on paper salesmen through a picket of Solidarity House, international union headquarters of the UAW in Detroit.

The united-front picket line will be open to all groups on the above basis, provided only that no attempt is made to utilize the protest in direct support of any action which crosses the class line by using bourgeois cops or courts against the union (i.e., using the protest to publicize a court suit). All groups accepting the basis of the action are of course free to raise their own slogans.

Defend Workers Democracy!

Stop the Goon Attacks!

Wed., 17 October–1 p.m.
Detroit–8000 E. Jefferson Ave.

Defend Workers Democracy

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 31 26 October 1973

NEWSWEEK

Nixon on the Brink

Impeachment Is Not Enough!

OCTOBER 21—By refusing to turn over the now-famous Watergate tapes, forcing the resignation of Attorney-General Richardson and then firing his own appointed replacement (Ruckelshaus) in order to get rid of Special Watergate Prosecutor Cox, Richard Nixon himself may have finally managed to surpass the bungling of his Watergate associates by bringing down his Administration and thoroughly discrediting the U.S. government in the eyes of just about everyone.

During his term in office Nixon has repeatedly attacked the interests of the working masses. The saturation bombing inflicted on the peasants of Vietnam and Cambodia places him in the company of war criminals of the Nuremburg Trials variety. In the U.S. he has openly and shamelessly attempted to place the cost of economic crisis on the backs of the working class (through inflation, budget cuts for social services, wage controls). Nixon and his deputies have shown an arrogance toward working people on a par with Marie Antoinette. Secretary of Agriculture Butz's answer to skyrocketing food costs: "eat less meat"; chief Nixon domestic advisor Laird's answer to the "fuel crisis": "buy sweaters." In the uproar over the Watergate affair these items are, of course, rarely mentioned. All this the ruling class would gladly forgive Nixon, for they are deemed necessary crimes committed in the "holy" cause

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Down with Holy War— For Workers Revolution!

No U.S. Aid to Israel!

OCTOBER 22—The renewed outbreak of war in the Near East is a struggle to redraw the "ceasefire" lines of the 1967 conflict which left Israel occupying substantial Arab territory. However, after some initial Arab successes in the current round of hostilities, the Israelis appear to have restabilized their position, and in any event are unlikely to sustain a major military defeat so long as the U.S. continues its massive aid and diplomatic support (including the effective neutralization of Jordan, whose participation in the war is token).

The U.S. and USSR have been able to impose a partial ceasefire on their respective client states. However, it is unlikely that an in-place ceasefire, leaving Israeli troops on the West Bank of the Suez Canal and Egyptian troops on the East Bank, can long survive. Both sides have shown a strong desire to continue the fighting, the Arab states to shore up popular support by deflecting mass discontent into a holy war and Israel because its government believes itself militarily superior. The present ceasefire could well be a very short breathing space in the 25-year-old Arab/Israel conflict.

DIRCK HALSTEAD

Golda Meir

AP

Anwar Sadat

Captured Israeli POWs

The Egyptian armored tanks that smashed through Israel's Maginot Line, the Bar Lev Line of air-conditioned bunkers, should have also smashed through the Zionist illusion that every Palestinian peasant exiled, every Arab village bombed and razed, every strip of Arab land seized somehow enhances the security of the Hebrew-speaking population of the Near East (or, as the Zionists claim, of Jews throughout the world). Unless a class mobilization of the working masses of the Near East can cut through the chauvinist antagonisms being hysterically fanned by the Arab and Israeli bourgeoisies, the workers and peasants of both sides will pay in blood for the genocidal aspirations of their rulers. The alternative to unified proletarian revolution is a carnage from which neither the Arab nor the Hebrew-speaking masses can benefit; ultimately, it poses the extermination of the hopelessly outnumbered Hebrews as the reactionary "final solution" of the arrogant Zionist aspirations for a "Jewish homeland" carved out of the territory of the indigenous populations.

Zionism Destroys Jews to Build Israel

The Zionists' search for a territorial solution to anti-Semitism took them to the reactionary, anti-Semitic pogromist courts and ministries of pre-World War I tsarist Russia, the Ottoman Sultanate, imperial Germany and Britain. In World War II it took them to the Allied capitals, where they lobbied for the closing of borders to the Jews fleeing Hitler's "final solution" so that the refugees would have nowhere to go except Palestine. The Zionist state, populated by the victims of European fascism, was founded on the Jewish version of the same racialist ideology as Nazism, complete with its own doctrine of Lebensraum, and created by driving the Palestinians off their land through genocidal terror (as with the Deir Yassin massacre) and through the expropriation of the land of the Palestinians who fled the battlefields of the 1948 war.

Thus the fulfillment of the Zionist dream of a "Jewish homeland" was a byproduct of the worst defeat of this century for the international working class, the triumph of Hitlerite fascism in Germany, and was facilitated by the closing of borders to Jewish immigration (including those of the U.S., whose rulers' tears for Soviet Jewry today are pure hypocrisy). But despite the reactionary foundations of the Israeli state, a Hebrew-speaking nation has in fact been created, possessing legitimate national rights. Just as the Palestinians must not be made to pay for the tragedy of European fascism by their extinction as a nation, so the Hebrew nation must not be made to pay for the sins of the Palmach generals, the Meirs, Dayans and Begins, the Zionist "Old Guard" which has ruled Israel these past 25 years.

But the "Right to Return" law which the Zionists claim entitles any and all Jews to automatic Israeli citizenship should in fact apply not to world Jewry but to the Palestinians who were driven from their homes. The land cannot simply be given back to the fellahin—the Palestinian landlords, who will simply sell it once again to the Jewish Agency as they did before 1948—but must be returned to those who worked the land, the fedayeen. The framework for the resolution of the conflicting national claims of the Palestinians and the Hebrews must necessarily be anti-Zionist and bi-national, anti-nationalist as well as anti-imperialist, socialist as well as democratic. Nowhere is the mandate of Trotsky's permanent revolution clearer than in the Near East,

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Frisco NMU Officials Assault Militant

In the finest traditions of waterfront goon violence San Francisco National Maritime Union officials viciously assaulted NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus member Bill Savery on October 15. Their attempt to suppress the expression of opposition viewpoints in the union was unsuccessful, however, and distribution of Caucus literature in the union hall continues.

According to a recent Caucus leaflet, Savery was passing out Caucus literature including the M-SC's newspaper (the *Beacon*) in the San Francisco union hall when the port agent, two patrolmen and other officials demanded that he cease the distribution. Savery protested this arbitrary order and suggested that officials contact the National Office in New York. Port Agent McKinley responded with a threat to "kill" Savery, then forcibly ejected him from the hall with the aid of Patrolmen De Rousett and Greaves.

Outside the hall Savery was knocked to the ground and kicked by at least five men, including the three officials. His union book was grabbed upon his re-entry into the hall on the pretense of "investigating his union status." The bureaucrats were well aware of Savery's membership status as he was known to them from his previous participation in Caucus activities, including Gene Herson's campaign for NMU president as the M-SC's candidate in last spring's elections. Savery had distributed literature in the San Francisco hall on other occasions and spoken in union meetings there.

The next day M-SC members confronted national officers in New York. The bureaucrats in effect condoned the West Coast assault in their refusal to investigate the incident. That day, however, Savery's union book was returned to him. And on the following day leaflets condemning the thug attack were distributed in both the New York and San Francisco union halls without physical incident.

The San Francisco port officials have been notoriously eager to employ hooligan violence, even by NMU standards. *Workers Vanguard* sales teams selling outside the hall have been regularly threatened with violence and, on occasion, attacked. Recently this practice has been curtailed as some NMU members, disgusted with the contempt for democracy displayed by their "leaders," have physically defended our sales.

The M-SC has consistently fought for the right of all members to express their views in the NMU and for workers democracy within the entire labor movement. The bureaucrats claim that only "official literature," such as the union newspaper, the *Pilot*, can be distributed in the hall. However, the *Pilot* is closed to all but the bureaucracy's views. When reformist out-bureaucrat James Morrissey was arrested in the New York hall for distributing his campaign material he was defended by the M-SC despite significant disagreements with his program. The case against Morrissey was laughed out of court by the judge.

During last spring's NMU elections even the Honest Ballot Association, pawn of the incumbent bureaucrats, ruled that oppositional literature could be distributed in the hall. At that time the main concern of the Curren-Wall administration was "reform" candidate James Morrissey's threatened federal court suit charging "undemocratic election procedures."

But with the end of the elections, as the NMU receded from the public eye and the liberal pro-Morrissey bourgeois press, the union bureaucrats have escalated their attacks on the rank and file. As pointed out in the M-SC's 17 October leaflet "Stop Officials Thuggery":

> "The recent goon attack in 'Frisco is an attempt to reestablish thuggery as a way of life in the NMU. If the officials are successful there, they will attempt to spread this practice to other ports. Recent talk of merger with other maritime unions by NMU president Shannon Wall make it particularly important that NMU officials demonstrate their ability to 'control' the membership to their bureaucratic pals in the SIU, Marine Cooks and Stewards, etc."

The Caucus called for NMU members to pass resolutions aboard ship and in port condemning the thug attack on Savery and for public repudiation of this act by the national officers. Real union democracy can be achieved not by appealing to the bosses' courts, as Morrissey does, but through action by the workers themselves to ensure the exercise of democratic principles within their movement. ■

MLOUSA, SL Defend Against Philippine Nationalists

SAN FRANCISCO—On Saturday September 22 a coalition of groups dominated by Philippine nationalists held a march and demonstration in San Francisco on the basis of "opposition to martial law" in the Philippines and for the "restoration of civil liberties." The September 22 Coalition which issued the call for the rally, made it clear by its actions, as well as in its printed pamphlet, that it is interested *only* in the restoration of "normal" bourgeois order via parliament, which would maintain Philippine subservience to U.S. imperialism. According to the Coalition's pamphlet:

> "The only way that such a tragedy [another Vietnam] can be prevented is if Marcos steps down from power at the end of his elected term on December 30, 1973, and restores civil liberties and democratic processes. The U.S. government should condition its policy of giving aid to the Philippines upon the restoration of democracy there.... "Here in the United States, we patriotic Filipinos and freedom-loving Americans have consistently opposed the anti-popular and unjust policies of Marcos' Martial Law dictatorship."

The Coalition leaders quickly made it clear that they are opposed to civil liberties for the working class in general and communists in particular. When SL/RCY salesmen arrived, a large goon squad emerged and physically harassed our comrades—pushing, shoving and ripping away papers. Not surprisingly, among the goon squad were members of the Maoist Revolutionary Union, who explained that there had been a "decision" that no one should be allowed to sell papers at the demonstration (no doubt in the name of "civil liberties"!).

Thus the logic of Stalinist/Maoist theory—the "anti-imperialist" bloc with the bourgeoisie—emerged in practice as full-blown anti-communism. The organizers even denounced us with a bullhorn as "provocateurs" and "wreckers." The SWP was allowed to sell the *Militant* after explaining in cringing reformist fashion that, of course, it has nothing critical to say about the Coalition or China!

After a brief march, the Coalition played the Filipino national anthem while the goons again engaged in highly provocative threats and harassment—RCY salesmen were pushed, papers torn up, glasses knocked off and one member was struck in the face. An organizer at the mike again denounced us as "divisive" elements, and this was followed by playing once more the Filipino national anthem in an attempt to whip up chauvinist hysteria.

As could be expected, the ex-Trotskyist SWP refused our request for a united defense bloc, as it has totally abandoned the concept of workers democracy. Similarly, the NCLC remained non-committal when approached. The only group present which agreed to and carried out a united defense bloc was the Marxist-Leninist Organization of the USA (MLOUSA), a mostly black group which traces its ideological lineage to Stalin. It is also a group which is seriously interested in open political discussion within the workers movement and has criticisms of Maoism.

The single MLOUSA member originally present accompanied an RCY salesman as we sold our respective press and explained why the RCY was being banned. This took considerable physical courage in the face of intense harassment from a growing goon squad. Several more MLOUSA supporters soon arrived and joined in the common defense effort, during which a member of MLOUSA had leaflets torn from her hands. This menacing situation ended only when our defense bloc aroused sufficient sympathy in the crowd to force the Philippine-nationalist and Maoist leaderships to pull back. Afterward a member of MLOUSA stated that at first he thought he didn't want to get involved with a "Trotskyite" group, but then realized that if we couldn't sell our papers criticizing Mao, they too could be stopped from selling their literature critical of Mao. He correctly considered workers democracy a matter of *principle*.

The Bay Area Spartacist League subsequently wrote to MLOUSA thanking it for its principled defense of workers democracy during the September 28 march and repeating our proposal of last December for joint MLOUSA/SL discussions. We noted the serious differences separating ourselves as Trotskyists from a group which considers itself to represent the continuity of Stalin's policies in the current period. However, MLOUSA's positions on international work and the question of blacks and other racial-ethnic minorities in the U.S., as well as its serious attitude toward the building of a vanguard party, do provide a basis for discussion between the two organizations. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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Letter

October 17, 1973

Workers Vanguard
Editor,

In an otherwise accurate report on the expulsion of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency from the Socialist Workers Party printed in the Sept. 28, 1973 issue of your paper, you incorrectly stated that I was "organizer of the Hayward, Cal. branch and a delegate to the 1971 SWP convention...." The truth is that I was the organizer of the Hayward *local* of the YSA and a delegate to the *1969 YSA* convention, where I, along with two other comrades, voted against the "Youth Radicalization" document.

In general, you should be congratulated for your consistent publication of the WV even if you must provide space every week or so for corrections. It is because you do publish so frequently now that you can make corrections in time which will be understood by your readership. Your desire to be accurate is also a reflection of your political seriousness. Keep up the good work.

Comradely yours,
Gerald Clark

Correction

In *WV* No. 30 (12 October), the article "Nationalism and Zionism in Brezhnev's Russia" contained the following statement: "Therefore, we also oppose the reported intention of the Austrian government, under social-democratic Premier Kreisky (and with the support of the Austrian Nazis), to refuse transit to Jewish emigrés leaving the USSR."

However, this "reported intention," based on the closing of the Schönau Castle transit center, was a systematic deception by the pro-Zionist U.S. press. The *New York Times* repeatedly referred to "the Austrian government's publicly announced decision to suspend emigration in groups" (30 September). However, its report of the initial statement by Chancellor Kreisky mentioned only the closing of Schönau Castle as a special facility of the Jewish Agency, and a promise "to stop any facilitation for groups" (*New York Times*, 29 September). Kreisky explicitly permitted the "individual transit of Jews through Vienna" in the same statement, and the term "facilitation" is quite vague. *Newsweek* (15 October) later reported: "the Austrian leader emphasized that he never intended to stop their transit. 'All we've promised is to close down the camp at Schönau,' he said."

While defending the democratic right of emigration and transit, we wholeheartedly support the closing of the Israeli-run transit camp in Austria. The Schönau Castle transit center is an extra-territorial extension of the Israeli state, policed by Israeli soldiers and excluding Austrians (!)—a Zionist garrison in Austria. A major purpose of the transit center is to screen suspected Soviet spies from entering Israel. The Schönau Castle center is equivalent to the British-ruled enclaves in pre-1949 China. The identification of the closing of the transit center with a prohibition of Jewish emigrants traveling through Austria is typical of the Zionist attempts to equate the democratic rights of Jews and the Hebrew nation with the military expansion of the Israeli state.

We support the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate and its legitimate extension, the right of transit through third countries. However, the closing of the Schönau Castle center does not restrict the legitimate right of transit.

West Europe's Imported Labor: A Key to Revolution

Despite (in reality, because of) the Gaullists' aspirations to make France the most dynamic economy in West Europe, Paris now looks like a Latin American city surrounded with sheet-metal shantytowns crowded with Algerians and Senegalese. A decade of West European "prosperity" has generated an army of impoverished, wretched workers—"the blacks of Europe." In the past decade, foreign laborers in Western Europe have increased from one million to ten million, many of them illegal. Seven percent of Belgium's labor force is foreign, 9 percent of West Germany's and fully 14 percent of France's. These gross figures even understate the dependence of West European capitalism on the Mediterranean labor basin, since foreign labor is concentrated in key industrial sectors of the economy. Half of Belgium's miners are foreign; Arabs run West Germany's railroads and most of Paris' unskilled construction workers are Portuguese. There are so many Turks working for Ford in Cologne that news dealers find it lucrative to sell the Ankara daily paper at the plant gates.

In addition to being a virtually unlimited supply of cheap labor, Mediterranean workers in Western Europe are systematically superexploited. Unskilled foreign workers in West Germany receive $1.70 an hour on the average, compared to $2.20 for those Germans still employed in unskilled jobs; foreign construction workers in France receive only 60 percent the wages of French workers (*Business Week*, 31 March 1973). The payment of lower wages for identical work is, of course, key to the attractiveness of foreign labor for the bourgeoisie. It is lack of legal protection of the foreign workers' right of residence which has effectively prevented any trade-union activity or strike action by this key section of the working class until quite recently. In addition, these workers are subject to all the kinds of victimization that bourgeois society normally metes out to a despised social group. A Catholic Church study of the Ruhr found that 85 percent of all foreign families live in old buildings, squeezed into half the space occupied by the same numbers of Germans and paying a third more rent than Germans do!

The Necessity of the Reserve Army of the Unemployed

While bourgeois economists and their revisionist co-thinkers have developed elaborate, often Rube Goldberg type theories to account for West European capitalist expansion, they have virtually ignored the labor market conditions which permit a satisfactory rate of exploitation for the bourgeoisie. Fundamentally more important than the Bretton Woods fixed-exchange rates, indicative planning or inflationary deficit finance in accounting for the "success" of West European capitalism in the last decade has been the existence of the Mediterranean labor pool as the reserve army of the unemployed. During the 1966-67 economic downturn in West Germany approximately 300,000 foreign workers, one quarter of the total, were "sent home" (*OECD Observer*, February 1968). If this additional burden of unemployment had been borne by German workers, it would have greatly intensified conflict within the unions since the Social-Democratic bureaucracy openly trades holding down wages for promised full employment. Now that foreign workers are causing trouble their vital importance to European capitalism is becoming obvious.

The mechanism by which capitalism blocks its own growth is that conditions of full employment cause wages to be bid up, thereby reducing the rate of surplus value. In the absence of further available labor, capitalists respond by substituting more valuable, technically advanced equipment for scarce labor. This in turn drives down the rate of profit from the other side. Thus a large reserve army of the unemployed is a *necessary* condition for capitalist expansion.

Significantly, the more technocratic West German economists are now complaining that the unlimited availability of cheap foreign labor is retarding productivity increases as capitalists are choosing labor-intensive rather than the most advanced technology. This is indeed true. However, the goal of capitalist production is *not* to increase labor productivity, but to maximize the private return on the value of the means of production. Without the low wages of the foreign workers, and their indirect effect of holding down the wages of native workers, Western European capitalism would be unable to compete with the U.S.

National/Racial Stratification of the Working Class

The vital economic significance of the reserve army of unemployed is often overlooked, as it appears to be a case of racial or national oppression and pervasive bigotry. Thus in some leftist circles, Marxist economic analysis and the revolutionary role of the proletariat are dismissed on the grounds that the real oppressive divisions in the contemporary world are racial and national. However, bourgeois society has an inherent tendency to *combine* national/racial and class oppression by transforming the reserve army of unemployed into a national/racial caste. The *essential* characteristic of the oppression of blacks in the U.S. is their concentration in the reserve army of unemployed—the lumpenproletariat.

The tendency to make the reserve army of the unemployed into an oppressed national/racial caste results from both the conscious social chauvinist policies of the ruling class and the working of atomistic market forces. The bourgeoisie always grants differential concessions to the dominant nationality/race in order to strengthen its own popular base. This is starkly demonstrated by the contrast between the West German government's treatment of the East German immigrants and of foreign workers. When the German government pleaded poverty as an excuse for the wretched housing of its foreign workers, an Italian Common Market official remarked acidly, "West Germany housed 3.5 million East German refugees in record time, but has been unable to produce decent housing for 600,000 Italians in a decade" (*Business Week*, 31 March 1973). However, it was important to the interests of the German imperialists that its "fellow countrymen" from the East were satisfied in the West and loyal to its government. In contrast, all the German bourgeoisie wants out of the hundreds of thousands of Italians, Turks and Yugoslavs who work there is that they produce surplus value and don't make trouble.

The official discrimination against foreigners, in turn, retards their capacity to compete with native workers in the market. The foreign workers are often handicapped by language, peasant origins and accordingly higher accident rates, etc., so that employers tend to regard native workers as a natural elite. For example, Dow Chemical's West German plants, with highly sophisticated equipment, will hire only Germans.

Workers storming Ford plant during Cologne wildcat. AP

The issue of foreign workers in Western Europe resembles the black question in the U.S. in another important way. Just as achieving racial unity is central to working-class consciousness in the U.S., so integrating foreign workers into the labor movement is now key to deepening the internationalist consciousness of the French and German proletariat. Conversely, anti-foreign-worker policies are now the main axis for West European reaction. When the French fascist "Ordre Nouveau" (New Order) reasserted its public presence recently, it did so through a rally to expel foreign workers. The struggle against the oppression of foreign workers is at the same time crucial to winning the West European proletariat to socialist internationalism.

The Ruhr Wildcats and the Marseilles Riot

Two events this August highlighted the opposite poles of the effect that foreign workers have had on West European society. The West German wildcats, centered in the industrial Ruhr, revealed the capacity of foreign labor to lead the working class in militant struggle. In contrast, the murderous anti-Algerian riot in Marseilles showed the vulnerability of foreign workers as a target for growing reactionary forces.

The almost four million foreigners in France—mainly Algerians, Spaniards, Portuguese and, increasingly, black Africans—face the worst conditions in Western Europe. This is partly because of the general weakness of the French trade unions and partly because a relatively large percentage of the foreigners are there illegally and therefore are completely at the mercy of their employers. Although wage discrimination is officially against the law, foreign construction workers regularly get 60 percent of the French wage. Since so many are in the country illegally, they dare not protest to the government. About ten percent of the Algerians in France live in "bidonvilles"—hovels made out of sheet metal—partly because they can't afford better housing, but also because so many are in the country illigally they are afraid to have permanent, official addresses.

More so than in West Germany and the smaller West European countries, foreign workers in France bring their families. This flood of would-be immigrants has produced a sharp racist reaction. In particular the large number of Algerian and Portuguese children in the schools has produced a hue and cry over the debasement of French education and culture. There are powerful political forces pushing toward the mass expulsion of foreigners. In 1972 the Gaullist regime proposed the notorious "Fontanet circular" according to which any foreigner not employed would lose his residence permit and could be instantaneously deported! And despite the current economic boom, not all foreigners can find jobs, particularly since French workers are always hired first. The Fontanet circular was met by hunger strikes by some threatened foreign workers early this year and was an indirect factor in the Renault wildcat in March. In response to these strikes the government retreated. However, the imminent threat of massive deportations faces all foreign workers in France whether employed or without jobs, those holding legal residence permits and those without them.

In addition to being the lowest of the low in French society, the Algerians are the main target of organized reaction, part of whose social base is the "pied noir colons" forced out of Algeria by the revolution. The Mediterranean port of Marseilles is a center of ex-colon activity. When an Algerian, with a known history of mental illness, shot a French bus driver, it provoked a racist riot, with soldiers and cops among the rioters, killing at least eight Algerians. The Pompidou government reacted by taking even harsher measures against the foreign workers! Immigration laws

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Racial Hysteria

braintrusted efforts to corner scarce construction jobs for blacks by busting construction unions and displacing white workers, rather than posing a united class struggle for elimination of all discriminatory practices by unions and employers and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay as the basis for full employment. Sniffing the possibility of a new rake-off and an ethnic power base like that of the Irish and Italian lawyers who control the City Council and School Committee, these black liberals have given full support to Mayor White's proposal to replace the citywide School Committee with 35 local school boards. Once in power they would undoubtedly follow the lead of New York's Ocean Hill-Brownsville community school board which in 1968 sought to blame racial discrimination largely on the teachers and to "solve" the problem by busting the teachers' union. The black liberals' reaction to increased crime in the black neighborhoods was a March Against Crime led by a black deputy superintendent of the Boston Police Department. And in response to the Wagler murder 65 such black community leaders issued a platitudinous statement deploring "the hostile environment and official indifference which dehumanizes all of us and which breeds frustration, anger and distress which all too often lead to violence" and pinning the primary blame on the School Committee, Kevin White's main opponents within the factional lineup of the Boston bourgeois political establishment.

These tame liberals in black nationalist garb maintain their alliance with the liberal Democrats and their political stranglehold on Boston's blacks primarily because of the size and stability of the petty-bourgeois layer of the city's black population, which has a long history. As early as 1850 significant numbers of free black artisans, attracted by the abolitionist sentiment and religious liberalism of the "Boston Brahmins," settled in the city and opened small businesses. It was no coincidence that at the turn of the century the most important black newspaper in the country, Monroe Trotter's *Guardian*, was published in Boston or that Booker T. Washington chose the city for the founding conference of the National Negro Business League.

The black petty bourgeoisie has, in fact, grown remarkably in the last decade. The number of black professionals in Boston jumped from 1800 in 1960 to 3400 in 1970; the number of black managers more than doubled. This is with the conscious help of the white liberal bourgeoisie. Not only have poverty funds been coordinated by the Black United Front, but black businesses have been bankrolled by the banking/insurance giants which dominate the city's economy. (Thus the Unity Bank was inaugurated with the transfer of some of John Hancock's lucrative real estate mortgage holdings. And the opening of Mattapan to blacks in the late 1960's by the real estate board created a small gold mine for black real estate operators.) In return, White and the liberal bourgeois establishment have tried to create a black liberal political coalition based on ties to poverty pimps, City Hall handouts, Ford Foundation grants and a dose of black capitalism. Up to now they have been relatively successful, with Roxbury electing White-backers such as Tom Atkins, Ken Bolling and Mel King to city and state offices. Also the city officials have obtained enough money for a substantial public housing construction program following the 1961 Roxbury riot. Their success is not unrelated to close ties with top levels of Nixon's cabinet, including the Department of Housing and Urban Development which sought to make Boston a new model for "urban renewal" as New Haven had been earlier.

This is the explanation for the relative quiescence of Roxbury in the past and the general inability of "revolutionary" nationalists to make any serious inroads. They have in the past either been reduced to irrelevance or have consciously tailed the "pork-chop" nationalists. Thus, the main activity of the Republic of New Africa in Boston has been to spray paint slogans on walls while the Black Panthers concentrated their small efforts on visiting prisoners, free clothing collections and health services, largely in cooperation with the Black United Front. At present the pseudo-Marxist, Pan-Africanist tendencies of black nationalism are limited to a small collective publishing the newspaper *Struggle* and De Mau Mau—a paramilitary organization whose main activities are patrolling shopping centers and subway stations on welfare "check day" and harassing left-wing groups in Roxbury.

While such groups are extremely small, a sustained period of large-scale racial conflicts could lead to their growth and political challenge to the explicitly pro-bourgeois, Democratic Party black groups that now dominate the community. So also could a stop in the income and political gravy generated by the housing/school construction schemes. If segregation increases this could lead to a wave of black nationalist sentiment. Portents of this can be seen by looking at the isolated, run-down, largely black and Puerto Rican Columbia Point housing project—the one place in Boston where the RNA had some influence (initially expressed by several conflicts with Puerto Rican nationalists) and the scene of several of the incidents earlier this month.

The Communist Party has the most support of all the ostensibly revolutionary organizations attempting to operate in the black neighborhoods. Pat Bonner-Lyons, chairman of the local YWLL, narrowly missed winning a seat on the School Committee in 1971. She is running again this year and, as the only black candidate, stands a fair chance of winning. Her campaign is typical of the CP's attempt to turn the alliance of the black petty bourgeoisie with the liberal white bourgeoisie into a mini-popular front, grabbing a piece of the action for itself in the process. The Bonner-Lyons campaign emphasizes her race while downplaying her politics; when speaking to the mass media she usually omits mention of her connection with the YWLL/CP. She is supporting White's decentralization plan and directing all her criticisms at the School Committee. In turn she has been supported by the black liberal politicians, organizing much of the campaign out of the office of State Representative Melvin King, former head of the New Urban League. Bonner-Lyons' main slogan has been the apolitical "save the children" and her proposals center on the reformist idea that "the school committee must become the instrument for effective communication and cooperation...." Not an iota here of the Leninist conception of the state as the executive committee of the ruling class! Take it over by electoral means, implies Bonner-Lyons. Not surprisingly she has been endorsed by the *Boston Globe*, Americans for Democratic Action, the Ward 4 Democratic Club and six state representatives. With this solid respectability she received 7,975 votes in the September primary and may be elected this time around. This is significant because Bonner-Lyons' 1971 campaign garnered proportionately more votes than any other CP effort and was hailed at the time by Gus Hall as the way forward. However, the CP's orientation toward interracial harmony is simply a cover for a class-collaborationist strategy of uniting with black and white liberals. In previous elections it has backed former White-aides Tom Atkins, Hubie Jones and Reginald Eaves. Such a rotten opportunist approach only drives the wedge deeper between black and white working people while reinforcing the ties between proletarian blacks and their petty-bourgeois pro-capitalist betrayers.

Also running in the School Committee election was Don Gurewitz, candidate of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. In an effort to tail alter black nationalism, the SWP platform calls for "Black and Puerto Rican control of the schools in their communities." While it is important to call for massive improvement of educational facilities, especially in ghetto districts where the schools have been deliberately run down by city officials, "community control" demands serve only to set one ethnic group against another in competition for scarce resources. What is needed is a united working-class struggle against the capitalist system which produces inferior schools for working-class and poor communities and racial discrimination against minorities.

Moreover, the logical (and in Boston, massive) response to calls for black community control is the racist backlash, in effect calling for white control of schools in their communities! While Hicks and the School Committee have for years stirred up white racism by opposing busing, the SWP tries to ignore the question, claiming the black community should decide it. Revolutionaries, in contrast, support busing as a limited (though inadequate) step toward integration.

Progressive Labor's activities in the black areas have consisted largely of occasional marches against unemployment, demonstrations at high-priced supermarkets and choreographed confrontations with school administrators, housing authorities, etc.—in short, mindless activism. In response to the recent killings their leaflets combine nostalgia for the "ghetto rebels of the 60's" with an incredible attempt to suggest that the Wagler murder may have been a gangland killing (tacitly implying that the only racism that exists in Boston is that of whites).

> "Maybe the police built the terrible story up to make it look like a race killing?
> "Even if the cop's story is true, how come these women were living in Grove Hall, notorious for drugs and crime? Could they have been involved? The cop's story *sounds* like a gangland murder. Maybe the gangsters *thought* Wegler [sic] was a competing pusher."
> —"Fighting Shafts Black and White Workers," PL leaflet

Thus in a situation of increased black-white tensions and the threat of large-scale racial clashes, the ostensibly socialist left responds with mini-pop-frontism and appeals for interracial unity with the black and white bourgeoisie (CP); mindless enthusing for "ghetto rebellions" which in the past have led only to massive police, army terror against the black communities (PL); tailing after black separatism with "community control" demands that indirectly foster white racist backlash (SWP).

These groups only reveal their utter inability to pose a class-struggle program to deal with the material basis of racial hatred on the part of both blacks and whites. And given the numerical, political and economic dominance of whites in this country, *all* of these approaches mean continued violence and discrimination against blacks and other oppressed minorities.

Racism can be smashed only by demonstrating concretely that there is an alternative to the competitive scramble for a declining quantity of jobs at a living wage, decent housing and real educational opportunities. Rather than busting the job-trusting construction unions in order to provide a few jobs for blacks, united class struggle must be waged to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination by the unions and achieve equality in hiring. Fight for a shorter workweek to provide jobs for all at union wages! Rather than ethnic community control and blaming racism on teachers' unions, we should fight for worker-student-teacher control of the schools. Such demands cannot be won, however, without an explicit political perspective. Rather than relying on the two parties of big business, Democratic and Republican, or calling for a racially exclusive black party (as does the SWP), we must struggle for a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government.

Revolutionaries do not favor race riots. In the first place, they almost invariably go against the oppressed minority (for instance, the 1919 East St. Louis riots or the 1943 Detroit riots). Even where it is a case of black resistance to police brutality rather than a white-black clash, the destruction and killing are concentrated against the oppressed rather than on the capitalist class which is responsible for their misery. In sharp opposition to white racist demagogues who demand more police protection and the petty-bourgeois opportunists who demand community control, we call for the removal of the police from the schools and from the troubled areas and for the protection of working-class and poor neighborhoods by armed, interracial workers' defense groups organized by the unions.

Though Boston is not a great proletarian center, this is not an abstract proposition; it is the only alternative in the interests of all working people. The absence of such a solution in Detroit, where the relevance and immediate practicability of such workers' defense groups are obvious (given the tens of thousands of black and white workers in the UAW), led to the wanton murder of hundreds of defenseless blacks by the Army in the 1967 riot. In Boston, meatcutters', auto workers', hospital workers' and municipal employees' unions all have large black and white memberships from the Dorchester, Roxbury and South Boston areas and could thus organize interracial workers' militias.

Simple shop-floor organizing is not able to provide the political organization of the most advanced sector of the working class which is the key to smashing the bureaucracy's stranglehold. Likewise, undirected and isolated community organizing, engaged in by many former New Lefters in Boston and other radical centers, can only lead to impotent anguish, such as that of Wagler's friends who blamed her death on "the system" but had no strategy or means to change it. In turn, young blacks attracted by Panther-style confrontationism (favored today by De Mau Mau) need only look at the large-scale killings by army and police during the Detroit 1967 riot and the evolution of the Newton-Seale wing of the Panthers into the worst kind of "pork-chop" reformism to see the two dead ends to which this leads. Not mindless community organizing, apolitical shop-floor militancy and dead-end "pick-up-the-gun" rhetoric are needed, but the fight for the political program of united class struggle and its embodiment the Trotskyist party! ■

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No U.S. Aid to Israel!

where the only genuinely democratic solution to the national question must immediately place the tasks of the socialist revolution on the agenda.

Arab Regimes Crush Palestinian Resistance

The Arab regimes sanctimoniously bewail Israel's violation of the national rights of the Palestinians, while making it clear that the most they hope for is the return of the occupied territories. Only those vicarious Arab nationalists found in such abundance on the U.S. left are cynical enough to claim that either in 1967 or in the present war the victory of the reactionary, obscurantist Arab regimes would bring the dispossessed Palestinians one step closer to regaining their rights or would lighten in any way the yoke of imperialism on the Arab masses.

These same Arab states entered the 1948 war not to defend the Palestinian nation but in a mad scramble to divide Palestine (both Arab and Hebrew-speaking areas) among themselves. Abdullah of Jordan even had secret meetings with Golda Meir to see if they could reach agreement on carving up Palestine. From the 1948 war Jordan carried off the West Bank and Egypt took Gaza. For nineteen years neither Jordan nor Egypt granted the Palestinians living in the West Bank or Gaza national autonomy or any other democratic rights, or made any attempt to integrate them into their economies. Instead, the Palestinians have been kept locked in their refugee camps, living off their 9 cents a day United Nations rations. The American left apologists for the Arab regimes who called for an Arab victory in the 1967 war were in fact defending the continued suppression of the national rights of the Palestinians by Nasser and the Hashemite rulers, while the social democrats and Zionists who supported Israel were advocating Israel's acquisition of the power to continue that subjugation.

The only road to national emancipation for the Palestinians, in the West Bank and Gaza, in Israel and in the Arab states, was and remains *revolutionary defeatism* on both sides in the Near East war—i.e., not Arab worker against Hebrew worker, but Egyptian worker against the Nasserite bonapartist regime and the bourgeois class it defends, Jordanian worker against the Hashemite throne, Syrian worker against the "progressive" Ba'athist colonels and Israeli worker against the militarist Zionist bourgeois regime.

The six years since the Six Day War have been an irrefutable confirmation of our revolutionary defeatist position in 1967, as in the current war. They provide decisive refutation of the opportunism of those tendencies which aspire to play the cheerleaders to the yet non-existent "Arab Revolution" rather than struggle for the multinational proletarian party in the Near East which alone can make a real revolution. In the past six years the Arab regimes have systematically liquidated the Palestine resistance movement as an independent political and military force. They have responded to Israel's terrorist attacks against the Palestinian refugees whom they so reluctantly host by terrorist reprisals of their own against the refugees.

Thus after the Six Day War, Hussein followed Israeli shelling of East Bank villages and refugee camps with civil war directed against the Palestinian movement. Up to ten thousand Palestinians, many of them unarmed refugees, were massacred during the 1970-71 civil war. Then it was Sadat of Egypt who negotiated the surrender of the Palestinian commandos whereby they were forced to disarm, disband and move out of their bases on the East Bank. Likewise, following vicious Israeli air attacks on Palestinian refugee camps, in which hundreds were brutally murdered supposedly in reprisal for various hijackings, the Munich abduction, etc., the Syrian and Lebanese regimes "replied" to the Israeli "reprisals" with their own assaults on the Palestinians. For example, one month after an Israeli commando operation in Beirut killed three leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement and some 30 others earlier this year, Lebanon sent its army into the refugee camps and arbitrarily machine-gunned the refugees. The message was clear: the Arab regimes are more than willing to take over from Dayan and Co. the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance and the policing of the refugees.

The Spartacist League called for the unconditional defense of the Palestinian resistance fighters against their brutal suppression by the Israeli and Arab regimes. In that context, the SL supported the military victory of the Palestinian commandos in the 1970 Jordanian civil war against the Hashemite kingdom, whose sole financial base is U.S. military aid. But unlike the opportunists, who simply enthused over the exploits of the Palestinian guerrillas, the SL recognizes guerrillaism as essentially bonapartism out of power: the attempt of an armed petty-bourgeois elite to substitute itself for the political organization of the working masses in avenging injustice. Moreover, In the case of Palestinian nationalists it is a case of utterly hopeless guerrillaism, given the military balance in the region.

The resistance movement, including its most leftist expression, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, never broke from the two-stage theory of revolution, which posited a "national-democratic" stage led by "progressive" representatives of all classes of Palestinian society. The Jordanian civil war destroyed the resistance movement's illusions about an alliance with the Arab regimes and "progressive" wings of the army. But unable to break from nationalist ideology to envision a common struggle with the working masses of the Arab states and Israel, all wings of the isolated Palestinian resistance in desperation fell back on atomized terrorist exploits offering no way forward.

U.S. Imperialism: Between Exxon and Zionism

Oil is the key to the apparently contradictory policies of U.S. imperialism in the Near East. U.S. imperialism is not so much a consumer as a producer of oil. Five of the seven oil corporations that control 80 percent of the world's oil production are U.S.-owned, including such important companies (and major contributors to the now-infamous Nixon campaign) as Texaco, Exxon and Gulf. These companies are adamantly pro-Arab—i.e., pro-Arab sheikhdoms and emirates. At the same time, domestic political expediency, as well as the need to maintain an outspokenly pro-imperialist enclave in the Near East, demands that the U.S. government avow a belligerently pro-Israel political and military policy. In fact, the U.S. bankrolls not only the Israeli army but also the armies of Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Outright U.S. military grants to Israel in the 1949-68 period totalled $369 million, while outright grants to Jordan totalled $556 million. Thus both Israel and Jordan are direct clients of U.S. imperialism although they are on opposing sides in the current war.

While the long-run interest of any imperialist power in the Middle East is the struggle for a monopoly of its strategic raw materials, i.e. oil, in the short run "oil politics" play into the hands of the U.S. capitalists against their competitors in Western Europe and Japan: Western Europe meets 80 percent of its oil demand from sources in the Middle East and North Africa, and Japan more than 90 percent; the U.S., a little over 5 percent.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Western Europe and Japan have taken a neutral or pro-Arab stance in the present war. Britain placed a total arms embargo on the Near East war, which has mainly hurt Israel since most Israeli tanks are British-built Centurions completely dependent on Britain for replacements and parts. In the past few years France has cut off her supply of Mirage jets to Israel while providing them to Libya. However, cutbacks in production and price rises hurt primarily Western Europe and Japan, not the U.S.

Against Balkanization—For a Multi-National Revolutionary Workers Party!

The fundamental U.S. political strategy in the Near East—the logic behind the bankrolling of both the Zionist and Hashemite armies—is "Balkanization": the artificial creation and manipulation of national divisions and conflicts and the use of these divisions to perpetuate reactionary regimes, notably in Israel and Jordan. U.S. imperialism originally supported the creation of the state of Israel as part of its post-war strategy to take over former British, French and Japanese spheres of influence.

In 1956 when Egypt nationalized the British-owned Suez Canal, the U.S. blocked with Egypt and the Soviet Union against the alliance of British and French imperialism with Israel. When Nixon announced recently that the U.S. Sixth Fleet would be beefed up with additional aircraft carriers and marines for a possible direct American intervention into the present conflict, he compared this to the U.S. intervention into Lebanon in 1958 and its threat to intervene into the 1970 Jordanian civil war—both internal civil wars with no direct bearing on Israel.

The Soviet Union, which twice since World War II has directly intervened in the Near East to prevent social revolution, lavishly squanders on Syria and Egypt the sophisticated weaponry for which the North Vietnamese and NLF were so desperately starved in their confrontation with U.S. imperialism. The Russian Stalinists' aim is quite unashamedly to maintain the "balance of power"—an uneasy stalemate intended to forestall the development of overt *class* antagonisms *within* the Arab states and Israel.

The struggle to replace the genocidal national war by class war in the Near East is intimately linked to the struggle for a multi-national proletarian vanguard which champions the rights of all national groups—Hebrews and Arabs, but also South Sudanese blacks and Kurds. Only such a party can acquire the political authority to address the Arab and Hebrew workers, to cut through the years of manipulated chauvinism and accumulated mistrust to address them with the program of the permanent revolution—the program of a reborn Fourth International. ■

NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus Resolution

Whereas, the officials of the AFL-CIO maritime unions have issued a call, in the name of all U.S. maritime workers, to support Israel in the Near East war by threatening to boycott cargo and ships of the Soviet Union, unless it stops sending aid to the Arab states for use against Israel, and

Whereas, Israel and the Arab countries are both capitalist oppressor states: Israel seeking a victory to continue the suppression of the Palestinian Arabs' just struggle for self-determination, racist persecution of non-European Jews and of Arabs in Israel and the conquered territories, and capitalist exploitation of both Arab and Jewish workers; while the Arab states similarly seek a victory not to liberate but to oppress the Arab masses themselves, and

Whereas, in such a war, workers must be opposed to *both* sides, since the victory of either side means only further oppression and misery for the the laboring masses, and

Whereas, the American government is sending military aid directly to Israel for use in the reactionary war, while trade with the Soviet Union, on the other hand, is at most a very indirect contribution to the war aims of the Arab states, and

Whereas, a boycott of the U.S.-Soviet trade would hurt Russian working people more than the Arab states and furthermore be a step toward renewed cold-war hostility by providing support for U.S. imperialist aggressive designs against the Soviet Union, and

Whereas, this call by the AFL-CIO officers is part of their hard-line support for cold-war policies, reflecting their general political support to American big business (the oppressors of maritime and other workers around the world), which is contrary to the cause of labor,

therefore be it

Resolved, that this port meeting of the National Maritime Union does

1) oppose the call for a boycott of trade with the Soviet Union and concondemns it as a proposal for a reactionary political strike wholly unsupportable in any way, and
2) call on all maritime workers in the U.S., whether members of the AFL-CIO or other unions, to do the same, through special and regular meetings of their unions, aboard ship and in the ports, and thorough discussion of issues involved, and
3) raise instead the demand for a boycott of all military aid being flown or shipped from the U.S. to Israel as being the most important way American workers can oppose this reactionary war, and
4) oppose any attempt by the U.S. government to intervene in the labor movement on this question by forcing our unions to follow its foreign policy, calling on the workers instead to set our own house in order by uniting to oppose any attempt to support the reactionary Near East war, and
5) demand that since labor political strikes are possible, as indicated by the call of the AFL-CIO maritime officials, that this tactic be applied *in the interests of labor*, rather than in the interests of Israeli, U.S. or other ruling classes, through such actions as the "hot cargoing" of scab lettuce and grapes to support the California farm strikers, and,
6) address the call of American maritime workers to our brother maritime and transportation workers in the USSR to oppose Russian aid to the reactionary Arab states as we oppose aid to Israel and to struggle against their false leaders for the institution of a working-class Soviet international policy of providing aid to the workers' struggles around the world, that is, to Arab workers, not their bosses.

—Militant-Solidarity Caucus, 22 October 1973

New Left Maoism: Long March

THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION

For a considerable period the Chinese Communist Party, and Mao Tse-tung in particular, enjoyed an undeserved reputation as a militant revolutionary force standing considerably to the left of the reformist Russian bureaucracy. This reputation was based on Mao's successful overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1940's (against Stalin's instructions); the Sino-Soviet dispute of the early 1960's, when the Chinese attacked Khrushchev for advocating a "peaceful road to socialism"; and the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," during which Mao and Lin Piao told Red Guards "it is right to rebel" against "rightist" party bureaucrats (i.e., those who had not yet assimilated Maothought).

But for the last several years, the "Great Helmsman" has been progressively disillusioning thousands of his erstwhile followers by zigzagging to the right both domestically and internationally. Thus he turned off the Cultural Revolution with a flick of the wrist by imposing the so-called "Three-In-One" Combination, giving control of the country to the army and "reformed" bureaucrats. Internationally Mao has been pushing the Chinese version of peaceful coexistence, which has involved the People's Liberation Army orchestra's serenading Richard Nixon with "Home on the Range" while U.S. B-52s bombed North Vietnam; calling for the strengthening of NATO in order to increase imperialist military pressure on the Soviet Union; sending tanks and guns to the "anti-imperialist" militarist butchers of Pakistan, arms which were later used against the masses of Bengali peasants and workers with the approval of Mao; and endorsing the Ceylonese government's brutal repression of a 1971 uprising of student and peasant youth.

These moves amply confirm the Spartacist League's characterization of Maoism as a reformist, Stalinist current of the workers movement. Unlike various fake-Trotskyist tendencies which have characterized Maoism as "centrist," supported the Chinese against the Russians in the Sino-Soviet dispute of the early 1960's or sided with Mao against Liu Shao-chi, the SL has consistently maintained that Mao represents the interests of a parasitic bureaucracy which, while based on the property forms of a workers state, continually seeks compromise with imperialism as opposed to pursuit of a policy of class struggle.

Maoism does, of course, have its own specific features as a Chinese version of Stalinism. Its apparent militancy in earlier years was derived from the unwillingness of U.S. imperialism to accept the overthrow of capitalism in the key country of mainland Asia. As we termed it, Maoism is "Menshevism under the gun." Likewise its guerrillaist strategy of peasant-based "people's war" and the "anti-imperialist united front" is simply a translation into the conditions of backward countries of such traditional Moscow-line Stalinist standbys as the "popular front" and "anti-monopoly people's coalition."

For years Mao tried to arrange a coalition government with Chiang, even agreeing (in 1945) to overwhelming Kuomintang domination of the government and unified army. It was Chiang who rejected the popular front. And the Maoists' support for the bourgeois nationalist Sukarno in Indonesia, leading to the 1965 massacre of over 500,000 Communists, is no different than Moscow's support of the Allende pop-front government. The famed Cultural Revolution, in turn, was a conflict between two wings of the bureaucracy which were not qualitatively differentiated (whence the ease with which this "revolution" was terminated and the reappearance in high government positions of leading "capitalist-roaders" of yesteryear).

Western Maoists in Search of a Strategy

While the end of the Cultural Revolution and Nixon's trip to Peking have led many former Maoists to drop out of politics and others (such as the Communist Working Collective and Buffalo Marxist Caucus, who subsequently fused with the SL and RCY) to examine Trotskyism, leaderships of Western Maoist groups have been forced to explicitly reaffirm their fundamental Stalinist policies. But here the Maoists are faced with an intractable problem: they agree with the Moscow-line Communist parties on the key questions (such as socialism in one country, popular frontism), yet they must simultaneously appear as a left opposition to the blatantly reformist pro-Russian CPs. And they are saddled with the fact that *there is no specific Maoist strategy for the advanced capitalist countries.*

As a good reformist and nationalist, Mao has never seen the need to form (or even call for) a united world party of socialist revolution (Stalin, for his part, dissolved the Communist International in 1943 as a favor to Churchill and in practice subordinated the Comintern to the interests of Russian state diplomacy some 15 years earlier). Moreover, Mao has never even bothered to make pronouncements on any of the key questions facing communists in the West save one: the need for armed struggle. But what about syndicalism? Are blacks in the U.S. a nation? Is feminism partly progressive? U.S. Maoists dispute these questions, but Mao remains silent and there is nothing in Maoism that in resolving such disputes can provide a consistent revolutionary strategy in the industrialized countries.

In practice Western Maoists are reduced to empirically tailing after various petty-bourgeois movements and capitulating to the present backward consciousness of the working class. The result has been marked national differences between the Maoist movements of different countries and an inability even to unite various currents into a single Maoist party in any major Western country. Thus in Italy, for instance, there are several different Maoist-syndicalist groups, while in France Maoist-anarchist collectives predominate. In West Germany the 40-odd Maoist organizations by and large represent Stalinist opposition to the reformist policies of the East German bureaucracy and its satellite in the Federal Republic, but in Sweden the Maoist movement grew out of support for the Vietnamese NLF.

In the United States, one can identify three broad currents of Maoism—namely New-Left Maoism, Stalin Maoism and Third-World Maoism. The largest category is the first, including principally the Revolutionary Union (RU) and October League (OL), but also terrorist-Maoists such as Weatherman, guerrilla-Maoists such as Venceremos, syndicalist-Maoists such as the Sojourner Truth group and others. All of them tail black nationalism as a key aspect of their politics, and all were earlier part of the RYM wing of SDS. The leading Stalin Maoist organization is the Communist League (CL). In an earlier phase Progressive Labor (PL) could have been classed in this category as could (loosely) the former American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist)—ACWM(ML). By and large the Stalin Maoists tend to have a more militant rhetoric without differing qualitatively from the politics of the New-Left variety. Finally, among the politically less-defined Third-World Maoists the largest groups are the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO—formerly Young Lords) and the Black Workers Congress (BWC—a wing of the former League of Revolutionary Black Workers).

Despite the various rumors of imminent fusions, notably between the RU and OL on the one hand and the CL and ACWM(ML) on the other, none of these groups have succeeded in uniting. The OL, RU and ACWM(ML), however, have all succeeded in picking up a number of local Maoist collectives over the past two years.

Maoism in SDS: Waving the Red Book Against the Red Book

As the student movement began to radicalize and grow on a mass scale during the mid-1960's its main organizational focus was the New-Left Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Two currents formed within the organization, one pro-working-class and led by Progressive Labor, the other a loose conglomeration of student-power advocates. The latter wing tailed after black nationalism, arguing that the white working class had been "bought off" by U.S. imperialism. The PL-led wing, however, grew steadily in influence, and by late 1968 it was evident that it would soon have a majority. This led to the formation of the "National Office Faction," headed by Bernadine Dohrn and Mike Klonsky, which operated initially as a secret clique with little political agreement except common hatred of PL.

During the spring of 1969, PL's "Worker-Student Alliance" faction made rapid nationwide gains, particularly as the result of its domination of the Harvard student strike. Meanwhile, in the anti-working-class wing, subterranean maneuvering had reached mammoth proportions, with Dohrn reportedly switching cliques several times. But even though the maneuvering in large part may have derived from personal hunger for power and the desperate effort to "stop PL," political struggle usually requires some sort of programmatic rationale. In consequence there arose three different sections of what became, at the June 1969 split convention, the RYM wing of SDS.

Klonsky led the RYM-II group which argued that a mass youth movement must be built on the program of support to the Vietnamese NLF and the Black Panthers. A group around the Columbia student strike leadership (Rudd and others) and the Michigan-Ohio region formed Weatherman, which called for an urban guerrilla army of white youth whose job would be to aid "third-world" struggles by confrontations with the police and (eventually) terrorism. The third group was the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, led by Bob Avakian, which argued for working-class community organizing although agreeing that the "principal contradiction" in the world was not that between proletariat and bourgeoisie but between oppressed peoples and the imperialists.

The RU had grown out of several working-class community-and factory-organizing collectives which had earlier spun off the Berkeley New Left and white supporters of the Black Panther Party. Although the RU made its public debut at the April 1969 SDS National Council meeting, the initial leaders had begun working together during 1967 to build an alliance of the Berkeley white left with the BPP. They first opposed work inside the Peace and Freedom Party, a petty-bourgeois group with a classless reform program which ran Eldridge Cleaver for president in 1968, because it was dominated by the anti-communist social-democratic International Socialists. However, their opportunist appetites won out later as they became a mushy Radical Caucus of the PFP. At Berkeley they formed an equally programless Radical Student Union to fight PL influence.

The RU sided with RYM-II and against Weatherman in the coalition which led the June 1969 split in SDS. However, it never sharply counterposed an alternative line to the urban guerrillaism of Rudd and Company. Part of the reason was the fact that the RU itself included a proto-Weatherman section centered around Stanford University professor Bruce Franklin. While Franklin had been involved in community organizing, Bob Avakian was connected to the factory-organizing groups. There were continuous sharp debates between these sections, but little political clarification. Their binding tie was support for the Panthers, who they believed would lead in the formation of the vanguard party. Although RU leaders were privately critical of the Panthers for allying with the reformist Communist Party to build the "United Front Against Fascism" conference in Oakland during the summer of 1969, all public criticism of the BPP was suppressed.

Without going into the SDS split itself (see "New Left's Death Agony," *Spartacist* No. 13, August-September 1969), it should be mentioned that the RYM wing immediately split again as Weatherman headed toward its terrorist orientation and soon disappeared altogether. Indicative of the lack of seriousness of the various forces leading it was the fact that Klonsky, who had been leading the youth-movement forces, soon turned toward Maoist "learn-

From right: RU leaders Greenberg, Avakian, Wright.

to Peaceful Coexistence

David Rockefeller, left, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, negotiating with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai this summer. According to Rockefeller: "the atmosphere could not have been better."

from-the-people" factory agitation in California, while the other RYM-II leader, Noel Ignatin, turned toward syndicalist factory organizing in Chicago. And despite the RU's words about the role of the working class, when at the SDS split convention it was proposed that the RYM wing adopt in its list of principles (which included support for North Korea and Albania!) a statement about the leading role of the industrial proletariat in the socialist revolution, Avakian denounced this as "sectarian"!

Revolutionary Union: CP Reformists in Mao Suits

Although it has recruited primarily from New-Left students, the RU has its roots in the same reformist Communist Party it now claims to oppose. A key section of the RU leadership consists of a layer of veteran CPers, two of 20-year standing. Many of these ex-CPers passed through the Fosterite PLP, joining the RU as PL moved left in the late 1960's. They represent an important element of continuity with orthodox Stalinism. Today they are acting as apologists for the Chinese bureaucracy and its policy of peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism, just as they fronted for Stalin and the Russian bureaucracy's identical policies when they were in the CP. It was likewise in the Stalinized Communist Party that they first learned the theory of socialism in one country (which denies the need for a real International) and the practice of tailing after "progressive" trade-union bureaucrats characteristic of the RU today.

Many of the RU's ex-CPers left the party during the late 1950's, in the wake of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the 1956 20th Congress of the CPSU. In this country there were several attempts to rescue Stalinist "orthodoxy" from Khrushchev revisionism, which led to a series of splits and expulsions during 1958-61. Among these groups were Hammer and Steel in Boston, the Negro-Labor Vanguard group in New Jersey and the Progressive Labor Movement in New York.

The ideological roots of both the RU and the OL go back in particular to the first pro-Stalin opposition in the CP, a grouping which, having been expelled in 1958, became the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party in the USA (POC). This left faction, which included many of the old-time CP black and Latin worker-activists, was particularly attached to Stalin's "Third Period" call for a "Negro Nation" in the U.S. South. While nominally to the left of the CP leadership (which at the time confined party activities largely to work inside the Democratic Party), it did not provide a clear class opposition by rejecting characteristic Stalinist policies of "popular fronts" and "peaceful coexistence." Subsequent to its expulsion the POC decomposed into a myriad of tiny splinter groups, its only direct descendant today being the Communist League.

The POC's "black-nation" mania is in one form or another characteristic of virtually the entire present-day U.S. Maoist movement. It appears in disguised form in both the RU's original position that blacks are an "internal colony" and in their later view that any concentration of blacks constitutes part of this suppressed nation for which, however, because of its dispersal, proletarian revolution will offer the sole course to liberation; more openly in the OL's position that a black nation does exist in the South, though separation should be opposed; and quite unabashedly in the CL's position that the old southern Black Belt (with today a majority of "white Negroes"!) constitutes a "Negro Nation" whose national liberation should be supported. In the case of the RU and OL, the function of these theories is to provide a means and excuse for tailing after black nationalism; while for the CL they express more a rejection of the CP's latter-day liberal integrationist legalism in favor of a more radical "Third-Period" policy.

The RU quotes Mao as saying that nationalism is "applied internationalism" and thus calls for support for "revolutionary nationalism" both in backward countries and in the U.S. In a 1969 reply to Weatherman Jim Mellen, two RU leaders devoted several pages to the argument that workers were not "bought off" as "white-skin-privilege" theories maintained, instead accepting as their starting point the Maoist tenet that:

> "The most basic truth that all revolutionaries must grasp, the starting point for our action, is the fact that the principal contradiction in the world today is between the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists, headed by U.S. Imperialism. What distinguishes Marxists from pseudo-Marxists is the question of support for the national liberation struggles.... Within the U.S. this means support for the third world liberation struggles...."
>
> —Bob Avakian and Mary Treiger, "Revolutionary Youth and the Road to the Proletariat"

In fact the dividing line between Marxists and pseudo-Marxists is the recognition that the fundamental contradiction is that between the two principal classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and that the role of the communist vanguard is to struggle for the political independence of the workers from their class enemy. By supporting black nationalism, the RU, OL and other Maoists tie black workers to black capitalist politicians like the Ford Foundation-backed Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones) and poverty agency-financed Reverend Jesse Jackson, as well as to nationalist reformists like the Black Panthers' Bobby ("I am a Democrat") Seale. Because they have not yet been able to exploit the black masses on a large scale and thus reveal their political essence, bourgeois nationalists are in fact the most dangerous enemies of the oppressed racial minorities whose liberation depends on a united class struggle led by the most exploited sectors of the workers.

In addition to falsely locating the "principal contradiction" between oppressed nations and U.S. imperialism (leaving U.S. workers somewhere in the middle), the RU was initially characterized by three other propositions: criticism of Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" policies, support for "revolutionary nationalism" against PL's assertion that all nationalism is reactionary and the strategy of an anti-imperialist united front.

Claiming to support the Chinese against the Russians, the RU wrote:

> "Not satisfied with only pursuing its own Great Power interests, the Soviets have developed a series of 'theories' which are no more than modern extrapolations of the old Second International's fight against Leninism.... "Peaceful transition", "Peaceful Coexistence", and "Peaceful Competition" have become the rallying cries for right opportunists everywhere."
>
> —"Against the Brainwash," *Red Papers* No. 1, 1969

The problem with this statement is that it does not represent the real Chinese position, nor that of the RU's hero Stalin. In their principal document of the early 1960's Sino-Soviet dispute, the Chinese leaders wrote:

> "Since its founding the People's Republic of China too has consistently pursued the policy of peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems, and it is China which initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence....
>
> "It is absolutely impermissible and impossible for countries practising peaceful coexistence to touch even a hair of each other's social system."
>
> —"A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," 1963

This is identical to Stalin's philistine comment in an interview with an American journalist in 1935 that it was impermissible to "export revolution." While Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Mao occasionally have made orthodox-sounding remarks about separation of party and state relations, the essence of their common policy of long-term peaceful coexistence with imperialism is to sacrifice international revolution to the immediate diplomatic appetites of the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states.

Behind the RU's support for "revolutionary nationalism" stands the classical Stalinist concept of a two-stage revolution. Instead of struggling for socialism, workers in the backward countries must first join with the "national bourgeoisie" in a "democratic" revolution against feudalism, claimed Stalin and Mao. Trotsky held the opposite position, namely that because of the dependence of the colonial bourgeoisie on imperialism and the feudalists, the democratic tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution could be accomplished only by the proletariat's establishing its own class rule, supported by the peasantry. According to the RU:

> "They [PL] maintain they support the Vietnamese by 'supporting the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only solution'. It is here that they degenerate into classical Trotskyism. The Vietnamese, the Chinese, and all oppressed peoples must fight, or in the case of the Chinese, have fought, for the new democratic revolution as the only way to reach socialism.... The Chinese Trotskyites called for the dictatorship of the proletariat and claimed thereby that they supported the revolution, when in fact they cast themselves as the pariahs of the revolution, mistaking one stage for another and objectively sabotaging the struggle."
>
> —"Against the Brainwash"

It is certainly true that the Chinese Trotskyists fought for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that Mao until the very last moment vainly tried to form a coalition government with the "patriotic bourgeoisie" led by the butcher Chiang Kai-shek. This is why Mao has kept the Trotskyists in jail for the last 20 years! This is why Mao never had any support in the Chinese working class before the revolution and took power on the back of a peasant uprising rendered possible by the complete collapse of the hopelessly corrupt Chiang government. But although PL broke empirically with Stalinism on the national question, it has been unable to generalize this into a consistent Leninist strategy of proletarian independence. Instead it is currently tailing after various left-talking union bureaucrats and participated in McGovern's Democratic Party election campaign

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New Left Maoism

during 1972. But no one can accuse the RU of such inconsistency: since 1967 it has only reinforced its commitment to the Stalinist stages-theory and its policy of unconditionally tailing after nationalists and reformists of all stripes.

An important part of the RU policies, one which ostensibly divides it from the OL, is the concept of a strategic anti-imperialist united front. On the one hand, this has been a device to permit the RU to claim it rejects the Communist Party's reformist "two-stage" strategy *in this country* (while supporting it for China), but maintaining it in practice. Thus:

> "The United Front Against Imperialism is the strategic road for the proletariat in establishing its dictatorship.... A minimum program, short of the dictatorship of the proletariat, provides the basis at this time for struggle against imperialism. Communists, of course, also have a maximum program—socialism and communism—which we always advocate and propagate, but our basis for uniting in this period is the minimum anti-imperialist program....
> "No one can predict exactly when or how the dictatorship of the proletariat will come to the fore in the mass movement, but we can say that it will develop dialectically through the struggles led by the proletariat around the united front line and program."
> —"The United Front Against U.S. Imperialism: Strategy for Proletarian Revolution," *Red Papers* No. 2, 1970

We do not reject the united front. As the continuators of the tradition of Lenin and the early Comintern, Trotskyists have always upheld its importance as a tactic to unite the workers organizations in action around a specific, usually defensive, goal (e.g., to defend the unions against the bosses' state). But as the CI resolutions repeatedly stated, this must be a *proletarian* united front *against capital;* it is not an excuse for class collaboration.

The "strategic anti-imperialist united front" is used by the RU in order to justify downgrading the struggle for the communist party. For Lenin and Trotsky the united front was, rather, a tactic to build the vanguard party and win support for its program of class independence. If successful in forcing the participation of reformist and centrist workers organizations, it will unite the proletariat against the common class enemy and open a contradiction between this particular action and the remainder of the reformist program—whose general perspective is to tie the workers to the bourgeoisie. If, however, the reformists do not agree to a united struggle, for objectives that are clearly in the interest of all workers, the defeatist consequences of their policies will stand openly revealed to their own memberships. But to talk of a *strategic* united front can mean only liquidating the vanguard into the class. And this is precisely its function for the RU, which opposes "united-front work" to "party-building":

> "At the present time, the building of collectives on a local basis, and the exchange of experiences between them, can contribute the most to the creation in the near future of a Marxist-Leninist party."
> —"Statement of Principles," *Red Papers* No. 1

Reformism and Anti-Communism

In line with its perspective of a "strategic united front," the RU has focused on publishing a number of local community papers such as the *Bay Area Worker*, *People Get Ready* (Cleveland), *People's Voice* (Chicago), *On the Move* (New York), etc. Supposedly limited to "anti-imperialist" politics, these papers breathe not a word about socialism—not to mention the need for a Marxist-Leninist party. The RU itself did not even have a newspaper until early this year when it began publishing *Revolution*.

Another expression of the RU policy is its tailing after the Chavez leadership of the United Farm Workers Union. At a time when Chavez is actively sabotaging the grape strike, endangering the very existence of the union itself (see "Defend the Farmworkers!" *WV* No. 27, 31 August 1973) and substituting pacifist-religious vigils and middle-class boycotts for a militant defense of the picket lines, the RU not only does not criticize the UFW leadership but ignores it altogether, hardly even bothering to mention the existence of a union (*Revolution*, September 1973)! The RU has developed non-criticism of the reformists into a fine art. Having shamelessly tailed after the Panthers for years, when BPP leader Bobby Seale ran for Oakland City Council as a Democrat earlier this year *Revolution* simply avoided the issue.

While refusing to criticize opportunist, fake-militant labor bureaucrats, the RU (like Stalin) uses physical violence against socialist opponents in blatant defiance of workers democracy. In June RU supporters attacked *Workers Vanguard* salesmen at the Fremont, California GM plant and reportedly attacked salesmen of the Workers League's *Bulletin* at the Milpitas, California Ford plant. Afraid to let the workers read anything more militant than its own reformist pablum, the RU adopts the methods of the union bureaucrats. When a union-inspired goon squad at the Parma, Ohio Chevrolet plant recently attacked not only *WV* salesmen but also those of the RU-supported *People Get Ready*, the Revolutionary Union categorically refused any joint action with the Trotskyist Spartacist League despite our common victimization by the same anti-communist bureaucrats.

By capitulating to the bureaucrats the RU simultaneously bows to the existing backward consciousness of the working class. Thus in Spring 1972 at the Glass Bottle Blowers Association Local 141 (Owens-Illinois in Oakland, California) a motion was proposed to send union officials to a $25-a-plate fund-raising dinner for COPE (the AFL-CIO support group for the Democratic Party). Union militants opposed the motion with arguments for an independent workers party and against any support to either capitalist party. RU supporters, however, spoke against this and voted to send the union officials to the dinner.

At the following union meeting a motion was introduced to instruct the GBBA delegate to the Central Labor Council to introduce a motion for a one-day general strike in Alameda County to protest the wage freeze and the war. This was opposed as premature by both the local bureaucrats and RU supporters, since "the workers aren't ready." Instead, the RU supporters suggested an amendment calling for a "day for labor to express opposition to war and call a gathering of all working people to discuss further action to take against the war"—in other words, one more antiwar rally.

This policy of supporting only those minimal reform demands which can win instant popularity has led the RU to tail after a variety of would-be bureaucrats in recent union elections. Notably these ostensible revolutionaries gave "critical support" to Arnold Miller in last December's United Mine Workers' elections. Miller was the candidate of Miners for Democracy, which had sued the UMW in the capitalist courts to force a rerun of an earlier election and was braintrusted by Joseph Rauh, a prominent liberal Democratic lawyer. His program consisted of no more than those few vague promises about "democracy" which are the stock-in-trade of every fake militant (see "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election," *WV* No. 17, March 1973).

At Fremont GM, this policy led the RU to give enthusiastic support to the Brotherhood Caucus, a bloc of OL and RU supporters with leaders of three different local cliques which is headed by a former bureaucrat. The Brotherhood won the elections and has subsequently become increasingly negative toward its OL/RU tail. Like the "progressive" bureaucrats supported by the Communist Party in the 1930's, these fake-militants may soon turn on their radical hangers-on and give them a taste of old-fashioned McCarthyism in a vivid demonstration of the need for an independent class-struggle opposition in the unions rather than Stalinist lesser-evil tailism.

This reformism (along with its anti-communist consequences) is also reflected in the RU's student work. Following out the logic of its anti-imperialist strategic united front, the RU created the Attica Brigade, whose program consists of nothing but warmed-over New Leftism. During demonstrations against budget cuts at the City University of New York (CUNY) last year, liberals refused to let the Revolutionary Communist Youth (youth section of the SL) march with signs calling for "Open Admissions with Stipend," "Nationalization of the Universities under Worker-Teacher-Student Control," "Only the Working Class Can Defeat Capitalist Attacks," and "Fight for Socialism." When the liberal leaders called the cops to remove RCY supporters from the picket line, the Attica Brigade showed its appetites by *uniting* with the liberals and the cops. The consequences of this anti-communism are now becoming manifest as the Queens College chapter of the Attica Brigade has joined the liberal anti-communist New America Movement (NAM).

Moo's Foreign Policy: Liquidate Revolution

Since Mao set out after a "Third World"-Nixon-French alliance against the Soviet Union during the late 1960's and early 1970's, Maoists in the U.S. have had a much more difficult time of simultaneously fronting for Chinese foreign policy and maintaining a pretense of revolutionary politics. A hilarious example of the acrobatics to which this can lead is the RU's 1972 pamphlet "China's Foreign Policy: A Leninist Policy." No longer able to attack the Russian revisionists for seeking peaceful coexistence with the U.S., RU leaders argued that "the Chinese uphold peaceful coexistence as the correct basis for relations *only* between countries with different social systems," whereas:

> "...the Soviets try to make peaceful coexistence the general line for all relations with the imperialists, even between the imperialists and the people and nations oppressed by imperialism....
> "The Chinese line is to make diplomacy serve the struggle of the people, in all parts of the world. When diplomatic relations come into conflict with support for the struggle of the oppressed people, diplomatic relations must take a back seat."

Then the pamphlet goes on to explain that although the Bengalis of East Pakistan suffered national oppression this was an internal affair of Pakistan. India's invasion of East Bengal, however, was expansionism, thereby, according to the RU, justifying China's aid to the Pakistani government against India! A *revolutionary* policy would have been to call for revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the Indo-Pakistani war while maintaining the right of Bengali self-determination.

The writers also attempt to explain why it was correct for China to send representatives to the Shah's celebration of 2,500 years of monarchy in Iran at the same time as the RU was supporting demonstrations of Iranian students against the celebrations. In 1971 a mass uprising by Ceylonese students and peasant youth was brutally put down by the "anti-imperialist" Bandaranaike government. Despite platitudes about diplomatic policy taking a back seat to the struggle of the people, the RU

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In the Fall of 1973 Women and Revolution, a Marxist journal dealing with issues of particular significance to the struggle for women's liberation, made its reappearance as a publication of the Woman Commission of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League.

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West Europe's Imported Labor

have been tightened up; and the government expelled a Swiss cleric who had been working among the Marseilles immigrants.

West Germany's two and a half million "guest workers," mainly Turks, Italians and Yugoslavs, endure a more ordered form of exploitation than their French equivilants. They contain a larger proportion of single men than in France and are, therefore, less of an immigrant population. This is a direct result of a German law which prohibits foreign workers from bringing their families *until* they find adequate housing for them! This is virtually impossible, with most foreign workers living in company dorms. All foreign workers are recruited through a federal government labor office (illegal entry is difficult) and are essentially a massive pool of contract labor.

During the last year, foreigners have taken the lead in organizing wildcat strikes in a country noted for its rigid bureaucratically controlled labor movement. In July, a group of Spanish workers staged a wildcat in a North German heavy machinery factory demanding higher pay. They got their pay increase, but the strike was marred by German workers crossing the Spaniards' picket lines.

The Ruhr strikes in late August revealed a quite different relationship between German and foreign workers. The initial wildcat was triggered when the Cologne Ford plant fired 300 Turks who had returned late from vacation and their fellow countrymen also went out to get them rehired. But the Germans went out with the Turks, transforming the strike into a general wildcat centering on higher wages to offset the highest rate of inflation in twenty years. The Ford walkout sparked a rash of wage-demand wildcats, including at the huge Opel works, which at its peak involved 200 plants and 50,000 workers. The German government claimed that some of these strikes were led by radical groups (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 27 August). In general, the wage demands were quickly granted by a panicky bourgeoisie. The German-foreign labor unity broke down somewhat toward the end of the strike as some Turks held out for more and some Germans forcibly crossed the picket lines. However, the German ruling class got a premonition that their foreign workers, whom they had regarded simply as objects for exploitation, could be the point of a dagger that would rip their guts out. Social-Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt had to put in an emergency television appearance appealing for class peace in fighting inflation.

Strategic Importance for Trotskyists

The emergence of foreign workers in key sectors of the West European economy presents unique historic opportunities for the Trotskyist movement. The principal obstacle to the development of mass revolutionary parties in Western Europe has been the established authority and organizational power of the social democrats and Stalinists. The German Social Democratic Party and French Communist Party are particularly efficient organizations in policing their labor movements against revolutionaries.

Throughout its history, the only way that the European Trotskyist movement might have achieved a significant working-class base would have been through splits destroying the hegemony of the mass reformist parties. This remains the fundamental condition for winning the leadership of the class as a whole.

Today, however, a large and vital section of the West European work force has no historic loyalty to the traditional reformist parties and is largely free of ties to the established labor bureaucracy. The mass reformist parties have not even attempted to extend their hegemony to the foreigners, being at best indifferent, and at worst downright hostile, to the foreign worker population. While the SPD and particularly its youth group have attempted a reformist posture toward the migrant workers, the French CP has been openly chauvinist toward foreign workers—opposing their right to vote and calling for the expulsion of illegal entrants.

A relatively small revolutionary organization can have an enormous impact in shaping the political consciousness and activity of the volatile, rootless foreign workers in Western Europe. With a correct program and appropriate transitional organizations, an aggressive campaign directed toward foreign workers could provide the Trotskyists with a significant working-class base in the next period. Of course, the organization of foreign labor by revolutionaries, no matter how successful, cannot substitute for winning the West European proletariat through discrediting and destroying the mass reformist parties. To hold that view would be a kind of domestic "wretched of the earth" theory. However, a solid and extensive base among foreign labor would provide Trotskyists with an invaluable weapon in the decisive battle with the Social-Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies.

Foreign workers in West Europe should not be regarded as already an unconscious vanguard in the manner of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat's "new mass vanguard." The term "vanguard" implies conscious adherence to revolutionary politics. In contrast, the potentially leading role of foreign workers in West Europe's revolution is based on *negative* qualities—their *lack* of ties to the bourgeois society that they work in and to its labor bureaucracy. The winning of *any* section of the working class to socialist consciousness, whatever the factors which ease or hold back this process, requires the relentless struggle of the Trotskyists for their party and its program of proletarian class independence. And the obstacles to transforming the foreign workers into a genuine vanguard layer are great.

BELGA

Wreckage caused by an anti-Turkish riot in Rotterdam, 1972.

There are the practical obstacles of language barriers and of overcoming a natural tendency toward clannishness. Since they can easily be deported to a murderous despotism for political activity, foreign workers face a degree of repression qualitatively greater than native West European workers. Although prone to explosive militancy, foreign workers are generally less concerned about the future political character of the countries they work in than native West European workers. Many Mediterraneans work in the North to save up enough money to start their own business back home, a not unrealizable goal. Therefore, classic petty-bourgeois aspirations, which the West European proletariat has basically outgrown, are common among foreign workers. Despite these formidable practical and political problems, a strategic orientation to foreign workers is warranted for revolutionary organizations in Western Europe.

Only quantitatively less important than the role foreign workers can play in the West European revolutionary movement is the role they can play in their countries of origin. Due to the thinness of its cadre and its material poverty, the Trotskyist movement has had great difficulty in initiating and developing organizations under conditions of illegality and severe repression. However, because of the massive and ill-regulated traffic in people with the backward despotisms of the Mediterranean basin, West Europe offers an unusually favorable base for exile work. Effective organizing among foreign workers in Western Europe can lead to initiating Trotskyist organizations where they have never existed (e.g., Turkey, Portugal, Sub-Saharan Africa) and developing Trotskyist organizations where they have been shattered or arrested by repression (e.g., Greece, Spain, Algeria).

The million Yugoslav workers in Western Europe have a particular importance for Trotskyists in two senses. The ostensibly socialist government of Marshal Tito is pursuing the same policy as the backward despotisms of Turkey and Portugal in encouraging its poor youth, mainly from the Serbian peasantry, to seek work in the advanced capitalist countries. This is partly to gain foreign exchange and also to relieve the political pressure of mass unemployment. A major programmatic demand for Trotskyists in their struggle against Yugoslav Stalinism is the reintroduction of centralized planning for economic development that will absorb and integrate the growing, particularly peasant, population into the urban, industrial working class. At the same time, at present the million Yugoslav migrant workers, mainly in West Germany, provide a unique opportunity to establish a Trotskyist opposition in a Stalinist-ruled country.

Full Rights for Foreign Workers

The line between reformist social chauvinism and proletarian internationalism in Western Europe must be drawn on the demand that *all* foreign workers are entitled to immediate and full citizenship rights in the nations where they labor. As any Jamaican or Bengali "citizen" of Britain will attest, formal citizenship rights do not automatically end the oppression of immigrants. However, winning full citizenship rights for West Europe's foreign workers would be a great victory for proletarian internationalism.

As a first step toward full democratic rights, the socialist movement must support demands that all foreign workers have an inviolable right to remain in the country for a definite, lengthy period (at least several years) and cannot be deported for trade-union or political activity, unemployment, etc. This is an essential condition for the effective political organization of foreign workers.

Foreign workers must get the same wages as indigenous workers and the labor movement must make sure that any laws to that effect are rigidly enforced. Employers and the state must provide foreign workers with housing at comparable quality and rent as indigenous workers have. Foreign workers must also have equal rights for unemployment compensation, state medical benefits and other social services. Cruel, discriminatory laws, such as West Germany's effective prevention of migrants bringing their families with them, must be abolished.

If foreign workers intend to assimilate into French or German society, they must eventually master the native language. However, at present the language barrier is important in keeping foreign workers at the bottom of West European society. This is especially true for the educational opportunities available to their children. Therefore, in localities where the foreign population is relatively large, such as Munich or Marseilles, a second or third official language should be introduced.

The short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 made virtually every political mistake in the book. It was, despite this, a genuine workers government. This is demonstrated by Section 12 of *The Constitution of the Hungarian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic*:

> "The Soviet Republic proclaims the proposition of the unification of the proletarians of all lands and, therefore, grants to every foreign proletarian the same rights that are due to the proletarians of Hungary."

The Constitution of the United Workers States of Europe will have a similar provision. And that is one of the major reasons that there will be a United Workers States of Europe. ■

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justifies China's aid to crushing the rebellion on the grounds that the objective effect of the uprising would be to create a crisis enabling the old right-wing government to come into power. Similar explanations are given for why China supported the Sudanese military government at the time of its massacre of Communist Party leaders in 1971 and for Mao's support to Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie who is currently suppressing a liberation movement in Eritrea.

Reform or Revolution?

Increasingly the Maoist Revolutionary Union is finding it difficult to distinguish its own policies from those of the arch-reformist Communist Party. Internationally it is attempting to play the same role for Peking that the CP plays for Moscow—shameless apologist for secret deals behind the backs of the masses, two-faced exculpator of bloody betrayals. Mao separates state diplomacy from the revolutionary struggle in other countries, and the former "takes a back seat" to the latter? Look at Ceylon or Bangla Desh! Mao advocates only peaceful coexistence between states but not a peaceful transition to socialism? What about Indonesia? Study history!

The conflict between the revolutionary pretensions of the RU and its cravenly reformist practice also reveals itself domestically. In left-wing unions led by supposed "progressive" and even "socialist" bureaucrats like Chavez' UFW and Bridges' ILWU, RU supporters are barely distinguishable from the CPers. Not only do they oppose any but the most minimal sub-reformist demands, but whenever the bureaucracy counterattacks they simply collapse (see "'Progressive' Bridges Announces No-Strike Agreement," *WV* No. 22, 8 June 1973). During recent farm worker support activities their reformist frenzy has led RU supporters to offer themselves to the UFW bureaucracy as thugs to keep away communists in the hopes of ingratiating themselves with Meany-Chavez. Such policies may make the RU temporarily tolerable to anti-Communist union leaderships as a kept opposition or as boot-licking toadies, but they can never lead to victory for the working class in the struggle against the class enemy and its agents in the workers movement.

Gooning for the labor tops and apologizing for massacres of communists and workers versus an intransigent struggle for working-class independence and the program of Trotskyism—these are the alternatives. Only by reexamining the fundamental aspects of Stalinism and assimilating the lessons of the struggle of the Left Opposition and the Fourth International can this conflict be resolved in the interests of socialist revolution. ■

Continued from page 1

Impeachment Is Not Enough!

of maintaining capitalist rule.

In the eyes of the American bourgeoisie Nixon is guilty of three serious crimes against his own class. First, and least important, are his financial operations growing out of a personal brand of crooked politics. Even when Tammany Hall reigned supreme the White House was supposed to be off-limits for the influence-buying and pilfering of the public till which was the rule elsewhere. But today Nixon and his gang act like a military junta in a banana republic, their main goal to rake off as much as they can before their hour is past. If they had a sense of irony, the country's rulers would treat Nixon in the manner of Al Capone and convict one of the greatest criminals of the century... for income tax evasion!

Nixon's campaign financing boggles the imagination. Not only did he reportedly approach major corporations with the hard-sell approach of a protection racket ("we are expecting a substantial contribution, on the order of..."), amassing the largest campaign fund in history despite the fact that it was obvious from the first weeks that he would win a landslide victory, but Nixon used every possible loophole to disguise contributions, solicited illegal contributions and received at least several hundred thousand dollars from various disreputable figures such as gambling tsar Howard Hughes. Nixon's obscure income tax manipulations (whereby he virtually escaped paying any tax at all) show an incredible contempt for public opinion on one of the most sensitive subjects in bourgeois politics.

For his own personal expenses, Nixon showed the appetites for sumptuous living of a nouveau not-so-rich. To be fair, this was also true of Johnson, who in so many ways was a kindred spirit of his successor, but on a more modest scale. Nixon had none of the modesty of humble scions of finance capital such as Franklin Roosevelt or Nelson Rockefeller. On an income of "merely" $200,000 a year he attempted to maintain a life style reminiscent of the Sun King, Louis XIV. The bourgeoisie will certainly think twice about soon putting in another poor boy as president.

Democracy for the Ruling Class

Second were Nixon's attacks on bourgeois democracy, particularly his contempt for elections (Watergate and related campaign "dirty tricks") and continued defiance of the legislative branch. Essentially this was the product of an insatiable appetite for personal power superimposed on a system of pronounced structural bonapartism. (If this were a European parliamentary system, the Nixon Administration would long since have fallen and been replaced after new elections.) While the bourgeoisie successfully buried this issue during the election campaign and pursued the Watergate hearings with a schizophrenic attitude, first pushing ahead as if determined to get the president, then pulling back when it became clear he could be toppled by the revelations, nevertheless, the question of bourgeois democratic norms is not irrelevant to the ruling class.

Anyone who has followed the repeated revelations of government frame-ups against the Panthers, Weathermen and other radicals will easily understand the limits of bourgeois democracy. So, too, will the postal workers who saw the courts rule their strike illegal and the government quickly break it by mobilizing the National Guard. But for the capitalists themselves, bourgeois democracy is, after all, the only kind of democracy they've got. Nixon treated the Democratic National Committee as if it were the Russian Embassy—and there is a difference!

The ruling class is no partisan of "pure democracy," or even of a strong legislature. The U.S.' tasks as the leading imperialist power require a dominant executive. Italy can muddle along without a stable cabinet because the real business of government is carried on by the permanent civil service. Not so for the U.S., which must be able to maneuver rapidly in continual international crises, like the current Near East war. Thus even the bill recently passed by Congress, and certain to be vetoed by Nixon, limiting presidential war powers, permits the "Commander-in-Chief" to do just about anything he wishes for 60 days, subject only to the most minimal review by Congress. But Nixon's behavior has convinced even the most authoritarian that some curbs are needed against a megalomaniac. Similarly his claims to absolute executive privilege during the Watergate controversy must have sounded to members of the Congress something like papal declarations of infallibility would to Protestant preachers. Nixon clearly went beyond the accepted rules of the game.

Third among his crimes against the bourgeoisie is Nixon's catastrophic mismanagement of the economic and diplomatic affairs of state during his second term. This is directly related to his Watergate methods of finances and politics. Nixon's style in handling the economic interests of the capitalist state resembles that of a sidewalk magician ("keep your eye on the moving ball"), relying on one dramatic move after another to keep a step ahead of disaster. In a qualitatively new situation in which the U.S. had lost its absolute dominance over all other imperialist powers, Nixon and his Metternichian aide Kissinger were able, through a series of adroit maneuvers, to cut U.S. losses in Vietnam while temporarily preserving the Thieu regime, form alliances with both Moscow and Peking and induce Japan and the Western European capitalists to give up competitive trade advantages in order to shore up the U.S. balance of payments. Domestically Nixon was able to keep inflation within limits for a time by seducing the union bureaucracy into holding down wages—i.e., making the workers pay for the damage to the American empire.

But in his second term Nixon has let earlier successes cloud his vision of reality and given free vent to his personal needs and appetites. Nixon/Kissinger's call for a "new Atlantic Charter" struck European governments as a Hitler-like *Diktat*. The Soviet grain deal, in turn, whatever it did for the U.S. balance of payments, was a financial lemon and introduced severe dislocations into the domestic economy. Typical for the Nixon Administration, these possibilities were admittedly not even considered. His decision to abandon price controls in order to drive up profits for his financial backers set off a round of South American-style inflation never before seen in the U.S. If Nixon's other sins were combined with brilliant performances on the economic and diplomatic front, the ruling class might have overlooked Watergate as a mere breach of etiquette. However, as it is, the various crises feed on each other.

The combined effect of these crimes has been to totally discredit the government in the eyes of the population. The incredible spectacle of the President of the United States of America openly defying the courts and the United States Senate; his claim that he alone has the right to determine war and peace; even the pathetic spectacle of Nixon secretly choosing the vice-president to replace Agnew and then presenting him like a debutante to the assembled, supposedly sovereign Congress looked much more like the court of Louis XVI than one of the oldest continuous bourgeois democracies in the world.

The guardians of the established order cannot permit such mockery indefinitely. When the chief proponents and enforcers of "law and order" turn out to be a gang of petty crooks, the masses will soon lose respect for the bourgeois state itself. Indeed, if governments were not, as Marxists claim, based in the final analysis on the force of arms, but rather, as the bourgeoisie pretends, on moral authority alone, the Nixon government would long since have fallen in a shambles.

California Used Car Dealers and Florida Real Estate Operators

What's behind it all? Various theories circulate about conspiracies: western capital vs. eastern, big capital vs. small, new money vs. old, etc. This misses the essential lessons of Watergate entirely. There are certainly conspiracies abounding. A look at the way Nixon managed to dump Vice President Agnew as a sop to public morality will show that. However, there are not now any sharp policy differences dividing the bourgeoisie on, for instance, liberal-conservative lines. Others assert that Watergate is only a concrete expression of "The Crisis," just like the price of gold, Peronism in Argentina and anything else that happens in the world. The Watergate affair is being played out against the backdrop of the loss of U.S. imperialist hegemony and intersects with the economic and political consequences of that defining circumstance. But it also has a certain relative autonomy, expressed, for instance, by the fact that it is coming to a head in the middle of the Arab-Israeli war when maximum ruling-class unity is required. Finally there are those who see the Watergate affair as a sign of impending fascism or full-scale bonapartism. In fact, it is just the opposite—Congress is restoring the norms of U.S. bourgeois democracy, and the power of the government has been greatly reduced.

In effect, Nixon is fighting back like a cornered rat (a behavioral trait that can be detected throughout his career) and has managed to stage a coup against himself. He apparently believed his "compromise solution" of summarizing a (presumably cleaned-up) version of the Watergate tapes for three southern senators (Stennis, Ervin and Baker) would still the public outcry while removing the troublesome Cox. Nixon utterly failed to understand the importance to the bourgeoisie of at least an appearance of legitimacy to their class dictatorship. Cox and Richardson were both mandated to act as representatives of Congress to restore public confidence in the Administration. Moreover, they both have close ties to decisive sections of

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finance capital and in recent months they, together with Laird and Kissinger, have represented Nixon's principal direct tie to his masters.

By himself Nixon represents at most the fusion of southern California used-car dealers, Nevada casinos and Florida real estate operators. This bloc hardly possesses the social, political and economic weight to rule. Nixon was overwhelmingly re-elected in 1972 because he had performed well for the bourgeoisie in his first term. Today he is opposed by virtually the entire bourgeoisie which fears that his actions threaten the stability of its continued rule. Faced with this overwhelming opposition Nixon did not cede but continued to repeat "I am the state!" If the ruling class is forced to remove the first president in history, it will not be without extreme reluctance.

Meany Strengthens Nixon's Bonapartism

There is at this time a sharp political crisis at the top of U.S. society—one of the three conditions listed by Lenin for a revolutionary situation. There is also considerable economic distress, particularly the uncontrolled inflation. What is lacking is a movement of the working masses expressing their refusal to tolerate existing conditions any longer. There is, in fact, very little movement at all at the base of society. Every leading capitalist paper has commented favorably on the "moderation" of union wage demands over the last six months and the absence of major strikes. Meany and Co. were not only direct accomplices of Nixon but have constituted his main "popular" prop. Therefore, the recent AFL-CIO motion calling for Nixon's impeachment indicates the depth of opposition to him within the ruling establishment. By fully supporting a U.S. victory policy in Vietnam and state wage control, Meany is uniquely responsible for *suppressing* the political struggles of the American working class against Nixon's reactionary government, strengthening Nixon's attempts at bonapartist rule.

To grasp the tremendous potential unsettling impact of the present political crisis, one has only to ask what would have happened to wage controls if the union bureaucracy had refused to comply instead of shoving them down the workers' throats? What would the economic situation be at this time, and what would the political situation be like if at this moment there were a militant national auto strike against the Big Three? The union bureaucracy is today the main obstacle preventing the working class from kicking out the thieves and replacing them with its own government.

The present situation, where a severe crisis at the top is isolated from any movement at the bottom of society, will not last for long. A molecular process is going on in the working class, as larger and larger numbers of workers are looking to Marxism and consistent class struggle as the only answer to their oppression. Today this process may be reflected in increased plant sales of socialist newspapers (far more responsive than college campuses for the first time in more than two decades) and large votes for fake-militant reformist caucuses. Tomorrow it could be transformed suddenly into a massive social explosion on the order of the French 1968 May events. The job of the revolutionary vanguard party is to expand its ties to the class, winning leadership through its leading role in partial struggles and its struggle for the Trotskyist program of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie, thereby preparing to lead the class as a whole to victory in the future.

Part of this struggle must be an energetic response to the present political crisis in the bourgeoisie. The working class is not indifferent to questions of political democracy and in fact demands the fullest possible democratic rights to organize itself around its own class program, exposing the secret machinations and oppressive actions of the capitalists. This is an integral part of our program for workers power, which would in fact be the greatest and most consistent democracy in history for the working masses.

For an Immediate Election and a Workers Party!

Nixon's attempt to bury the Watergate investigation by a deal with the "great Constitutionalist" male chauvinist Ervin and his "impeccably honest" racist/militarist colleague Stennis demonstrates that the ruling class cannot be trusted to reveal Nixon's crimes—even when directed against itself. No confidence in the courts or Congress! For a full disclosure of Nixon's crimes to the American people! PUBLISH THE 1970 SECRET POLICE PLAN! PLAY THE WATERGATE TAPES IN FULL ON NATIONWIDE RADIO!

The deep distrust the American public now has for the government provides an excellent opportunity for a campaign to limit and weaken the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. The FBI's sealing-off of the Watergate task-force offices to prevent staff members from removing their papers should give a clear idea of where the forces to run a police state would come from. Outlaw *all* government wiretapping! Destruction of all political dossiers! ABOLISH THE SECRET POLITICAL POLICE (FBI, CIA)!

The Chilean coup clearly shows that the *real* answer of the ruling class when a "democratic" government can no longer hold down the masses is to resort to the generals and admirals. In supporting the Pentagon and West Point, the American working people would be supporting their potential executioners. ABOLISH THE STANDING ARMY AND ITS OFFICER CORPS! FOR A WORKERS MILITIA BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS!

Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. The removal of Nixon and choice of his successor must not be left to the "most exclusive club in the world"—the U.S. Senate. The direct recall of elected officials is an essential democratic right. It will be a fundamental principle of socialist constitutionalism under a workers government. FOR AN IMMEDIATE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION!

It is necessary to provide an answer to the rotten system which produces Watergates and Vietnams. Forcing a new election would prove a hollow victory for the working class if it simply resulted in a "cleaner" Republican or Democratic president to carry out Nixon's basic policies—holding down wages by anti-labor laws in the face of unprecedented inflation; squandering American wealth and youth to support reactionary regimes throughout the world (such as Thieu's South Vietnam and Meir Dayan's Israel) instead of aiding the workers and peasants in the task of socialist construction. The construction of an alternative to the twin parties of capital must in the first instance be a fight also against their agents in the workers movement—the labor bureaucracy. BREAK WITH THE REPUBLICANS AND THE DEMOCRATS—DUMP MEANY WOODCOCK—FOR A WORKERS PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS! FORWARD TO A WORKERS GOVERNMENT! ■

Continued from page 12

Goon Attacks Protested in Solidarity House Picket

is not unreasonable to assume that the local SWP chapter got cold feet about participation especially since the SWP has fulsomely supported taking unions to court (e.g., the UFW against the Teamsters, or the Mineworkers for Democracy against the UMW).

The International Socialists, with a relatively large membership in Detroit, sent only two of its supporters who marched briefly with the picket line. In its current work in the UAW, the IS is spending most of its energies trying to pressure Jordan Sims, a leader of the United National Caucus, into opposing Woodcock; in turn Sims, president of an important Chrysler local, is now spending most of his energy explaining how he was "duped" into *supporting* the recent sellout Chrysler contract.

Three supporters from the small, semi-underground *Spark* participated in the demonstration. An extreme expression of syndicalist economism, *Spark* wages its major shop-floor campaigns around cleaning dirty washrooms and fixing broken vending machines. Despite our opposition to this kind of inept economism, we note that in the entire U.S. left, only the *Spark* group responded in a serious manner to our attempt to organize opposition to the Woodcock bureaucracy's use of violence to prevent radical literature from reaching the workers. The very small ultra-left *Workers Truth* group in Chicago sent a telegram supporting the demonstration, but could not participate.

The trade-union bureaucracy—liberal and openly conservative alike—is becoming increasingly isolated from and unable to control its base, as was demonstrated in the series of wildcats in Detroit this summer. To maintain its grip, it will continue to escalate the red-baiting and goon attacks on militants. The Spartacist League has always insisted that the struggle for workers democracy in the unions must be consciously linked to a political answer to the bureaucracy, and to the construction of an opposition in the unions, organized in caucuses based on a class-struggle program. Dump the bureaucrats—for a workers party based on the unions! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racial Hysteria Fanned in Boston

In recent weeks black-white tensions in Boston have been broadcast throughout the country with front-page coverage and inflammatory headlines suggesting impending race war. The vicious "torch murder" of a young white woman, Evelyn Wagler, the reported stoning of an older man by a "gang of 40 black youths" and a number of racial clashes among public school students have inflamed the fears of Boston's white neighborhoods. These white racial fears were fanned by the police and news media. Thus the reported mob stoning turned out to be a fabrication; moreover, the Metropolitan police, which first arrived on the scene, reported nothing of the sort of racial violence announced by the Boston police. As for the press, the conservative *Herald-American* published a photo story re-enacting the "torch murder" and the liberal *Globe* published the stoning story even though its own reporter argued it was implausible (*Free Paper*, 16 October). As the conservative politicians raised a hue and cry about "crime in the streets," the representative of Boston's liberal big bourgeoisie, Mayor Kevin White, called on the FBI to intervene and offered a $5,000 reward to apprehend the murderers. This united campaign by the bourgeoisie, police and press naturally produced a defensive reaction in the black masses. On all sides there were nervous fears of the kind of massive race riots that the city has never seen.

In late September three schools in Dorchester, an old Irish working-class neighborhood whose racial composition is rapidly changing, were the scene for an escalation of individual fights between white and black students into generalized racial hostility and widespread clashes between students travelling to and from school. On October 4, two days after Evelyn Wagler was forced to douse herself with gasoline by six young blacks in Roxbury and then burned to death, black teenagers robbed and stabbed several whites (one of them fatally) in three separate attacks near the Columbia Point housing project. On October 6 the body of a white taxi driver, presumably a murder/robbery victim, was found in a lot in Roxbury. The particularly vicious and gruesome nature of the Wagler murder, the implied racial overtones of the other incidents and the closeness with which they followed each other, combined with the normal sensationalism of bourgeois newspapers eager to boost their sales, created a widespread image of black gangs consciously organized for the wanton murder of whites.

However, with the exception of the Wagler murder, whose only apparent motive was race hate, these killings were not particularly unusual for a city which has already had 95 murders this year. The extensive and lurid front-page coverage of these murders is a key reason for the garrison mentality that now exists in Boston. Thus the media were considerably more restrained in their coverage of the sniping murder of a black teenager by two white youths in June or the "torch murder" in September of one black youth and severe burning of another by a white who robbed the sandwich stand where they worked. Neither was the FBI called in on these cases nor a $5,000 reward offered by the Mayor. Similarly, both press and city officials reacted mildly when a Boston policeman murdered a black patient at City Hospital in April 1970. While not consciously desiring a race war, which they could not easily contain, Boston's local rulers manifest the deeply ingrained racism of bourgeois institutions in their response to these killings and their maneuvers to gain maximum political advantage from the tense atmosphere.

Racism, thinly veiled with populist rhetoric, is the stock in trade of many Boston politicians. Untalented conservative lawyers, like Louise Day Hicks and most of the incumbent City Council and School Committee, have found lucrative careers in championing "neighborhood schools" (i.e., opposing busing as a means of integrating schools) and denouncing "crime in the streets." The racial fears of white workers have been deliberately whipped up by Boston's initiation of a cross-busing program consciously designed to generate its own destruction by forcing white students to attend vastly inadequate schools in the city's black sections rather than improving all educational facilities and opening the better schools to blacks. The bourgeois politicians who run the School Committee have steadfastly opposed busing, as well as every other measure designed to improve the inferior educational opportunities for blacks and Spanish-speaking residents or to aid integration in any way. Support for such measures would threaten their political careers which, in different formulas, are based primarily on fostering racism. When forced by the courts to implement busing, they did so in a manner designed to maximize white hostility, closing down white schools and sending the students a considerable distance to predominantly black schools, including vastly inferior ghetto schools.

Of course, the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association, with the support of its conservative political friends, eagerly latched onto the current situation to berate Mayor White for cutting its budget and leaving the city defenseless in the face of "mob terror." White working-class neighborhoods have generally responded with greater hostility toward blacks and an increased reliance on racist cops and politicians. On October 10 violent harassment and threats forced three families, two black and the other interracial, to move out of the predominantly white Charlestown section.

On the other hand, the defensive turning inward of the black neighborhoods represents something of an opening for black nationalist tendencies that have largely been frozen out of Boston in the past. Unlike Watts, Harlem, East St. Louis, etc., the Roxbury-Dorchester sections of Boston have not seen the significant growth of radical nationalist groups like the Panthers or Republic of New Africa. Black nationalism in Boston has from the start been based on an alliance of the black petty bourgeoisie with the white liberal establishment rather than the organization of lumpen blacks on the basis of "Third Worldism" and adventurist confrontations with the police.

Organized primarily through the New Urban League and the Black United Front, aspiring petty-bourgeois blacks like Chuck Turner, Mel King and Hubie Jones have siphoned off a piece of government poverty funds and Democratic Party campaign money from the liberal wing of the local establishment. Typical lackeys of the bourgeoisie, such "leaders" have

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Goon Attacks Protested in Solidarity House Picket

Chanting "Defend the UAW! Defend Workers Democracy!" two dozen picketers marched in front of the UAW's Solidarity House on October 17, protesting the continued harassment of leftist paper salesmen by bureaucrat-inspired thugs. Participants included Spartacist League supporters from Cleveland, Buffalo and Detroit along with three supporters of *Spark* and a token number of supporters from the International Socialists. Other groups on the Detroit left claiming to adhere to the principle of democracy within the workers movement revealed the flimsiness of their principles by their sectarian abstention from this demonstration.

The Spartacist League initiated the call for this united-front demonstration in response to the assault to which members of the SL were subjected in Cleveland when, attempting to sell *Workers Vanguard* at the Parma Chevrolet transmission plant, they were attacked by a goon squad composed of local bureaucrats and hangers-on. Other groups, including the Maoist Revolutionary Union and *Modern Times*, a local syndicalist tendency, have also been driven away from this plant by the 18 member standing goon squad.

Recognizing that the Cleveland incident was part of a national pattern in the UAW the Spartacist League called for a united-front demonstration at Solidarity House, UAW headquarters, to protest the attacks. *Workers Vanguard* pointed out that the bureaucracy's anti-red offensive would be used to silence any and all oppositional voices raised inside the union against the traitorous policies of Woodcock, Fraser, etc. Besides protesting the current wave of attacks, the demonstration affirmed the legitimacy of socialist tendencies within the workers movement. The UAW once prided itself on its openness. In its earliest days the union was strengthened by the open political discussion and democratic political struggle whose result was a conscious and militant rank and file. But an active, conscious rank and file is a direct threat to the pro-company policies pushed by the UAW tops.

The Left Abstains on the Question

Left groups and working-class tendencies throughout Detroit were contacted well in advance of this demonstration and asked for their participation on the basis of agreement with the following demands: 1) defense of the right of tendencies within the labor movement to distribute their press publicly; 2) solidarity with the UAW against the company and defense of the UAW as a necessary defensive organization of the class; 3) support for militant democratic unionism; 4) no utilization of the demonstration in any way as part of an attempt to bring in the bourgeois state to coerce the union (e.g., to publicize a court case).

In a display of the grossest workerism, the Revolutionary Socialist League, recent split-off from the IS, claimed to be in *full agreement* with all the demands raised in the call for the united front and still refused to support or participate in the picket line. The RSL's justification? Not enough "real workers" would be at the demonstration to render it relevant and significant (read: popular) enough to merit the support of the RSL. Like anti-communist union bureaucrats, the RSL defines "real" workers as including only those who do not support socialist organizations. The fact that many UAW members would be reluctant to picket union headquarters for fear of being victimized is, of course, irrelevant to those like the RSL. To cover the superficial nature of its defense of workers democracy the RSL sent a "defense guard," arriving 20 minutes late, to defend the picket in the unlikely event of a goon attack.

After initial assurance from Pete Kelly that the United National Caucus certainly did support the right to distribute papers at the plants, the definitive position of the UNC was given by Art Fox who stated that, "We don't bloc with non-trade-union groups," again giving tacit support to the red-baiting of the bureaucrats.

The CP's district organizer could not be reached, but organizers of the picket were informed of the CP's national policy of refusing any blocs with "Trotskyites." No response at all was forthcoming from Progressive Labor WAM, the Workers League, the Communist League or from two local social-democratic groups, "Control Conflict and Change" and "From the Ground Up." Supporters for PL, WL and the CL have all come under attack from the union leadership and from the companies in recent months. In the absence of defense campaigns of their own, any militant worker must assume that these groups do not take seriously the task of defending their supporters and other victimized workers. The Revolutionary Union (RU) refused to bother with a response, despite the fact that its own comrades have been victimized at the same Cleveland plant as the *WV* salesmen. Like PL, the RU is well-known for its own Stalinist gangster tactics.

The Socialist Workers Party's position on the united-front defense was to verbally promise to attend and then fail to show up. Organizational sloppiness cannot wholly account for this abstention. The SWP had expressed reservations about the section of the united-front call which states, "Agree not to utilize the demonstration in any way as part of an attempt to use the bourgeois state to coerce the union," when first contacted. Therefore, it

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 32 9 November 1973

Oust Nixon! For a Workers Party!

NOVEMBER 5—If the U.S. labor movement were today under revolutionary leadership, Richard Nixon would long since have been ousted as president through a general strike against state wage controls and the imperialist war in Indochina, and a sharp struggle would have begun to decide the fundamental question of our time: which class shall rule? Instead, while the Nixon government totters, with influential bourgeois newspapers such as the *New York Times* calling for Nixon's resignation or impeachment, even simple struggles to maintain wage levels in the face of violent inflation are effectively suppressed. Chiefly responsible for this state of affairs is the reactionary trade union bureaucracy which stands at the leadership of the organized labor movement and has cravenly acquiesced to every phase of Nixon's state wage control policies.

The recent decision of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to come out for the impeachment of Nixon should be seen as nothing more than rats deserting a sinking ship. These misleaders of the labor movement oppose Nixon for the same reasons as do their bourgeois masters, because of Nixon's "high crimes and misdemeanors"... against the proprieties and niceties of bourgeois democracy. Nowhere do they hold him responsible for his crimes against the working masses, which they have either acquiesced to and/or heartily endorsed (such as Nixon's policy of imperialist slaughter of the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia). These traitors to the working-class movement place their confidence in the bourgeois U.S. Congress to get rid of Nixon who has become an embarrassing liability to both themselves and their imperialist masters. And this Congress, itself a den of thieves, is only now moving ponderously and with great reluctance to consider the question of impeachment, projecting a report by March of next year.

NEW YORK TIMES

Nixon with Brezhnev (left) last June. Soviet commentators backed Nixon, CPUSA called for impeachment.

Dump the Bureaucrats—For a Labor Party Based on the Trade Unions!

Key to the removal of Nixon, of Congress, and of the whole capitalist state order which exists to ensure the continued exploitation of the working class, is the removal of the reactionary misleaders of labor. How to accomplish this task? The response of the ostensibly socialist left to the Watergate crisis is indicative of their respective orientations. The overwhelming majority seeks to deal with the pro-capitalist bureaucracy by ignoring it, playing up to reformist out-bureaucrats or mystically transforming it into an instrument of the working class. The ex-Trotskyist, reformist Socialist Workers Party, which by now has devoted many tens of pages and thousands of words

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NEAR EAST CEASEFIRE:

More War Ahead!

The continuing war between Israel and the surrounding Arab states has been temporarily halted by a ceasefire imposed by the U.S. and USSR. Even more so than in the previous wars, this ceasefire guarantees the continuation of bloodletting in the Near East. Because of Israeli intransigence, particularly its desire to force the surrender of the Egyptian III Army after the ceasefire, war could break out again any day.

Both sides were reluctant to accept the first ceasefire of October 22, Israel only quantitatively more so than Egypt and Syria. The Meir government tried hard to get a three-day postponement in order to expand its conquests on the west bank of the Suez Canal. When the U.S. refused to accede to this, the Israeli command simply ignored the UN ceasefire and continued fighting, in what has become something of a Zionist military tradition, harking back to the innumerable ceasefires of the 1948-49 war.

With the Israeli military advances of October 22-24, the attitude of the Egyptian government toward continuing the war changed; it launched a diplomatic offensive to pressure the great powers into enforcing the ceasefire on the original October 22 lines. Sadat's appeal for direct U.S. military intervention to police Israel should disabuse everyone (even the vicarious Arab nationalists so abundant on the U.S. left) of the notion that the Arab states were struggling against American imperialism. In fact, a major aim of the Arab states in going to war was to create a situation in which the U.S. would be pressured by the Soviet Union and West European powers into curbing Israeli expansionism.

U.S./USSR Détente Buried in the Sands of Sinai

With Sadat's appeal for direct great-power intervention, Brezhnev saw an opportunity to maneuver the U.S. into a joint action against Israel and apparently applied some pressure to that effect. Nixon reacted by dramatically reminding Brezhnev that Israel was after all an ally of the U.S. against the Soviet Union, not vice versa: on October 24 he ordered a full military alert. Contrary to Kissinger's pious protests, the alert was in good part for domestic consumption, a reassertion of Nixon's posture as the tough Commander-in-Chief. The most that the U.S. government could subsequently claim in justification of its world-wide "Condition 3" military alert was the "ambiguity" of

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UPI

Trucks with UN ceasefire observers entering the city of Suez.

SL Polarizes Toronto Women's Conference.....4

How Arab Regimes Crushed the Palestinian Resistance.....5

School Board vs. Fuentes in NYC District 1.....7

Letters

25 October 1973

Dear Comrades,

The article, "No U.S. Aid to Israel!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 31), contains a statement requiring explanation. The article says that "Abdullah of Jordan even had a secret meeting with Golda Meir to see if they could reach agreement on carving up Palestine."

While Meir and King Abdullah *did* have a meeting (on 30 April 1948), no agreement was reached as Abdullah's proposal—a bi-national Palestine and Transjordan ruled as a constitutional monarchy—was unacceptable to the Jewish Agency.

Later, however, Abdullah and the former Prime Minister of Israel, Ben-Gurion, signed an agreement which gave Israel fifty percent more territory than was granted it by the U.N. Hence the episode's significance as one of the first acts of Israeli expansionism.

Comradely,
Andy S.
New York City

□

October 31, 1973

WV Editor:

In WV No. 31 the article on "West Europe's Imported Labor: A Key to Revolution" was all in all excellent. A comparison was made in passing to the blacks in this country. Although certain parallels can be drawn here, much more striking are the outstanding similarities between West Europe's foreign workers and the Mexican nationals in the U.S. As super-exploited sections of the working class they share a lack of any democratic rights, are not unionized and speak a foreign language.

In Mexico farm workers earn 15 cents an hour. Corporations like Litton Industries, Fairchild Camera, Hughes Aircraft who have factories south of the border pay their workers as little as $2.00 a day, so naturally many Mexican citizens are glad to come to this country—"land of opportunity"—in order to make 50 cents more an hour to send back to their families in Mexico. It is estimated that on an ordinary day more than 150,000 Mexicans "officially" come and go across the border. These figures do not include the millions who cross "unofficially" every year or the braceros (laborers contracted for work in the fields). Statistically these men and women are not aliens, even though they are brought across the border outside of the quotas. Agreements between the U.S. and Mexican governments render them legal even though "non-statistical." It is estimated that as many as 40,000 Mexican citizens migrate yearly to Los Angeles alone; the population of San Antonio is estimated to increase by 50,000 each year.

The Mexican national must accept the lowest jobs, live in the worst barrio and is hated by both the Chicano and white sections of the working class. In the farm work force alone, out of a total of 1.6 million in this country, "illegals" account for at least 20%. Growers knowingly employ these "illegals," let them harvest the crops, then report them to the border patrol so they can be arrested before they pay them their wages. This is also true wherever Mexican nationals are hired throughout industry—when production is low the capitalists call in the immigration department and deport all those who don't have papers. Of course this process is not restricted to the local levels but is instituted systematically by the U.S. government in collusion with the capitalists according to the fluctuating state of the economy. For instance in the period of economic recession following the Korean War, 1953-1954, there was a wave of deportations influenced by the restrictive McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952. A Special Mobile Force of the Border Patrol was put into action throughout the barrios as far north as Chicago and Spokane—called "Operation Wetback." In this short period, 1,910,282 were deported but within a few years the project was dropped and once again hundreds of thousands of Mexican citizens migrated to the U.S.

Mexican nationals represent an unlimited source of cheap labor that the capitalists would rather hire over American workers who cause too much trouble with union organizing, which is not a problem with "illegals" who dare not speak out lest they be deported. This situation has created a real source of resentment particularly among unskilled workers who blame the "foreigners" for taking their jobs. In the interest of proletarian internationalism these national chauvinist tendencies must be fought against. Although Mexican nationals do not represent as large a section of the U.S. working class as do the blacks or are as large in proportion to the West European foreign workers, they are indeed a significant force, particularly in the Southwest, and the tasks of building a base in the working class must necessarily include organizing foreign labor. The "full rights for foreign workers" outlined in the WV article on West Europe's imported labor are indeed applicable to the domestic conditions in this country as well.

Bolshevik Greetings,
Susan Spector
Chicago

□

October 25, 1973

Dear Comrades,

In the September 14, 1973 issue of *Workers Vanguard* the next to last paragraph of the article "Government Breaks Canadian Rail Strike" states the following:

> "Only the Spartacist League has correctly opposed on principle all forms of state intervention in the unions."
> —*Workers Vanguard*, 14 September 1973, p. 10

We are extremely upset by this statement. For it is either a sign of sloppy journalism or outright lying. The Revolutionary Workers Group stands in absolute opposition to any intervention by the bourgeois state into the workers' trade unions. This has come out in many discussions with your Comrades, particularly in Chicago, and also in our press. In the June issue of *Workers' Truth* we stated in the article "Which Way for the Trade Unions?":

> "INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS FROM THE STATE—The trade unions are mass organizations of working class defense. As capitalism continues to decay, the state, that is, the instrument of the capitalist collective, plays more and more of a direct role in all aspects of the worker's life. The trade unions can not even begin to defend the working class if they are subordinated to the capitalist state. As long as the trade unions remain under the control of the present bourgeois clique of Meany, Abel, Woodcock, Fitzsimmons, etc. the trade unions will be pushed more and more into the state apparatus. The so-called working class leaders who sit on the various state commissions belong there. The trade unions do not. In struggling for trade union independence from the state the workers must strive to throw these representatives of the capitalist class out of the trade unions. Let them stay on the Pay Boards! Get them out of the unions! The state is not above classes, it is the instrument of the capitalist class. Trade union affairs must not be handled by the state, they must be handled by trade unionists."
> —*Workers' Truth*, June 1973, pp. 13-14

When we resigned from the Class Struggle League we stated in our resignation statement (which the Comrades of the SL Political Bureau no doubt have access to as a Comrade in Chicago resigned from the CSL to join the SL *after* our resignation statement was printed in the CSL Discussion Bulletin):

> "This [critical support to Arnold Miller in the UMW election, among other things—D.R.] is a further repudiation of a trade union strategy and program which represented a strong left impulse in trade union work. It is a clear elucidation of the CSL to sink into trade union opportunism. Arnold Miller! While we will wait for the facts as to whether or not David Fender called the cops in St. Louis, we know for a fact that Arnold Miller called the cops (the govt.) into the United Mineworkers. It is to this agent of the bourgeoisie that the CSL leadership gives its critical support!"
> —CSL Disc. Bul., Vol. II, No. 2, p. 1

The Spartacist League has in the past attacked the Workers League for claiming "only the Workers League . . ." when in fact the SL and at times other groups called for the same thing that the Workers League was claiming sole rights to. Also in your 3 August 1973 issue you corrected a statement in which you attributed support of a particular strike only to yourselves and the NCLC, pointing out in the correction that the Workers League and the Socialist Party also supported the strike.

We hope that we are simply dealing with an oversight and not an attempt to lump us (through omission of our principled stand vis-a-vis bourgeois state intervention in the trade unions) with various opportunist organizations. We expect a public correction.

Comradely,
David Ross
Org. Sec., RWG
Chicago

□

October 31, 1973

Dear Editor:

Congratulations on your recent article, "No U.S. Aid to Israel." In addition to an intelligent appraisal of Arab and Israeli positions, it offers good criticism of the Palestinian Resistance and its admirers on the American Left. I would like, however, to point out two technical errors, and then to comment on the content of the article.

On p. 1, column 3, in the sentence beginning, "The land cannot simply be given back to the fellahin," *fellahin* should probably be replaced by the Ottoman term for landlord, *effendi(s)*, and *fedayeen* should be replaced by *fellahin* (peasants). Fedayeen are martyrs, and by extension resistance fighters. On p. 5, column 3, next to last paragraph: I believe the organization mentioned is usually called the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, but this is a trivial point.

In the first sentence of the third paragraph in the article, there is some stormy rhetoric about Zionist illusions that may be suitable for the "Guardian" or the "Militant," but is not on your usual literary and intellectual level. In the next column the "interesting parallel" between Zionism and Nazism is at this late date a crashing bore. There is nothing wrong with a reference to Deir Yassin, but an explanation of this significant event and its consequences might be worth the trouble. Finally, the sections on oil and Balkanization would make an excellent future article.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms, I hope to see more of the same.

Fraternally,
Larry Cohen
Ann Arbor, Michigan

The *Torch* Sputters

The reason we bother to print below a fairly unimportant letter requires some explanation. Our letter, dated 13 October 1973, was in direct reply to one, dated 5 October, from Sy Landy of the Revolutionary Socialist League. Comrade Landy's letter, regarding the setting up of SL-RSL public debates, together with a statement that "to date we have not received a reply," was then printed in the November issue of the RSL's monthly Torch.

Presumably an early press deadline precluded acknowledgement of our letter and thereby facilitated the RSL's resounding assertion (under the proud headline "Where We Stand") that our "refusal to respond" reflects our "fear" and demonstrates our "shrill, infantile posturing."

So, perforce, we print the letter ourselves, though with little expectation of thereby shifting the RSL leadership off its macho New Left hangover—its who-is-and-isn't-chicken game-playing.

The RSL's ultimately intolerable internal political contradictions, reflected in its present conduct, are indeed sufficient justification for our discussing revolutionary Marxist, i.e., Trotskyist, politics with this group . . . to the purpose that some among its several score supporters might be won to the work of building the genuine and consistent Leninist party which they now abstractly proclaim and concretely deny.

---

13 October 1973

Sy Landy, National Secretary
Revolutionary Socialist League

Dear Comrade Landy,

With reference to your letters of 14 September and 5 October, we hope that your express willingness to have additional debate with us does not reduce itself merely to one more "national" debate in a locality. As you know it has been our express desire to have public debates on outstanding issues between us in each locality where we both have local organizations, and the Spartacist League has been seeking such confrontations. As noted in the current *Workers Vanguard* we held such a debate with your comrades on 28 September in Cleveland; and our Los Angeles comrades wrote to your local organization on 20 September seeking a similar event without, to our knowledge, having yet received a reply. We would also like to have such public confrontations in Detroit, New York and for a second time in Chicago (only a small handful of your Chicago comrades having attended the first).

It would be extremely convenient for us to have the "public debate be-

Soviet Union: State Capitalist or Degenerated Workers State

JUDITH SHAPIRO
Spartacist League

ERIC OLSEN
Revolutionary Socialist League

Friday November 16
7:30 p.m.
1910 South Vermont
Los Angeles, California

Los Angeles

tween the principal spokesmen of our two groups" in Detroit on the evening of either Friday, 23 November or Saturday, 24 November (i.e. assuming that the bulk of your membership will not be at home with their parents, as this is Thanksgiving weekend). These are the only early dates for which we could guarantee a rather large, regional, audience of SL supporters. But we also continue to set considerable store by the debates we want in the other areas so that the whole of your membership and a goodly part of ours may see our two viewpoints actively counterposed.

While you in your letter of 5 October have suggested polemically—and no doubt jocularly in the old Shachtmanite tradition—that our comrades in localities have presented in argument with you "six or seven distinct and often contradictory viewpoints", we have a *real* disadvantage in our debates with you—one which we would like to remedy before assigning a reporter for the "officially national" debate that we propose for Thanksgiving weekend in Detroit. I well recall when you and I debated in Chicago, my having to face an opponent the great bulk of whose programmatic positions consisted of "we don't know yet; we are extremely creative people; you will see, we will work out *very* creative positions." I believe that since then, you have had a national convention and that some of your positions have been condensed from ectoplasm onto the mundane printed page. For example, it is rumored that you take a defeatist ("Third Camp") position toward Stalinist Russia and presumably toward Stalinist China, Cuba and North Vietnam in these countries' military struggles against imperialism, but that you have a "self-determinationist" defensist policy toward the Stalinist Viet Cong (which is popular among domestic radicals). We would very much appreciate receiving as soon as possible any material containing the adopted views of your organization on matters of fundamental principle and basic program.

Fraternally,
James Robertson
for the Spartacist League

SL/RCY Public Offices

BAY AREA

Wednesday and Thursday 1:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:30-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

BOSTON

Wednesday and Friday 1:00-5:00 p.m. 7:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 11:00 a.m.-3:00

639 Massachusetts Avenue
Room 335
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Phone 492-3928

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-6:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

Workers League Evades Political Debate:

What Really Happened at the Jack Tar Hotel and Why Wohlforth Calls the Cops

Continuing in the tradition of the Healy school of falsification, Tim Wohlforth's fake-Trotskyist Workers League has slanderously accused the Spartacist League of being responsible for the calling of the cops at two recent WL meetings. According to the 30 October *Bulletin* article, "Spartacist Brings in the Police," SL supporters attempted to break up the twice-weekly-*Bulletin*-greeting meetings held at the Jack Tar Hotel in San Francisco and the Embassy Hotel in Los Angeles. By supposedly "attempting to provoke a fight and creating a disruption" at the door, SL supporters are held responsible for the hotel management's calling the police and threatening to close down the meeting.

In actuality the SL did not attempt to provoke a fight or disrupt in either incident. Rather, all SL supporters were prevented from attending these *public* meetings called by the WL. The simple presence of the SL distributing literature outside the meeting, much less trying to attend it, was all the WL needed to demand action from the hotel management, i.e., that the police be called. In San Francisco when SL supporters pressed the point to WLers that they were, in effect, calling the cops on us, they initially tried to blame the hotel manager. He, however, snapped in response, "Don't try to load this on me!" It was quite clear to witnesses and even to the cops who the complainant was. The plainclothes security guards who told the SL to leave the driveway entrance of the hotel explained that we were "disturbing the patrons" of the WL.

Picket WL's Anti-Communist Exclusionism

Wohlforth's ire was raised by the incident in Los Angeles, where the SL picketed the WL meeting protesting the anti-communist act of excluding Spartacist supporters from a public meeting. Picket signs called for the defense of workers democracy. This was not the first time such an incident had occurred. Earlier this year, on March 24, members and supporters of the SL/RCY attempted to attend a public meeting of the WL/YS in Los Angeles. When we were refused admittance, as has been standing WL practice throughout the country, a picket line was immediately set up. Some 60 SL supporters marched with signs proclaiming "Workers League Excludes Reds," "What is the Y.S. Afraid Of?" and "Defend Workers Democracy." In another incident on June 30, Dennis Brehm of the Los Angeles WL not only excluded SL/RCYers from a public meeting but asked the manager of the Embassy Hotel to have us removed from the building. Arguing lamely that "you brought this on yourselves," Brehm replied "yes" when asked directly if he realized that the threat of the management to call the cops resulted from his complaint.

These incidents are indicative of the Workers League's sneering contempt for the principle of workers democracy. When asked by SLers last spring why the WL/YS should be allowed to attend public meetings of opponent groups such as the SWP, Wohlforth's cynical response was, "We shouldn't necessarily. But if they're dumb enough to let us, we'll attend." Marxists, in contrast, support the principle of workers democracy not just when it is convenient, not out of liberalism or fetishism. The fullest possible opportunity for political struggle, without threats of physical violence, enables the labor movement to achieve the necessary clarity concerning the program which defends its true interests. It is no accident that it is the reactionary bureaucrats, fearful of having their rotten sellouts exposed before the ranks, who suppress workers democracy in the unions, kicking out reds and militants, rigging elections and preventing the sale of socialist and labor newspapers at plant gates. The WL's practice in this regard is no different from that of these labor lieutenants of capital it constantly tails after.

Wohlforth Supports Cops

Moreover, calling on the cops to remove SL supporters not only shows the wohlforthites' cringing fear of political debate, but is also consistent with their 1971 call for expanding the New York police strike into a general strike. No, the cops are not our class brothers, but rather the armed fist of the class enemy! Presumably if the WL is willing to call the police to avoid debating the SL at public meetings it would have no compunction about calling the cops to remove opponents from a union meeting as well. This policy is likewise consistent with the policies of the WL's English mentors, the Socialist Labour League, which in 1967 beat up a socialist opponent, Ernie Tate, outside an SLL meeting and then threatened to sue him in the capitalist courts when he publicly denounced this outrage.

While the Workers League's exclusionist tactics may enable its leaders to avoid answering questions about their constant political zigzags, they sometimes reveal in a sharp manner to WL supporters the cowardliness of their leadership. The SL had recently challenged the WL to a debate in Portland Oregon, while Lucy St. John, ostensible *Bulletin* editor, was in town. The Workers League, of course, refused. When the only people to show up at the meeting to "greet the twice-weekly *Bulletin*" turned out to be several SL supporters and friends, St. John not only refused again to debate but, unable to exclude the SL, simply walked out of the meeting! Several WL supporters present openly expressed their disgust with this political cowardice. At another "greet-the-twice-weekly" meeting in Cleveland on 27 October, a number of the ghetto youth attending expressed confusion about the exclusion of the SL.

In terms of hypocrisy where questions of workers democracy are concerned, it is interesting to note that while the WL excludes Spartacists from

continued on page 13

Life in Wohlforth's Workers League

In its sneering contempt for workers democracy the Workers League more closely resembles a mini deformed workers state than a revolutionary Trotskyist organization. This is shown not only by the WL's shameless exclusionist antics toward the SL, but also by a look at the internal life of the WL *itself*.

Below we reprint a motion of the Political Committee of the Workers League (*Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 6, No.2) that will give militants a good idea of what life looks like inside the WL. The motion self-admittedly indicates that the WL is in the midst of a far-reaching, political crisis that has provoked "the most fundamental discussion in its history." The motion calls for the fullest discussion of perspectives, method and tasks, noting that such a discussion "brings forward all the questions raised in the 20-year struggle against Pabloism." But then, in the style of Enver Hoxha, Wohlforth and Co. conclude that the discussion has an "objective character" so they "cannot tolerate any factionalism of any sort." Ominously they add: "We want no disciplinary threats or actions."

So here is Wohlforth's Workers League facing "the most fundamental discussion in its history" and banning factions! Like Stalin and the Pope in Rome, Wohlforth has discovered he can dispense with "any factionalism of any sort." But for a serious Trotskyist organization the right to factional struggle is elementary. Ultimately, there is no other means of resolving fundamental political differences within the framework of a common organization.

Externally, of course, Wohlforth is very concerned about workers democracy and principled political struggle when it suits his purpose. Thus, the WL can practice the most shameless exclusionism toward the SL, while condemning Stalinist assaults upon itself, such as the recent attacks it has suffered at the hands of the RU. Likewise, to make history fit his interpretations, Wohlforth can be very solicitous about the alleged organizational abuses poor Shachtman suffered at the hands of Cannon. But internally, in the heat of political struggle Wohlforth shows himself to be the petty bureaucrat and political bandit he really is.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE MOTION 7/26/73

1. The Workers League has placed itself in the past period in opposition to the International Committee. This is the meaning of the May 28th article in the Bulletin on the Spartacist discussion. These are the opposites and it is these opposites which must now be held fast and fought out.

2. It is for this reason that the current discussion within the Workers League is the most fundamental in its history. There must now be the fullest discussion of perspectives, the idealist method of pragmatism and the tasks we face in turning to the working class.

3. This discussion is brought about by the development of the working class itself, created by the crisis of capitalism and the necessary preparatory tasks for the next period of massive class struggle here and in Europe. It brings forward all the questions raised in the 20 year history of struggle against Pabloism. It is this objective character of the discussions which must predominate at every point.

4. This is why we cannot tolerate any factionalism of any sort. There are no good guys and bad guys. We want no disciplinary threats or actions. There is only the absolutely necessary task of objectively confronting this new situation and the fundamental crisis it provokes in the League.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

Feminists Flee, LSA Cringes as...

SL Polarizes Toronto Women's Conference

TORONTO—Under a banner urging "Women—Unite!" the Ontario Conference of Women convened on Friday, October 26 at the University of Toronto. The week-end conference, which was formally sponsored by the Ontario Federation of Students, actually took place largely under the leadership of the League for Socialist Action (LSA)—Canadian section of the so-called United Secretariat—whose brand of reformist politics parallels that of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States.

Despite the leadership's estimate that 900 women would attend (men were excluded from all but two public sessions), the actual number was about 300, of whom the vast majority was unaffiliated and new to politics. Aside from the LSA and its youth section, the Young Socialists (YS), the only ostensibly revolutionary tendencies represented at the conference were the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), an organization which split from the LSA and which now plays the role of its loyal opposition, and the Spartacist League. (Notably absent were the allegedly Trotskyist Canadian Workers League and Labor Action Committee, whose abstention from the struggle for women's emancipation is a reflection of their tailing after the labor bureaucracy.) The SWP was also represented in the opening session in the person of the key speaker, Linda Jenness, who was billed as "a feminist and socialist." Despite this spurious attempt at dual identity, however, it was clear that when she said, "We have to build up our own independent power," it was not "we socialists" to whom she was referring.

WV PHOTO

SL contingent marching in Toronto demonstration to defend Dr. Henry Morgentaler, charged with performing illegal abortions.

Jenness never once identified herself as a leader of the SWP. The LSA also displayed this aversion to political identification, an aversion growing out of its terror of alienating any of the "sisters." LSA members seemed to choke on the word "socialism" on those rare occasions when they had recourse to it and they did not identify themselves in the public sessions or in the workshops they attended. It was not until the very last hours of the last session of the conference, after repeated challenges by the Spartacist League on this point and after the departure of nearly all the non-aligned women, that LSA speakers began to identify themselves as such. It was at this point that an LSA woman, still attempting to justify the practice of apologetically hiding one's support to what feminists call "male-dominated" organizations, declared petulantly, "If I go quack-quack, you can tell I'm a duck," arguing by analogy that even without explicit identification her political positions identified her as a member of the LSA—as indeed they did. The rotten, reformist politics which she proceeded to put forward were unmistakably the quackings of the LSA.

Free Abortion on Demand

Saturday morning was devoted to a special session and rally for the defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal physician who has been charged under Canada's Criminal Code on thirteen counts of performing and conspiring to perform illegal abortions. His trial, which has already begun, could result in a sentence of life imprisonment. The defense of Dr. Morgentaler has been the LSA's single-issue substitute for politics. Limiting its slogans to "Free Dr. Morgentaler, Drop the Charges!" the LSA has opposed even linking this campaign to demands for the repeal of abortion laws. (Not to mention calling for *free* abortion, a demand which the LSA and SWP consistently refuse to raise, even though it is supposedly part of their programs, on the grounds that it would make impossible their desired bloc with bourgeois women's groups such as NOW, which opposes socialized medicine!)

Speaking for the Spartacist League at the rally, Helen Cantor took the principled position of declaring support for Dr. Morgentaler's defense and pledging a financial contribution to the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler. However, she also pointed out the abysmal failure of the single-issue anti-abortion-law campaign built by the SWP in the U.S., which did not raise mass consciousness of the need to overthrow capitalism one iota. Cantor called for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all, not because it is a "better" reform demand, but because it is an attack on the system of production for profit and points to the need for socialist revolution.

Saturday afternoon was reserved for workshops on such topics as: women in politics (i.e., explicitly bourgeois politics—one of the designated workshop leaders was "a woman from the Toronto Mayor's Task Force on Women"), human sexuality and daycare.

Feminists: "Men Are Enemies"

The workshop leaders were virtually all bourgeois feminists and the workshops generally reflected their interests and viewpoint. The unidentified LSA members who attended certainly did nothing to challenge this viewpoint. In a workshop dealing with campus organizing, for example, the LSA put forward the position that even in co-educational schools the women students alone should be organized to fight budget cuts, because women are more oppressed by them than men.

One of the leaders in the workshop on gay women was a representative of the Lesbian Feminist Collective who initiated the session by stating that all men are the enemy and that while it was not necessary to exterminate them all at this time, extermination might well become necessary at some time in the future in order to ensure the continued existence of women!

A more or less similar point of view was expressed by the Resurgent Feminists who distributed a leaflet entitled "Abortion—Yes, Morgentaler—No!" This leaflet, a logical and consistent expression of feminist ideology, argued that all males, including Morgentaler, thrive on the oppression of women and must never be supported under any condition. Its slogans were "Women are dying! Don't support the enemy!"

Although the Spartacist League had contacted conference leaders a week in advance and had specifically requested room to hold a workshop and to have a speaker in the panel discussion scheduled for Sunday evening, we were denied both—the workshop on the grounds that there were no rooms available; the speaker initially on the grounds that the RMG speaker would adequately represent our position and later on the grounds that this was, after all, a Canadian women's conference and we were not Canadians! Canadian nationalism was, in fact, extensive, and several women challenged the right of the SL to take part in the conference at all.

The SL delegates sought to counter these attempts of the LSA to silence them by announcing their own workshop in the corridor and by waging a successful struggle for a speaker on the panel. Other women, including the RMG representatives, also argued against nationalism and for the SL's democratic right to address the body and express its point of view. Eventually, the LSA capitulated to this pressure and the body voted overwhelmingly in favor of the SL's right to a speaker.

Speakers were given ten minutes each to present their views on the theme "Which Way Forward for the Women's Movement?" and three minutes for summaries. In addition to representatives of the YS, RMG, and SL, there were also the woman from the Toronto Mayor's Task Force; Eileen Gregory, a hard-core feminist; a representative of "A Woman's Place," which houses various service facilities for women; and Marlene Dixon, a well-known women's liberation activist who, although not affiliated with any organization, had been specially invited to speak at the conference. Dixon is a left Maoist.

Socialism or Feminism

The presentations were initiated by the woman from the Mayor's Task Force who, after what appeared to be a monumental struggle to stay awake, correctly summed up her presentation with the admission, "I have no strategy."

She was followed by the representative of the LSA/YS who put forward all those familiar positions which have long been advanced by the SWP in the United States: our strength is in our numbers, we are feminists *and* socialists, we must take women where they are at and not alienate them, women must create an autonomous movement around a single, winnable issue, etc. ad nauseam. Not once did the LSA/YS representative refer to the need to link the fight against women's oppression to the struggle for socialism through raising transitional demands.

Instead of limiting the program to the most minimal reforms, which leave the basic structure of capitalist society untouched, Trotsky put forward the Transitional Program of demands which cannot be fulfilled without replacing the rule of the bourgeoisie by the rule of the working class. Thus demands such as free quality health care for all (including free abortion on demand); the socialization of housework through state-financed free 24-hour childcare facilities, dining rooms and laundry facilities; and the full integration of women into social production must be combined with demands relating to broader class struggles, such as a sliding scale of wages and hours, expropriation of industry under workers control, and for a workers government (see "Our Program" in *Women and Revolution* No. 4, Fall 1973). For the LSA/YS, however, raising such "divisive" demands is

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How Arab Regimes Crushed the Palestinian Resistance

Ever since 1948 the Arab states have piously proclaimed their support for the right of the Palestinian people to regain their territory from Zionist aggression. At the same time, the Arab regimes have given every indication that they would in fact simply proceed to carve up Palestine among themselves in case of military victory over Israel. They have all refused to integrate the Palestinian refugees in their economies, relegating them to the miserable existence of beggars and recipients of UN relief rations in the huge refugee camps. In order to keep the relatively well-educated and politically conscious Palestinians from causing too much trouble, their "host" governments occasionally arrest the suspected resistance leaders and strafe the camps.

The most brutal and vicious demonstration of the hostility of the Arab states to resurgent Palestinian nationalism was given by the butcher Hussein in the 1970 Jordanian civil war. In a matter of days the U.S.-equipped and British-trained Arab Legion managed to murder several thousand refugees and thoroughly smash the guerrilla resistance groups. In the last two years both the Lebanese and Syrian governments have followed the Jordanian example (with a little "urging" from Israel) by prohibiting any actions against Israel by the guerrillas and integrating them (i.e., subordinating them) into their own military. The lessons of this tragic history must be assimilated if militants of the various ostensibly socialist resistance groups are to find their way to the Marxist program of united proletarian revolution in the Near East.

Lessons of the 1970 Jordanian Civil War

The Jordanian civil war was only the culmination of the struggle that every Arab regime has waged in the Near East to subordinate Palestinian self-determination to its own nationalistic appetites. Only the left wing of the Palestinian resistance movement, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP) led by Nayef Hawatmeh, has been able to draw any of the correct lessons from the Jordanian civil war. While providing a scathing indictment of the Palestinian resistance leadership, its strategy and ideology, the DPFLP is unable to transcend the Menshevist-Stalinist "two-stage revolution" theoretical framework of that leadership.

The DPFLP sharply attacks groups like Fatah for taking an ostensibly agnostic position on ideology and program, thus simply subordinating the resistance movement to bourgeois ideology. It attacks the Fatah slogan that the "primary contradiction is with Zionism, the struggle against Arab reaction is secondary," which completely disarmed the resistance movement before "Arab reaction" which considered the liquidation of the resistance movement primary and the struggle with Zionism secondary. The DPFLP also attacked the slogan of "non-interference in the internal Arab affairs." This, the DPFLP explained, led groups like Fatah "to practice a demagogic and misleading relation with the Palestinian and Arab masses and to give deeds of absolution to the reactionary regimes in return for their handful of subsidies. It also led these groups to cover up for the programs of the nationalist regimes, regimes which have been unable to attain the objectives of national democratic liberation" ("September: Counter-Revolution in Jordan").

In a speech before the General Union of Palestinian Students in Iraq in March 1971, DPFLP head Nayef Hawatmeh attacked the slogan of "non-interference" as leading to the resistance movement's

> "turning its back to the developments in the region and to the masses of the East Bank and the Arab region.... Thus the East Bank masses frankly felt they had no interest in the struggle. Their unoccupied land suffered from reprisal strikes and they had no democratic, social or class interests in the revolution because the revolution did not deal with their problems against the reactionary regime and the ruling forces of imperialism. Nor did it deal with democratic and social issues to solve the problems of the countryside or the urban areas. The resistance turned its back completely to the masses and the masses had to look for some other refuge for fear that this situation might continue or worsen. Unfortunately, they ended up rallying around the lackeys ruling Amman, and for the first time in the history of Jordan, the Hashemite throne came to have a popular base, thanks to our 'Palestinian' policies, those of turning our back to the problems of the East Bank masses and refusing to build a united patriotic front opposing the unpatriotic front represented by the government, Parliament, and all the state apparatus of repression."
>
> —*Palestinian Resistance Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 11

Palestinian resistance commandos

FREE PALESTINE

In his speech, Hawatmeh points out that the nationalist parochialism of the resistance was carried so far that exclusionist Palestinian trade unions and student organizations were set up in the East Bank: "Given a school with three teachers, two Palestinians and one East Jordanian, the two Palestinians got accepted in the Palestinian Teachers Union while the third stayed out; the same was true of workers and students."

Although not explicitly stated, it is clear from the DPFLP literature that the June 1967 war created such a deep economic crisis (the West Bank ripped off by Israel produced one third of Jordan's gross national product) and so badly discredited the monarchy that a pre-revolutionary crisis existed in Jordan. The inability of the Palestinian resistance movement to present a revolutionary program meant that when the final showdown came between the resistance and the Hashemite army, the Jordanian masses, including the Palestinians who make up the majority of the population, sided with the king against the guerrillas. However, the situation was still so unstable that Hussein was forced to liquidate Jordan's embryonic trade-union movement, the General Union of Workers in Jordan (GUWJ) which had 20,000 members, in order to consolidate the monarchist September victory.

Even more incisive and damning is the DPFLP's critique of the resistance position toward the Jordanian army and the interlocked agrarian question. The DPFLP pamphlet, "September: Counter-Revolution in Jordan," states: "The September Campaign attested to the cohesiveness of the State institutions as an effective instrument in the hands of imperialism and monarchic reaction." The pamphlet goes on to recall how each resistance group, including the DPFLP, expected the army to split, with a section coming over to the resistance. The pamphlet proceeds to a class analysis of the composition of the Jordanian army and, noting the rural origins of the ranks, concludes that the road to winning over a viable section of the monarchist army is through "a democratic program for the rural areas." However,

> "the conspicuously sectionalist policy of the Resistance and the exploitation of this tendency on the part of the regime, pushed the village into the lap of its national and class enemy (reaction and imperialism) and made it fight on their side...."

Hawatmeh's March 1971 speech also contains a rather accurate description of the petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes

> "which call themselves socialist in spite of the fact that they have emptied socialism of all its democratic, political and organizational content, as well as all that this implies in terms of economic, military and agricultural programs. They make the masses see in socialism an ugly face that does not belong to it. They make them see it as oppression and repression, a Bonapartist rule (of a small group from a specific class, i.e. the petty bourgeoisie, which claim to represent all the classes in society)....
>
> "...by taking radical, economic, military, political and cultural stances, the petty-bourgeoisie would have had to tighten its belt. But it was not ready to tighten it because of its class interest....Actually, its ambition and admiration of bourgeois life was endless."

Hawatmeh extends his analysis of the petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes to the equally petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships of the resistance movement, but only in a partial manner. For it can be said equally of men like Aralat, leader of Fatah, and even those like Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), who mouth "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric that their "ambition and admiration of bourgeois life is endless."

Bonapartists Out of Power

Yasir Aralat's career was typical of most of the leadership of the Palestinian resistance movement. From upper-class Palestinian parentage, Aralat along with the other children of formerly rich Palestinian families disenfranchised by the 1948 war went on to study engineering at Fuad I (now Cairo) University. There Aralat organized the Union of Palestinian Students in Eygpt, through which many of the future leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement passed. During their student days, Arafat and many of his future colleagues fell under the influence of the extremist Moslem Brothers. After graduating with their engineering degrees they joined the ranks of educated Palestinians who were flocking to join the burgeoning technocracies of the oil-rich Persian Gulf countries. Arafat went to Kuwait, where his brother got him the job of road engineer in the government's Department of Public Works. After two years of working for the government, Arafat opened a private contractor's office and amassed a modest fortune.

Kahlil el-Wazir, mentioned in the *New York Times* (12 October 1972) as a possible leader of the Black September group, was at Alexandria University at the same time Arafat was at Fuad I. They both worked together in the Union of Palestinian Students and the Moslem Brothers, and both met again in Kuwait. Most of the future leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement ended up in Kuwait, a motley crew of wealthy contractors and merchants, with comfortable lives but embittered at being politically dispossessed of their "rightful" place as the ruling class of a Palestinian state, an ambition of which their nationalism is the ideological expression.

Paralleling the career of Arafat, although several years his senior, PFLP leader George Habash was born at Lydda—site of the PFLP's 9 May 1972 hijacking and airport massacre two weeks later. After studying medicine at the American University in Beirut, Dr. Habash graduated the same year Arafat entered Fuad I University, in 1951. Like Aralat, Habash laid the foundations for his organization—which was called the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM)—among university students. The ANM was more Nasserite than Nasser, more Pan-Arab than the Ba'athists and always more adventurist than any of the commando groups. When Aralat was still an unknown student activist, Habash was the head of a large underground movement spread throughout the Arab world, which was putting into practice its modification of the Ba'athist slogan ("Unity, Liberation, Socialism") into the slogan of his group: "Unity, Liberation, Revenge." When Fatah began its terrorist operations in 1965, Habash, financially backed by Nasser, set up a competing sabotage organization: the Heroes of the Return. The very name recalls Trotsky's condemnation:

> "Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible precisely for the reason that it *lowers the masses in their own consciousness*, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes towards the great avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission."

Another organization emerging prior to the June War was the Palestinian Liberation Front, led by Ahmed Jibril, a graduate of Sandhurst (the British military academy) and a former officer in the Syrian Army. Following the June war the PLF fused with the Heroes of the Return and another Habash organization, the Youth of Revenge, to form the PFLP. However, Jibril was still closer to the Syrian Ba'ath than to Habash, and when the latter was arrested by the Syrian government at the beginning of 1968, Jibril split. During Habash's imprisonment, Hawatmeh, (who had been an ANM activist since his youth) organized a left faction within the PFLP which captured the leadership of that group at its August 1968 convention. Habash launched a campaign against Hawatmeh culminating in shoot-outs in the Amman suburbs. Hawatmeh was forced to split and set up the DPFLP.

Petty-Bourgeois Frenzy and Mass Terror

Both Fatah and the PFLP drew their own conclusions from the September war—"relying on the Arab regimes rather than the Arab masses," to paraphrase the DPFLP critique. Following the Hashemite slaughter of hundreds of commandos and 5,000 civilians, Arafat flew off to embrace both Nasser and Hussein and sign the "Cairo Agreement," which essentially marked the end of Fatah's commando operations. Instead of an "armed struggle" which Arafat realizes he can never win, he

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Mass picketing during recent strike at Ford's Chicago Heights Stamping Plant.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Score Three for Woodcock!

Harvester Strike Called Off

CHICAGO, November 3—The UAW bureaucracy's treacherous policy of one-company-at-a-time "pattern bargaining" (as opposed to industry-wide bargaining) is currently being used to extend the defeat at Chrysler to the other union divisions. Thereby Ford, GM and agricultural implements workers will be restricted to the sellout terms of the Chrysler contract, so that even hard-won past gains are to be adjusted downward. Woodcock now faces the difficult task of convincing angry union members throughout the industry that the new contract is not the complete sellout of the ranks that it is, and avoiding by all possible means a militant strike that might spark a UAW-wide explosion.

In spite of all his efforts, there has been widespread rejection of the Chrysler pattern by auto workers. Spontaneous wildcats and unauthorized strikes over local issues swept through Ford plants around the country on the contract deadline day (26 October) despite Woodcock's announcement of a settlement and ban on local strikes "until they are authorized." Workers at Ford's Chicago Heights Stamping plant (Local 588) were among many who walked out in a body amid complete and justifiable disbelief about the possibility of Woodcock's International producing anything but one more sellout. The feeling was so widespread that the Solidarity House gang made no attempt to discipline the Local 588 leadership, which was acting under tremendous pressure from the ranks over mounting salety, noise-level and other working-conditions grievances.

Historic Gains Threatened

The Ford workers' rebellion came during the International Harvester strike, which began on 18 October because the company demanded a *reversal* of a major historic gain of IH workers—voluntary overtime—on the basis of the Chrysler settlement! The strike continued when local leaders rejected a proposed settlement negotiated personally by Woodcock and agricultural implements head Pat Greathouse (*Chicago Tribune*, 29 October). As we go to press the UAW has announced a settlement with Harvester which retains voluntary overtime but commits the union to disciplining members who "conspire" to use the right to refuse overtime as a weapon against the company. (This completely arbitrary clause enables the company to take action even against workers who try to organize a group to attend a Saturday ball game!) The members of Local 6 (Melrose Park, Illinois), a key IH plant, ratified the agreement today by a vote of 780 to 270. According to workers interviewed alter the ratification meeting, Local President Roth opposed the settlement, but was careful to avoid sparking a drive for rejection and to assure the International of his willingness to play ball with the Woodcock bureaucracy.

The agricultural implement section of the UAW has long been a strong section of the union, consistently winning higher wages, better working conditions and fringe benefits for the membership. The wages at John Deere, leading U.S. manufacturer of farm equipment, are among the highest in the UAW, about $1.00 an hour higher than the average auto worker's wage; overtime has been voluntary at IH since 1941. These gains are the result of militant struggle against the employers and in large part a product of the tradition of militancy established by the old Farm Equipment Workers, a Stalinist-supported union which was partly destroyed by the post-war witch-hunt and the Reutherite UAW. The remnants of the FEW merged with the UAW in the 1950's.

When contracts for all three major agricultural implements companies expired on 1 October, the UAW chose Deere as a "pattern" company for the division and negotiated a settlement virtually identical on all major issues with the Chrysler pact. The settlement was announced only hours before the strike deadline, and ratification was rammed through before any opposition to the new contract could be organized. Typical of the bureaucratic manipulation used by Woodcock to suppress opposition from the disgruntled ranks was the ratification meeting for the local at Deere's largest plant in Waterloo, Iowa, where union members were not even informed of the specific provisions of the contract they were voting on! Militants demanding a new ratification meeting set up a picket line the following day, shutting down the plant completely on the second and third shifts. An emergency meeting was called at which an International Representative claimed that since the contract had already been "ratified" no new meeting could be held.

The strike at IH was quite in line with the Deere "pattern." It was provoked by the company which—in line with what the other bosses in the industry had been given in the Chrysler settlement—demanded a complete return to *compulsory* overtime. For IH workers, who alone among UAW members had voluntary overtime, Woodcock's much touted "victory" of "voluntary overtime" (alter 54 hours a week!) would be a giant step backward. Only because the Chrysler pattern led to an attack on a long established gain for Harvester workers was the Woodcock leadership forced into authorizing a strike. But afraid of the possibility of a militant struggle in which the ranks might get "out of hand," the bureaucracy consistently ran the strike in a consciously sloppy, low key fashion, keeping the ranks completely in the dark about the status of the negotiations.

Picketing was poorly organized at the IH Melrose Park works near Chicago, reportedly inspiring the company to call people to report to work on Friday, the second day of the strike, saying that there were no picket lines. There was no attempt at mass picketing, while some truckers and workers for outside contractors were forced to enter the plant against their will because the UAW local issued them passes, putting their jobs in jeopardy if they refused to cross picket lines! Salaried personnel were freely allowed to enter the plant and do bargaining unit work. At the IH plant in San Leandro, California, this led to a police charge to break a mass picket set up when workers learned that salaried workers were performing union work.

Fake Lefts in Local 6

Responding to widespread rank-and-file sentiment, newly elected Local 6 (IH Melrose Park) president Norman Roth called the Chrysler pattern a "two-bit offer" and called for its rejection by Chrysler workers. In an article in the local's paper (*Union Voice*, 28 September 1973) Roth focuses his criticism on government wage controls: "Just so long as our Union and the rest of the Labor Movement tolerate the Nixon Wage Controls will we be robbed in our demands. No one in his right mind would want to play in a card game in which the deck was stacked against him. *That is what we are doing!* The purpose of the Nixon programs is to *guarantee profits for his big business buddies.*" But Roth's failure to organize a militant strike is a total capitulation to Woodcock and Greathouse; and his failure to call for industry-wide bargaining and for the ouster of the Woodcock leadership reveals his militant-sounding stand to be empty rhetoric.

Roth represents more than opportunist trade-union militancy; he adheres to a broader program of social reform, which does not challenge the capitalist system of wage slavery but instead relies on a political coalition with sections of the employers themselves. Roth's caucus, the Solidarity Caucus of Local 6, supports Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), a bureaucratic pan-union grouping backed by the Communist Party. TUAD support of class collaboration is demonstrated by its uncritical support of McGovern in the 1972 elections and its physical exclusion of left-wing opponents at the June 1972 TUAD conference. Roth proposed at a recent membership meeting that Local 6 endorse the program of Jesse Jackson's and Woodcock's Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice, which consists of a call to lobby Congress for a series of legislative reforms, thoroughly consistent with the continued existence of capitalism. Roth's failure to provide leadership to the IH strike accords fully with his reformist politics, shared by the CP, and exposes once again the bankruptcy of Stalinist class collaboration.

The syndicalist Workers Voice Committee at the Melrose Park works has occupied the position of left pressure group on Roth since his election last summer. Workers Voice as well as Roth endorsed Reverend Jesse Jackson's government-financed PUSH coalition, although with some criticisms of its program. Workers Voice has called for rejection of any settlement that does not meet five conditions, which include a wage increase of $1.25 an hour; reinstatement of the right of the union to impose an overtime ban; racial equality in hiring, placement and upgrading; and access to skilled trades. Workers Voice (embarrassed in the last contract period when its wage demand turned out to be the same as the bureaucrats') has followed a policy of simply demanding "more" than the International leadership. The result is spontaneous trade-union militancy substituting for a program expressing the necessity of sweeping away the decaying capitalist system in its entirety. The condition for achieving even these limited demands is an industry-wide strike, the elimination of pattern bargaining and a *political* struggle to replace Woodcock/Greathouse with a union leadership commit-

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"Community Control" in NYC District 1—

School Board vs. Fuentes: Cesspool of Ethnic Politics

NEW YORK—The current dispute between the white-racist local school board and the anti-union pro-community-control district superintendent in School District 1 on the Lower East Side is a demagogic fight over administrative spoils in which neither side offers anything to working people. On both sides the intent is to inflame racial hostilities in order to divert attention from the continuing crisis of the school system and the need for a program of united working-class struggle to answer it.

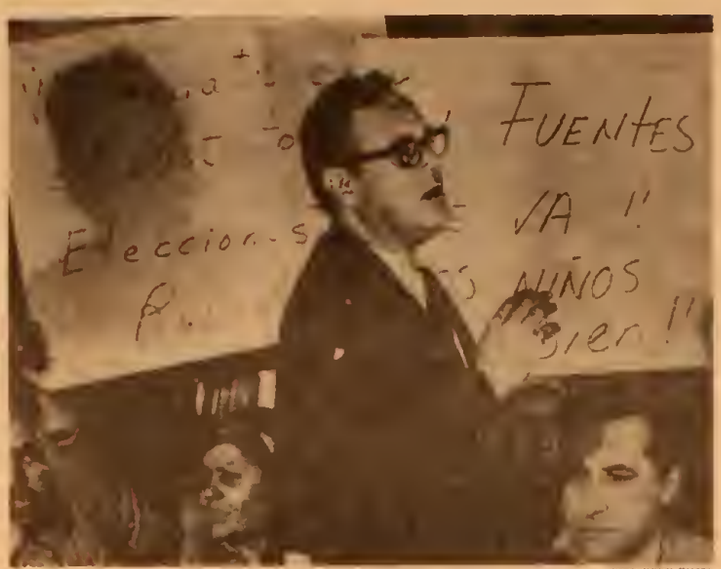
The fact that the United Federation of Teachers backs the school board, while several ostensibly revolutionary organizations are mobilizing forces behind Fuentes (the superintendent) is only another proof of the reactionary implications of support for reformism and nationalism. While the lines of the dispute accurately reflect the political blocs which have dominated the city in recent years (the conservative leadership of the organized labor movement vs. the oppressed minorities, with big-business-backed liberals playing the mediating role), the task of revolutionary socialists is to shatter this pattern and polarize the situation on *class*, not racial lines. The fight over who controls the patronage of a few appointed administrative posts must be transcended by the struggle for worker-teacher-student control of the schools and for a class-struggle leadership of the unions.

School Board vs. Superintendent

Opposing each other in District 1 are the UFT-backed school board elected last May and the district superintendent, Luis Fuentes, who was suspended indefinitely and without pay on October 16 by the school board and then reinstated following a six-day boycott of the district's schools. The UFT campaigned for the election of the new school board for the express purpose of ousting Fuentes (*New York Times*, 15 July), whom the UFT correctly characterizes as an anti-union demagogue. But the UFT-backed school board seems less concerned with Fuentes' union-busting tactics than with his tolerance toward the use of nationalist and radical texts in the schools and his associations with black and Puerto Rican political organizations.

The board itself is a racist and conservative bunch, largely white although the school population and parents are not. This is in part a reflection of the changing racial composition of the area. About 95 percent of the elementary and junior high students in District 1 are Spanish-surnamed, black or Chinese, with Puerto Ricans making up a large majority. But half or more of the adult population is white, many of them elderly people who have no children in the public schools (*New York Times*, 25 October). All registered voters as well as parents are eligible to vote in the school elections.

Fuentes, who is a pork-barrel patronage politician in the hallowed American traditions of ethnic politics, became the first Puerto Rican principal in New York City when he received an appointment in 1967 in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental district in Brooklyn. His first bid for the District 1 superintendency was turned down in 1968 when it was discovered that a letter of recommendation on his behalf had been forged. He later won the post in 1972 after a series of appointments to fill vacancies on the district school board had changed its composition from a white to a Puerto Rican majority.



Luis Fuentes NEW YORK TIMES

Ethnic Politics and the Schools

During the 1968 city-wide teachers' strike Fuentes had been a vociferous critic of the "Jewish" UFT and now continues to carefully cultivate his image as the embodiment of the hopes and desires of the doubly oppressed Puerto Rican and black population in the city for improvement of their present intolerable conditions by maneuvering within the present system. In this respect he is no different from other demagogic bourgeois ethnic politicians such as Herman Badillo, Adam Clayton Powell and, in an earlier period, Boss Tweed or Carmen DiSapio. A necessary part of this game is skillful maneuvering to maintain ethnic identifications and hostilities at a high level among all sections of the working class. Fuentes has several times been accused of being anti-Semitic and anti-Italian, and the American Jewish Congress and Anti-Defamation League have been pushing for his removal for a long time. Last year Fuentes was charged with making anti-Semitic statements while he served as principal in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. A city hearing subsequently ruled that there were insufficient grounds to dismiss him from office because the remarks had been made too long ago to be considered as evidence.

Fuentes strives to maintain his popularity—and thereby his $37,000/year job—by posing as the champion of "community control," pushing the idea that the major barrier to Puerto Rican and black advancement is the political power and high wages demanded by organized labor. UFT President Albert Shanker charges Fuentes with opposing union contracts because they provide "good paying jobs for suburban middle-class professionals" and "make change extremely difficult" (*New York Times*, 8 July 1973). The shrinking school budget is blamed on yearly increases in teacher salaries. In an interview with the SWP's *Militant* (27 April 1973) Fuentes stated:

> "I have a commitment to hire community people who will be responsible to that community and respect its problems. Shanker would like me to only hire members of his union. That's patronage!'"

Albert Shanker NEW YORK TIMES

In fact, union control of hiring and the expansion of the teachers' union to include all school personnel below the administrative level (paraprofessionals, custodial and service employees, etc.) is a powerful weapon against just that kind of pork-barrelling patronage that Fuentes dispenses. At the same time there must be a struggle within the UFT against the bankrupt Shanker bureaucracy on a class-struggle program which points beyond the limiting confines of capitalism, and for educational programs dealing with the special needs of oppressed sectors of the population (blacks, Puerto Ricans, etc.) who make up a majority of the city's students. Such an approach could transcend the present internecine racial-ethnic warfare with a united class struggle for worker-student-teacher control of the schools.

Community Control: A Capitalist Plot

Fuentes, a hollow demagogue whose program does not even call for such minimal reformist demands as "more schools," can maintain his posture as the champion of oppressed minority populations only because of the left cover provided him by radical groups and because of the UFT leadership, which does everything possible to line up minority populations against the union. Rather than fronting for fakers of the Fuentes/Shanker stripe, the task of socialists must be to expose the slogan of "community control" as a reactionary, divisive, union-busting capitalist hoax as well as to struggle within the union against the reactionary Shanker leadership.

Community control is at best useless and at worst a reactionary scheme which, if it could really be carried out, would slice up the cities into isolated ethnic ghettoes, relegating the oppressed groups to the worst schools and housing, freezing them into a permanent sub-subsistance welfare-rolls existence, further than ever from full integration into the American proletariat which represents their only hope of liberation from the racist oppression of bourgeois society. Under capitalism, community control means nothing more than the illusory freedom of ghetto residents to manage their own poverty.

Community control itself was a *conscious* plot on the part of the bourgeoisie, particularly Rockefeller and the Ford Foundation (under its president McGeorge Bundy, the man who invented "Vietnamization" as a cover for U.S. aggression in Indochina), to throw a sop to ghetto militancy while lining up unemployed populations against the teachers' union in a period when the ruling class was faced with an upsurge of municipal strikes. The 1969 school decentralization law (which created 31, now 32, decentralized school districts in New York City) followed close on the heels of the 1968 teachers' strike.

Unlike 1968, when nationalist political ideology in the ghettos was almost universally dominant, today there exists an opening for a decisive shattering of nationalism among the black and Puerto Rican minorities, as well as illusions in community control as a solution to racial oppression. New York has now experienced four years of "community control" of the schools, complete with separate elections and separate local budgets, the only result being the continued degeneration of the material situation of the black and Puerto Rican populations.

The reading achievement rate for New York City students has been dropping steadily for ten years with 66.3 percent of elementary pupils and 71.3 percent of junior high and intermediate students reading below grade level. With the additional burden of language difficulties, some 86 percent of Puerto Rican students are reading below grade level (*New York Times*, 17 March 1973). The drop-out rate in New York City schools was 57 percent for Puerto Ricans, 46 percent for blacks, 29 percent for others (May 1972), as opposed to 11.1 percent for blacks and 7.4 percent for whites nationwide (June 1973).

Such abysmal statistics reflect the increasing financial crisis in the public sector besetting the advanced capitalist countries, particularly the U.S. On the one hand, essential services are limited by budget cuts. Thus last June $27 million was cut from the school lunch program necessitating the firing of 665 employees and eliminating hot lunches for the students. On the other hand, widespread crime and violence in the schools led to a doubling of the number of armed security guards (cops) in the schools last January.

To the manifest crisis in the city's schools, whose root cause is the capitalist system itself, Fuentes' only program is to channel the anger of Lower East Side residents against the UFT. And when the pathetic results of community control could now be easily exposed, the left (such as El Comité, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization—formerly Young Lords Party—and the SWP) not only tails after but today provides the main organizational momentum for community control.

Community Control as a Means of Union-Busting

The state administration is now seeking to extend the union-smashing

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New Left Maoism: Long March

THE OCTOBER LEAGUE

In the early months of its existence the October League attempted to pose as a left opposition to the openly right-Maoist Revolutionary Union. The subsequent evolution of the OL, however, revealed the differences between the two organizations to be at most quantitative and temporary. United by the reformist logic of their Stalinist politics, their desired roles as running dogs of the Chinese bureaucracy and their iron determination to tail after every available left-talking faker in the unions and elsewhere, the RU and OL are today separated only by the organizational ambitions of their respective leaders. Nevertheless, these ambitions are quite ferocious, and we will undoubtedly soon see new "theoretical" justifications for the continued separate existence of two right-Maoist national organizations. In the ensuing competition the OL is likely to come off the worse, partly because of the RU's larger size, and partly because of the inherent irrationality of trying to build a tendency around the politically footloose Mike Klonsky.

Los Angeles: Left Maoism?

The present October League is the result of a fusion in May 1972 of Klonsky's Los Angeles October League and the Georgia Communist League headed by Lynn Wells. Both of these local collectives originated in the RYM-II section of 1969 SDS (see article on the RU in *WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973 for more details). Klonsky, son of a CP bureaucrat, was earlier an anarchist, then head of pre-split SDS and the leading RYM-II spokesman in 1969. Wells was a leader of the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

In the course of his elaborate maneuvers to "Stop PL" at all costs, Klonsky became a leading spokesman for the RYM-II fetish of "white skin privilege." According to this remarkable "theory," first put forward by Ted Allen (leader of the Harpers Ferry Organization), white workers, although not directly part of the camp of the class enemy, as Weatherman argued, are a labor aristocracy. Consequently, they could be won to class consciousness only after somehow metaphysically "renouncing" this privilege. Just how this would be accomplished in practice was never explained, although in his inimitable "dumb-worker" style Klonsky would declare that anyone who didn't recognize the existence of a black nation was a "mother-f---in' racist"! Klonsky solved the problem of how to "give up" this privilege for himself by dropping the theory a few months later, along with his youth-vanguardist "revolutionary youth movement" strategy, in favor of more orthodox Maoism.

Noted in SDS for his Mafia-style organizational techniques, Klonsky reorganized his closest clique partners from SDS days (i.e., his wife, sister-in-law and brother—no wonder the OL defends the family as a "fighting unit for socialism"!) into the Los Angeles RYM-II collective. LA RYM-II attacked the Revolutionary Union from the left by claiming (accurately) that Avakian's "strategic united front against imperialism" was in fact a cover for a two-stage revolution theory essentially identical to the reformist Communist Party's "anti-monopoly coalition":

> "The 'Statement of Principles' [of the RU, in *Red Papers* No. 1] separates imperialism from monopoly capitalism instead of recognizing imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism, as the highest stage of capitalism, with no intermediate rungs between imperialism and socialism. The position, therefore, is simply a carefully veiled resuscitation of the CPUSA(R) anti-monopoly coalition, the "two stage" theory of the American revolution."
>
> —Marv Treiger for the LA RYM-II collective to the RU executive committee, September 1969

Mike Klonsky

Treiger, one of the founders of LA RYM-II, split from Klonsky in late 1969. While the latter formed the OL in the fall of 1970, Treiger joined the California Communist League (CCL), now the Communist League, which was emerging at the time. Treiger and a number of comrades soon split from the CCL over the question of Stalin's crimes and joined with ex-RUers to form the Communist Working Collective. The OL's development generally tailed the CWC until the two collectives set up a joint study group on Lenin-Trotsky-Stalin in early 1971. Klonsky and family dropped the project after the first session, however, where they insisted on studying Maothought as a precondition to studying anything about the history of the international communist movement. If 600 million Chinese think Mao is right, they argued, that's good enough for us! (The CWC went on to break decisively with Maoism and, after consolidating around Trotskyism, to fuse with the Spartacist League.)

Atlanta: Party-Building

The other principal component of the OL is the Georgia Communist League. Among the various remnants of RYM-II, the GCL represented the opposite pole to the syndicalist Sojourner Truth Organization (Chicago) on the question of the party. In a May 1971 document, "The Vanguard Party: Invincible Weapon of the Working Class," the GCL noted:

> "In reviewing the practice of our group and that of other collectives and organizations, we have found that opportunism has manifested itself principally in the form of the reformist theory of spontaneity and its practice of tailism. . . .
>
> "This [tailism] was the predominant view in our group for the first 6 months of existence. During that time we developed the theory and practice of 'gazing with awe upon the posteriors' (quote from Plekanov [sic] printed in *What Is To Be Done?*) of the working class to a high degree. . . .
>
> "Our shop work was considered to be the most important part of our work."

In response to the RU's "strategic united front" and platonic reference to the desirability of a party in the great by and by, the GCL wrote:

> "On the other hand, it is not simply a matter of 'uniting all who can be united' around the *need* to build a party. . . .
>
> "Specifically, a new party must not just be a collection of revolutionaries, but a clearly defined and solidly united organization. This unity must be built around a political program, based on these fundamental principles of scientific socialism applied to the particular situation for revolution in the United States."

OL Turns to the Right

The early militancy of the GCL and the Los Angeles OL was reflected in their fusion statement. Thus while the RU quotes Lin Piao's statement that "the contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world" (*Red Papers* No. 2), the OL tries to make a fundamental distinction between the backward countries and the U.S., claiming that in the latter *"the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction"* ("Statement of Political Unity of the Georgia Communist League [M-L] and the October League [M-L]," May 1972). Consequently, while two-stage revolution was correct for Mao it is wrong for Klonsky. The unity statement goes on to proclaim that *"the creation of a new communist party—one of a Leninist type—has become the principal task for all communists in the U.S."* To the RU's emphasis on "united-front work" the OL counterposed "party-building."

But the right zigzag of Mao internationally and the necessity of competing domestically with the RU for the same turf soon sobered up the OL. Enough of such "ultra-leftism"! Thus while the fusion statement of the OL had stated that the "new communist party" must be built around the slogan "workers of all countries, unite," the OL sharply opposed PL's attempts to have this slogan adopted by the Atlanta Coordinating Committee, a local anti-war coalition. The OL's preference: "People of the World, Unite"! (Against whom—the Martians?!)

On the question of party-building the ex-GCLers are now quite apologetic for their earlier emphasis on the centrality of the struggle for the Leninist vanguard party. At a conference of the NCLC in North Carolina in October 1972, James Skillman of the OL repented: "[we] wanted to build a party, and *thought* we were building a party, but we saw party building in isolation from mass struggles and *in isolation from the united front.* You can't build a party without taking part in the United Front Against Imperialism." So much for the "fundamental" OL-RU differences on this point! This retreat from earlier "leftism" has reached the point that last spring the OL could declare, in an article on "Building a New Communist Party in the U.S.":

> "However, while modern revisionism, or right opportunism is the main ideological enemy which confronts the world revolutionary movement, within the newly-emerging communist movement here, the main danger is 'leftism' and sectarianism."
>
> —*The Call*, April 1973

OL-RU on the Woman Question: Share the Housework

One of the areas where sharp differences between the two major right-Maoist organizations supposedly exist is on the struggle for the emancipation of women. In a recent issue of *The Call* (July 1973) the OL levels the profound accusation that the RU is "down on the women's movement." The article summarizes the discussion among various Maoists at the May 25 *Guardian* forum on the Equal Rights Amendment as showing two attitudes toward the women's movement, one (the OL's) "that it is a progressive movement" and the other (presumably the RU's) "that it is a hopelessly confused middle-class movement which should be opposed."

The Revolutionary Union opposes the ERA as allegedly "part of the attack on the proletariat" while the OL correctly supports it, calling for struggle to preserve gains represented by some of the special protective laws for women workers. However, in typical fashion, the OL takes this stand because "millions of working women and men have

Lynn Wells

THE CALL

to Peaceful Coexistence

THE CALL

Top: Picketers ot support demonstration for 1972 Mead strike. Bottom: Sherman Miller, head of strike committee ond a member of the OL.

struggled [for these gains]"—i.e., because this is a popular position. The Spartacist League, in contrast, supports the ERA as a general democratic right, while calling for struggle to maintain beneficial protective legislation and extend it to cover men (see "ERA and the Struggle for Women's Equality," *WV* No. 24, 6 July 1973).

Despite occasional differences the RU and OL are essentially united in offering nothing but pious pro-worker, men-and-women-must-unite homilies, failing to raise a revolutionary proletarian program which offers a class-struggle road for women's liberation. Neither the RU nor OL carries on the crucial and necessary *political* fight against the divisive bourgeois ideology of feminism, nor do they seek to follow the early Comintern in calling for a communist women's movement. Instead their philistine comments about homosexuals and abortion amount to a capitulation to the present backward consciousness of many women workers:

> "Because of its narrow emphasis on abortion and often on homosexuality, many people have gotten the idea that the movement for women's liberation is just an anti-children, anti-family and anti-social movement."
>
> —*The Call*, March 1973

While correctly criticizing the limitations of the SWP-led WONAAC and the single-issue campaign to legalize abortion, the OL simply calls for a multi-issue reform movement focusing on childcare. And on the question of alliances with bourgeois feminists such as NOW, the OL accuses the RU of "rul[ing] out any alliance between working women and such organizations as NOW, even though it is presently fighting for many democratic women's rights...." The RU replied to OL attacks by mouthing a few words about "tactical alliances" with NOW, while denying it a place in the RU's "united front against imperialism."

In their efforts to show that as good Maoists they would not refuse to ally with the "democratic" NOW, the OL and RU fail to pose the struggle for women's liberation as necessarily tied to the struggle for socialism. The concept of a transitional program of demands which would further the emancipation of women—the call for the socialization of housework (and thereby for an end to centuries of female bondage to the home), for full and equal integration of women into the work force (and into the trade unions)—is totally foreign to Stalinists raised on the reformist methodology of a minimum and maximum program. Thus when the OL and RU speak of "tactical" alliances with NOW, they do not mean a demonstration to legalize abortion but an ongoing political bloc on the basis of "democratic" (i.e., non-socialist) demands.

Like the opportunist ex-Trotskyist SWP, which has already followed NOW down the primrose path to bourgeois feminism, the RU and OL will reserve their platitudes on socialism for obscure passages in their turgid pamphlets on the joys of raising children in China, while in their political practice limiting themselves to what is acceptable to the capitalists. The SL, in contrast, has consistently fought in the women's movement for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all and has opposed such minipopular fronts as WONAAC, which seeks to build a class-collaborationist alliance of ostensibly socialist groups and bourgeois politicians such as Representative Bella Abzug and the Women's Political Caucus.

Perhaps the most disgusting aspect of the RU-OL workerist pandering to the present backward consciousness of the working class is their back-handed defense of the bourgeois family. Instead of showing how socialization of household work and childcare would liberate women from the slavery of unpaid labor and domestic bondage, and why this requires a united proletarian revolution, the RU comes up with the stunning proposal that "we have to encourage sharing household work at home, especially if the wife, as well as the husband, is working outside the home" (*Red Papers* No. 3)! Not even sub-reformist, such proposals are utterly apolitical. If the sole problem lay in convincing men to do housework, the millions of women now chained to home and family could presumably be liberated simply by enrolling husbands and wives in encounter groups!

In line with this defense of the family, the OL relates that in Mao's China one factory worker "told me that *all* her housework was done by her children, two daughters and a son, because both parents worked" ("Women Hold Up Half the Sky," 1972). What a stunning achievement! Of course, the OL neglects to mention that this is (unfortunately) already the situation for many working-class families under capitalism. Marx and Engels, at least, were not so pusillanimous when faced with the widespread bourgeois idealization of the family among backward workers:

> "The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement [prostitution] vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital. "Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty."
>
> —"The Communist Manifesto"

Soul Power or Workers Power?

Lacking any strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S., the OL leaders (like the RU, IS and various ostensibly Trotskyist groups—SWP, WL, RSL, CSL, etc.) have instead tailed after the dominant trends of petty-bourgeois opinion. In 1969 Klonsky and Wells were spouting youth vanguardism and white race-guilt; in 1970, at the height of the feminist movement, Los Angeles RYM-II was calling for exclusionist women's caucuses. With the upsurge of working-class militancy in recent months, the OL has distinguished itself in the labor movement chiefly through its capitulation to black nationalism and reformist out-bureaucrats.

The former is especially evident in the OL's misleadership of the wildcat strike by workers at the Mead Packaging Corp. in Atlanta. Begun during the summer of 1972, the strike lasted for seven weeks and involved several hundred black workers in a struggle against racial discrimination. The strike ended with a victory for the company, which refused to grant the workers' demands and fired some 40 militants. Throughout the struggle, the biggest weakness was the scabbing by white workers, which the OL strike leaders could not combat with their emphasis on "soul power" and alliance with the black-capitalist Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The union (Local 527 of the International Printing Pressmen) had a typical history as little more than a dues-collecting agency. In early August of last year OL members in the plant called together militants to form the Mead Caucus of Rank and File Workers whose demands centered on "unfair treatment and oppression of the black workers." When management refused to meet the demands, a wildcat strike was proclaimed only 12 days after the caucus was formed. This in itself was a stupid, adventuristic action, for a successful strike requires a recognized, capable leadership and strong organization of the ranks.

As the strike continued it was seen by white workers as solely a "black affair." Even the OL recognized that "only a small minority of the white workers [have] taken part in the strike while most have scabbed" (*The Call*, November 1972). In an interview with OL member Sherman Miller who headed the caucus, it is admitted that lack of work among white employees was partially responsible for the sharp racial division, as was the widespread opinion that the caucus was trying to break the union and hesitancy of whites to support special demands around discrimination against blacks. The OL makes a show of recognizing these errors, calling for black-white unity, stating that it is not anti-union, etc. But it ignores two of the principal reasons for the racial divisions which ultimately scuttled the strike.

In the first place, the OL did not fight black nationalism, instead trying to combine "soul power" with "workers power." Despite the undoubted justice of the complaints against racial discrimination, a strike built around the slogan of soul power will not enlist the support of most white workers. Admittedly it is difficult to overcome centuries of racism, but it is for this reason that it is crucial to place the struggle against racial discrimination in the framework of a class-struggle program which defends the interests of the entire working class. Instead of tailing after the greater militancy of the black workers, the OL should have fought to win the most advanced black workers to such a proletarian program as the minimum condition for a successful strike.

Secondly, the OL tried to implement its new enthusiasm for the "anti-imperialist united front" by appealing to and working closely with the SCLC. Black-power demagogue Hosea Williams was extremely effective in channeling the struggle into racial lines, as well as trying "to influence the workers towards reformism and relying on a few leaders instead of their own initiative. [The SCLC has] also fostered pacifism and a totally negative, one-sided attitude toward the whole union" (*The Call*, October 1972). Despite this indictment the OL still insists that "SCLC's support has been helpful"—yet the subsequent effective dispossession of the OL from leadership of the strike toward its conclusion by the SCLC with its reformist-nationalist demagogy was a main factor in the defeat that ensued! Again the OL displays the wisdom of hindsight: "The workers are learning that to insure success they must win allies in the community but keep their own independence and insure that control of the struggle rests in their hands." Not surprisingly, these battle-tested leaders conclude that "the strike was a victory in several ways"—mainly because 700 workers stuck it out for seven weeks before returning to work. With "victories" like this, who needs defeats?

Possibly as a result of sobering up after this fiasco, the OL has since flipflopped to a policy of wholeheartedly endorsing every left-talking bureaucrat who promises to win a few more cents an hour while mouthing empty phrases about "democracy." Thus *The Call* recently criticized the RU sharply for giving Arnold Miller of the Miners for Democracy only "critical support" in last December's UMW elections! The fact that Miller and the MFD were relying on the courts and Labor Department officials to win the election was naturally not mentioned. Even more directly this policy was seen in the October League's enthusiastic support, along with the RU, for the opportunist Brotherhood Caucus at the Fremont, California GM plant. If there is any difference between the OL's uncritical support and the RU's "critical" support for fake militants, this can be only in the former's closer ties to the out-bureaucrats who dominate the caucus. However, when their erstwhile allies decide to turn on these embarrassing "radical" cheerleaders, both the OL and RU will be given an object lesson in the price of capitulation to reformism.

Faced with the increasing combativeness of the U.S. working class, the OL and RU appear to be reacting in different directions. Thus the former pretenders to "left-Maoism" of the OL are trying to get as close to the bu-

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More War Ahead!

Brezhnev's messages—so ambiguous, in fact, that not even the Administration's usual apologists could come up with "leaked" accounts of the nature of the supposed Russian threats.

Nor was the direct "hot line" connection between the White House and the Kremlin used in the alleged "worst crisis since the 1962 Cuban missile showdown." That the Soviet government had no intention of unilateral military intervention in the Near East was clearly demonstrated when, on the same day as the U.S. alert, it voted for the UN resolution barring inclusion of contingents from the major powers in the forces policing the ceasefire. Even hard line cold warriors are now openly nervous about Nixon's finger on the button which could set off nuclear world war.

Immediately after Brezhnev's visit to the U.S. last June, when U.S.-Soviet relations could not have appeared rosier, a *Workers Vanguard* (6 July) headline proclaimed "U.S./USSR Détente Doomed." A scant four months later, the American government orders a world-wide military alert to "forestall Russian aggression." But even before the latest Arab-Israel war the détente had been heavily eroded, in part because a section of the American ruling class was trying to strengthen Israel by encouraging massive emigration of Russian Jews, in part due to evidence of significant advances in Russian military technology (the Soviet MIRV tests). With the Arab-Israel war, the Meany-Lovestone leadership of the AFL/CIO did its bit to revive the Cold War by threatening a maritime boycott of Russian trade, attempting to blackmail the Soviet government into ceasing arms shipments to the Arabs. (In the entire trade-union movement, only the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union sought to organize workers to oppose the anti-Soviet boycott [see *WV* No. 31, 26 October].) And recently the Nixon administration has gone back on its pledge to support lower tariffs on imports from the USSR, making tariff cuts conditional on Brezhnev's "behaving himself" in the Near East.

While conditioned by the particular irrationality and vulnerability of the Nixon administration (which are by no means unrelated to capitalist society), the events of October 24 reveal the thin edge preventing the American bourgeoisie from plunging humanity into a nuclear inferno. The Kremlin bureaucracy, however, has repeatedly shown its inability to understand this and the basic class contradictions in the world today. Its vain hopes to continue the wartime alliance of the U.S., USSR, Britain, France and China led to the American Communist Party's call for a permanent no-strike pledge after World War II; the French and Italian CPs' participation in bourgeois popular-front governments, their disarming of the anti-Nazi partisans and initial failure to oppose the Marshall Plan; Stalin's agreement at Yalta to cede Greece to the British; and his opposition to the drive to power by Tito's Yugoslav partisans and the Chinese guerrillas led by Mao. In the Near East the Russian leaders have for years acquiesced in the suppression of the local Communist parties by their Egyptian, Iraqi and Syrian allies, with the excuse of a supposed anti-imperialist alliance with the nationalist bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries. More recently, Brezhnev's illusions in détente have led the Russian government to openly support Nixon even while the American CP was calling for his impeachment.

The parasitic bureaucrats in the Kremlin are constantly looking for alliances with the "peace-loving" bourgeoisie, even at the risk of threatening the basic achievements of the October Revolution. This is a logical consequence of their role as the transmitters of the pressure of imperialism and of their Stalinist ideology of class collaboration. The Chinese Stalinists are, of course, no better, although they have conflicting national interests. Thus Chou En-lai sees only "great-power ambitions" dividing the USSR and the U.S. and goes so far in a bid for a U.S.-Chinese alliance as to openly endorse NATO as a weapon against "Soviet social imperialism" (*New York Times*, 30 October). Thus both Russian and Chinese bureaucracies have backed Nixon just as Moscow backed Johnson before him, as a supposed force for peace. The October 24 U.S. world-wide military alert unmasks the Moscow-Peking dreams of peaceful coexistence as the dangerous—and deadly—illusions they are.

The fundamental hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Russian degenerated workers state tends to drive them into military conflict, even in situations where the leaders of the two nations want to avoid such confrontations. For that reason, it is necessary for revolutionary socialists faced with the local wars, such as the present Arab-Israeli conflict, to warn the working masses of the danger of World War III and the need to defend the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Brezhnev regime's unashamed support for bourgeois and feudal Arab nationalism and its lack of any sense of proletarian internationalism are major obstacles to mobilizing the American working class in defense of the Soviet Union should there be a direct clash with the U.S. in the Near East.

NATO—or the U.S.-Portuguese Alliance

Not the least important result of the fourth Arab-Israel war is that it demonstrated and reinforced the weakening of American world power through *inter-imperialist* rivalry. U.S. imperialism expected and is temporarily reconciled to the pro-Arab neutrality of France and Britain; it was unsettled by the rigid neutrality of its most important and loyal ally, West Germany; and it was humiliated by the presumptuous neutrality of the two-bit generalissimos running Spain, Greece and Turkey. Twenty-five years after the founding of NATO, the U.S.' only dependable European ally in this conflict of world importance is that great sixteenth-century imperial power, Portugal.

The objectively pro-Arab neutrality of the European bourgeoisies reflects both oil diplomacy and more fundamental imperialist conflict. In the long run, the attempts of the militarily, socially and politically weak—but oil-rich—sheikhdoms at economic blackmail of the capitalist powers will be met with force, probably in the form of the Iranian army. However, given the present balance of forces, the European powers are prepared to conciliate Arab nationalism. From the bourgeois standpoint there is no reason why West Europe should freeze this winter because Dayan wants to control ten more miles of Sinai desert.

The pro-Arab policies of Britain and France reflect far more than a means of securing fuel supplies for the next few months. The Near East has been the only major colonial area where these old imperialist powers seriously competed with the U.S. in the post-war period. After the fiasco of their 1956 Suez invasion, France and Britain sought to take advantage of the political vacuum produced by the U.S.' pro-Israel policy on the one hand and the reluctance of the Arab bourgeois nationalists (not to mention the feudal reactionaries like Faisal) to excessive dependence on the Soviet Union. In presenting the Arab regimes with a third option between accepting the Zionist state and a full-blown alliance with the Soviets, Britain and France have sought a sphere of influence in the Near East by essentially diplomatic methods. However, the combination of a lengthy Arab-Israeli war and a weakened U.S. imperialism could well transform the British and French diplomatic intervention into direct military involvement.

The U.S. Protects and Polices Israel

Sadat's appeal for U.S. forces to police Israel should have convinced even political idiots (even the Socialist Labour League's Gerry Healy and the Workers League's Tim Wohlforth, the only people in the world who believe the Arabs were victorious in this war) that Israel is something other than an American base in the Near East. That Israel is today entirely dependent on the U.S. for heavy military hardware is not open to question. As Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said in the Knesset last week, "anyone advocating we run the war in a state of rupture with the United States is advocating we can't possibly win.... I'm not sure the soldiers know it but the shells they are firing today were not in their possession a week ago" (*New York Times*, 31 October). But while Israel is now acting as a client state of the U.S., in reality, the alliance between the American ruling class and Zionism is complex and breakable.

The U.S. first supported Israel in the late 1940's as a counter to the British client states of Abdullah's Transjordan and Farouk's Egypt. With the rise of Ba'athism and Nasserism in the 1950's the U.S. looked to Israel as a military ally against a possible alliance between Arab nationalism and the Soviet Union. In the most general sense U.S. support for Zionism is part of the standard imperialist policy of Balkanizing ex-colonial areas, inflaming local nationalisms in order to divert mass struggles away from proletarian socialism.

However, with the passage of time Israel has become a handicap to the objective interests of U.S. imperialism. While the Zionist-Arab conflict has certainly arrested revolutionary class struggle in that area, the state of Israel has also served as a pole for Arab unity and Soviet diplomatic gains. Israel's value as the gendarme of the Near East is effectively offset by the profound hatred it inspires among the Arab masses. The U.S. is clearly grooming Shah Reza Pahlevi's Iran as the cop of the oil fields. And as Kissinger rightly said, the U.S. ruling class really has no desire to pull the nuclear trigger simply because Dayan and his generals want five more miles on the Golan Heights. For these reasons, in 1967 and even more so in the present war, the U.S. has acted as Israel's military ally while simultaneously curbing the dangerously inflated ambitions of the Zionist regime. This was the essence of the 1970 U.S.-proposed and Soviet-backed Rogers Plan, calling on Israel to return to the pre-1967 borders. The Arab regimes are well aware of this dual role of the U.S. in regard to Israel, hence their calls for U.S. intervention in the current battle.

The strategic interest of U.S. imperialism in the state of Israel is at once powerfully reinforced and distorted by the significant Jewish population in the U.S., which possesses a certain weight in the bourgeoisie proper and a disproportionate influence in the cultural establishment. The widespread pro-Zionist sentiment of American and European Jews in part reflects an insecurity stemming from their emplacement in a historically hostile gentile society, an insecurity greatly strengthened by the Nazi experience. Thus the Zionism of non-Israeli, overwhelming petty-bourgeois Jews is in part the chauvinism of the oppressed, albeit of a vicarious and projective sort.

The vocality and visibility of the American Zionist lobby should not blind one to the fact that the American ruling class is not composed of Jewish nationalists. In fact, the hysterical desperation of American Zionists arises from an awareness that the pro-Israel policies of the U.S. government are contingent, not fundamental. Even more so than their American supporters, Meir and Dayan understand the limited and brittle nature of U.S. imperialism's commitment to Israeli nationalism. Thus when some American Zionists wished to attack Nixon for his insufficiently pro-Israel stance, the Meir government instructed them not to risk antagonizing the president:

> "Until now, according to the sources, the Israeli Embassy has made a special effort to deter Americans from lobbying the Nixon administration. The fear is that public pressure would displease the President and Mr. Kissinger.... American businessmen called Israeli officials in Jerusalem to ask whether they should place calls to senatorial friends. According to the two [sources] they were told to be quiet and raise money."
>
> —*New York Times*, 1 November

Dayan is certainly aware of the fact that one of Israel's few "Third-World" supporters, Chiang Kai-shek, could deliver a fine lecture on the fate of U.S. client states, like Taiwan, which become a serious hindrance to the strategic interests of American imperialism!

WV PHOTO

SL/RCY demonstrate in Boston against U.S. aid to Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

Return to the 1949 Truce Lines

As communists, in both the 1967 and present wars we called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides—the Hebrew and Arab peoples have nothing to gain from these wars! We demand that the Israelis give up the fruits of their armed conquests and return to the 1949 truce lines. But the demand that the Israelis unilaterally yield the territory conquered in the 1967 war *in no way justifies* the Arab side in the present war.

Unlike 1967, when the Arab regimes openly boasted about destroying the Zionist state, in the present war they proclaimed the more modest war aims of only recapturing their "lost" territories. However, in most wars between bourgeois states one side claims it is seeking "only" to reverse the defeat it suffered in the previous war. For revolutionary socialists, the claims of Egypt and Syria that they are fighting to recover conquered territory no more

sanctify their war effort than the French claim to have been fighting for Alsace-Lorraine in World War I or Hitler's claim in World War II that he "only" wanted to undo the Versailles Treaty.

The Arab states' demand that Israel return *their* territory rings particularly hollow since the population occupying that territory (in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank) is composed overwhelmingly of Palestinians, who have suffered national oppression for years at the hands of these same Arab regimes. Thus in the 1948 war and again in 1967 their war aims were not to liberate but to carve up among themselves the former Palestine. A precondition for the present war was the physical destruction by these regimes of the Palestinian resistance movement in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Not a few of the Palestinian commandos fighting in this war were released from Arab jails.

Currently the Egyptians and Syrians do not even make a pretense of fighting for the Palestinians' right of national self-determination and instead simply call for the return to the 1967 boundaries. (In other words the Gaza refugee camps would be administered by Egypt rather than Israel.) Jordan, on the other hand, shows no eagerness to recapture the West Bank, since Palestinians already constitute a majority of its population and the addition of several hundred thousand more would directly threaten the viability of the Hashemite monarchy. The military defeat of Israel, today as in 1967, would mean for the Palestinian people nothing but the replacement of one national oppressor by another.

And that is the central reason why the Arab side is not supportable. The only genuine national liberation struggle against Israel, one that revolutionary socialists can support, would be an uprising of the Palestinian masses themselves. However, such an uprising could hardly succeed unless linked to an internationalist movement among workers in the neighboring territories. A victory by the existing Arab regimes would mean the forcible subordination of the Hebrew people to the Arab majority—i.e., simply the reverse of the present unjust situation. More than anywhere else in the world today, the struggle between Arab and Hebrew nationalisms demonstrates the impossibility of achieving genuine national emancipation on a truly democratic basis except by united proletarian revolution.

For a Bi-National Palestinian Workers State! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The total domination of Hebrew and Arab nationalisms in the Near East over the past 25 years has effectively suppressed revolutionary proletarian struggle in that area. (Significantly, the only country in the area which experienced revolutionary working-class struggle has been Iraq, which is not involved in direct military confrontation with Israel.) Only a proletarian socialist revolution can produce a genuinely democratic solution to the national conflict in the Near East—a bi-national Palestinian workers state, with full guarantees of the rights of both Hebrew and Arab peoples, as part of a socialist federation of the Near East. While this is at all times our fundamental program, we must also oppose genocide or national oppression on either side. Thus it is obligatory for socialists to uphold the right of both Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking population to self-determination—that is, to secede and form their own separate states—no matter how difficult the resulting territorial division.

Only the working class—Arab and Hebrew alike—can overcome the endless cycle of war, oppression and revenge through united class struggle and the creation of the proletarian vanguard, a unified multi-national Trotskyist party whose program would uniquely express the most general and historic interests of the working class. ■

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Palestinian Resistance

looks to the diplomatic agility of his Moslem brothers in Cairo and Amman to solve the Palestinian problem.

The PFLP, on the other hand, started up its campaign of terrorist spectaculars: hijacking airplanes and holding the passengers as ransom for PFLP prisoners, publicity and of course cash, to supplement its share of Saudi Arabian, Kuwaiti and Lybian oil royalties. But the Lydda airport massacre, where three Japanese sympathizers of the PFLP indiscriminately machine-gunned airline passengers, killing 26 and wounding 72, demonstrated that PFLP terrorism has another objective: rekindling the Arab-Israeli war. In such a confrontation, the PFLP believes, either Israel will be destroyed or the Arab regimes will be discredited and the authority of the resistance groups enhanced, as was the case following the June 1967 defeat.

All the resistance groups, including the DPFLP, write off the Israeli working class as a force for revolutionary change in this period. But groups like the PFLP and "Black September" actually desire to shore up Zionist chauvinism and drive the Israeli working class straight into the arms of right-wing Zionists like Menachem Begin and his Herut Party. Begin and Habash represent the most extreme expressions of their respective nationalisms, most eager to embrace the genocidal conclusions which follow from nationalist ideology. The extreme Arab nationalist believes that all Israelis must be Zionists, just as ultra-Zionists believed that all non-Jewish Germans had to be Nazis. By whipping up Zionist chauvinism within the Israeli working class and reinforcing popular support within Israel for the expansionist and revanchist policies of the Zionist government, PFLP adventurism renders a valuable service to the Israeli rulers.

The DPFLP

The DPFLP properly condemns those "forces whose programs and practices are influenced by petty-bourgeois adventurism," even though they espoused Marxist, socialist and progressive slogans. But the DPFLP can offer no alternative to Fatah's capitulation to the butchers of the resistance movement or to PFLP and "Black September" adventurism. The DPFLP claims to recognize the limitations of the resistance movement "with a subjective structure that contained all the class and ideological contradictions present among our people." But its own call for a "patriotic" or "national united front" can only be a call for a similar class-collaborationist formation which is either subordinated to the "patriotic" bourgeoisie (who, as Hawatmeh himself pointed out in the same speech in Iraq, are themselves tied to imperialism like "brokers") or else destined to tear itself apart in its first confrontation with the reality of the class struggle.

Unlike the PFLP and Fatah, the DPFLP knows better than to rely on the Arab regimes to fight its battles. But it is unable to recognize the Israeli working class as a potential ally in the struggle for Palestinian self-determination through socialist revolution, as the "Trojan horse" within the Israeli state. The DPFLP is incapable of seeing that if the Zionist state is to be smashed—not in a reactionary and genocidal fashion by some revanchist Bonapartist Arab regime, but as a step toward the socialist federation of the Near East—then the burden necessarily falls to the working people of Israel under the leadership of the Arab-Hebrew vanguard party. The DPFLP's failure to recognize this elementary necessity is as debilitating as the "sectionalism" of Fatah which could not see the need for Palestinian-Jordanian class unity.

The guerrilla groups, from Begin's Zionist Irgun (which carried out the infamous Deir Yassin massacre of Arab villagers in the 1948 war) to the Palestinian nationalist "Black September" (responsible for last year's indefensible terrorist kidnapping of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics), represent bonapartism out of power. Other groups like the Syrian Sa'ika or Iraq's "Arab Liberation Front" are simply the armed extension of the Ba'athist regimes—i.e., bonapartism in power. No matter how spartan the guerrilla experience, no matter how self-sacrificing the individual cadres, the guerrillas in power would constitute a conservative privileged elite whose "ambition of and admiration for bourgeois life is endless."

Guerrillaism and Socialist Revolution

Guerrillaism is no strategy for socialist revolution, as the Guevarists and Maoists would have us believe. The experience of the colonial revolutions

SVEN SIMON

Yasir Arafat, head of Fatah. After the 1970 massacre of Palestinian resistance fighters by Jordan's King Hussein, Arafat signed Cairo Agreement shutting down Fatah guerrilla operations, preferring instead to hold onto his subsidies from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other reactionary Arab regimes.

attests to the fact that while the guerrillas in power may, in exceptional circumstances, be forced to expropriate the bourgeoisie and replace capitalist with working-class property relations (although with considerable reluctance both in China and Cuba), the economic expropriation of the capitalist class takes place within the context of the political expropriation of the working class. The trade unions are stripped of their independence and subordinated to the bonapartist bureaucracy and, likewise, the workers parties are either merged with the state (as was the case with the Cuban Stalinists) or suppressed (the Cuban, Chinese and Vietnamese Trotskyists). Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution—confirmed positively by the Russian Revolution and negatively since in scores of cases from China to Bolivia—demonstrates that the democratic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be consummated only when the revolutionary proletariat, supported by the peasantry, seizes state power for its own, socialist, aims. The just and democratic solution of the Palestinian question, a bi-national Hebrew and Arab state, entails the victory of the proletarian revolution in the Near East led by a multi-national vanguard party.

Most of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations today have in fact abandoned the proletarian internationalist program of the Fourth International. Instead they chase after various petty-bourgeois nationalists in the name of a mythical "Arab Revolution." They all have their favorites, of course. Thus the U.S. Socialist Workers Party praises the Fatah to the skies, Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League in England for many years chased after the PFLP and the French Ligue Communiste showered its favors on the DPFLP.

The DPFLP, however, has seen through this vicarious Arab nationalism and, in a crude way, captured the essence of the Pabloist liquidationism of these fake Trotskyists: abandoning the struggle for the Fourth International and its program of working-class independence and instead acting as cheerleaders and left pressure groups for various petty-bourgeois forces. Responding to the Ligue's enthusiastic hosannahs, the DPFLP wrote: "These movements find no justification for their existence, but to quickly adopt the developing revolutionary movements in different regions of the world, and project them as if they were new Trotskyist currents" (*Palestine Resistance Bulletin*, June 1971). Instead of challenging the nationalism, guerrillaism and Maoist two-stage revolution theories of the DPFLP and other Palestinian left-nationalists, the Pabloists simply aid their present confusion by uncritically tailing after them.

For a Bi-National Palestinian Workers State!

The democratic solution to the Palestinian question begins with the recognition that there exist two nations with equal rights to the same land: both the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking population of present-day Israel have nowhere else to go. Most of the resistance movement, including the DPFLP and Fatah, recognizes that there are two nations which must share the same land; what they deny is that both nations have equal rights. Socialists must steadfastly put forward the need for a bi-national workers state in Palestine as a part of a socialist federation of the Near East. But this cannot be achieved by *forcing* a single state on peoples divided by decades of communal strife and national conflict. It must be freely chosen. To guarantee this, proletarian internationalists must recognize the right of self-determination both for Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking population, their right to form separate states.

Of course we should argue that the decision to form such a separate state would be foolish, impracticable, even reactionary. Of course we demand that any such state must be democratic, not semi-theocratic as is present-day Israel. Of course such a state would occupy far less territory than Israel currently does. But nonetheless, to deny the Hebrew nation the right to say no to a merger of peoples is not a democratic solution. To shove a bi-national solution down the throats of the Jewish workers in Israel is to push them into the arms of the Dayans, the Meirs and even the Begins.

But when equal rights are conceded, the burden of proof of goodwill rests with the Israeli worker, for it is the Israelis who have acquiesced to the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs by the Israeli bourgeoisie. The Palestinian Arabs, driven off their land and into refugee camps to receive their seven cents a day in UN rations or to be used as coolie labor in Israeli industries, are the oppressed nation. Unlike the guilt-ridden U.S. New Left, we are not moralists who would punish the Israeli worker for the sins of history by depriving him of his national rights. But all the same the Israeli worker must demonstrate to his oppressed class brothers that he will fight his government politically—that he will fight its colonialism, its racism, its clericalism, its expansionism. Such a fight requires the construction of a multi-national vanguard party, which can be built only through the struggle to assimilate the theory of the permanent revolution, and on that theoretical and programmatic basis to regroup the best militants from organizations like the DPFLP. ■

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...Women's Conference

sectarianism.

The LSA traitor to Trotskyism was followed by Eileen Gregory, who criticized the preceding plenary session for having followed *Roberts' Rules of Order*—since Roberts was a man—and who declared that women need their own Marx and their own Lenin.

When during her presentation a two-year-old boy wandered into the auditorium, she denounced him from the podium in obscene language and, although even the feminists in the audience protested that he was only a baby, insisted that it was necessary for women to recognize their enemies—at any age! The "enemy" was quickly carried out of the room.

The next speaker was Marlene Dixon, who was angry. She confessed that she had come to the conference with the intention of being "Miss Cool," but that she had found it impossible to maintain her equanimity in the face of the atrocious positions being put forward. She then launched into a clear and convincing delineation of the essential differences between socialism and feminism and the necessity of breaking with feminism and drawing a class line. It was evident from her remarks that she was in agreement with the Spartacist League on many points, although some differences were expressed as well. The most notable of these was her contention that this is a transitional period in which women must form autonomous organizations. She also failed to raise the concept of transitional demands and a transitional program.

The case for autonomous women's organizations was also argued by the representative of the RMG on the basis that such organizations would bring pressure to bear on the workers movement. The RMG, which demonstrated its failure to break from its tailist LSA heritage by refusing to raise the question of male exclusionism, criticized the Spartacist League for its "sectarian tone" and charged that the SL was trying to substitute the vanguard party for the women's movement.

Consistent Feminism Leads to Anti-Communism

D.L. Reissner, speaking for the Spartacist League, discussed the historical roots of the conflict between feminism and socialism and attacked both "radical feminism," which seeks a synthesis of these mutual exclusives, and ostensibly revolutionary organizations such as the LSA and SWP which understand the distinction perfectly well, but have nevertheless latched onto the feminist movement in an opportunist attempt to exploit it politically.

These remarks gave rise to a great outpouring of declarations of sincerity on the part of the LSA women who indignantly insisted that they really and truly were both socialists and feminists. Reissner replied that her charge of cynical opportunism had rested on the assumption that the LSA was actually familiar with the Marxism, Leninism and Trotskyism it claims to espouse, among whose fundamentals is implacable opposition to male exclusion, class collaboration and feminism. However if the LSA women were in fact sincere in their adherence to these anti-Marxist positions, then perhaps they were not even cynical opportunists, but merely incredibly ignorant reformists, totally divorced from their ostensible political heritage.

Reissner also pointed out that the absurd SWP contention that "the most consistent feminist must be a socialist" has been very clearly exposed in the much-discussed writings of Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James. These women are nothing if not consistent feminists and their consistent feminism has led them not to socialism, but straight to the most blatant and vicious anti-communism and anti-trade unionism in recent feminist literature.

In discussing the Bolshevik approach to work among women, Reissner quoted a Bolshevik speaker who on International Women's Day, 1914, had said that the women's movement must not bring about any split in the proletarian front, but must rather reinforce it: "If the workers movement is a mighty flowing river, the women's movement is a tributary stream increasing and enriching it with new forces." For many of the hard-core feminists in the audience who had been restive throughout the Spartacist presentation, this quote was absolutely the final, unendurable blow. They shouted and hissed and about 25 of them stomped angrily out of the hall. As they left, Reissner observed that the SL's Bolshevik practice of presenting itself as a left pole of attraction had as its object the winning of the most serious militants for revolutionary struggle and the repulsion of unserious and counterrevolutionary elements. The abrupt departure of the man-haters was in fact an indication of the essentially class-counterposed elements subsumed under "sisterhood."

Class-Struggle Strategy for Women's Liberation

In response to the various arguments which had been offered in support of autonomous women's organizations, Reissner advanced the position of the Bolshevik party and the Third Congress of the Communist International that the interests of women workers are the interests of the working class as a whole. Marxists have always held that the working class cannot emancipate itself without liberating all oppressed sections of society. What was needed for a socialist revolution, which alone could make possible the emancipation of women was not a collection of "vanguards" with distinct and often counterposed interests, but a unified vanguard party, tested in struggle and solidly rooted in the working class as a whole. Such a party must embody and transmit a consciousness which has transcended women's consciousness (and black consciousness, gay consciousness, etc.) and has achieved *class* consciousness. She also pointed out, however, that while condemning autonomous women's organizations, the Third Congress of the Communist International did insist on special commissions for work among women within all communist parties in every country and on every level.

Reissner concluded her remarks with the slogan, "Women's liberation through international proletarian revolution!" She also put forward the SL's four-point resolution demanding: 1) Defend Dr. Morgentaler! 2) Break with single-issuism; for a class line, not a sex line in the women's movement! 3) End male exclusionism! 4) Free quality health care for all, including free abortion on demand, free distribution of contraceptives, no forced sterilization!

This motion was defeated with the LSA opposing it and the RMG abstaining on the vote. Many friends of the RMG who were present, however, supported the motion.

In the general discussion which followed the presentations the SL was roundly condemned for its "sectarianism" by the LSA and the RMG, both of which lamented the departure of the anti-communist, man-hating feminists. The RMG explained that its concern for the departed "sisters" was based on the fact that an opportunity to recruit these feminists to socialism had been lost. In contrast to these hypocritical lamentations, the SL delegates seized this excellent opportunity to politically confront the remaining women (who were ostensibly socialists and the most advanced women at the conference), engaging them in sharp and vigorous floor debates.

Socialism or Barbarism

The LSA position of peaceful coexistence between feminism and socialism was stated most graphically by a woman who said that if the feminists proved to be correct they would earn the right to gloat over the socialists—and vice-versa—but in the meantime feminists and socialists should collaborate around their many areas of agreement.

It was to this widespread sentiment that Comrade Reissner addressed her summary. She pointed out that the questions under discussion were of utmost seriousness not only for women, but for the future of humanity as well. The real alternative, she said, did not lie in the struggle between socialism and feminism, but, as Trotsky correctly stated, between socialism and barbarism. And should the socialists lose this struggle, the consequence would not be a feminist victory; the consequence would be the annihilation of millions through fascism and nuclear war! If you succeed in sowing illusions and misleading women as to where their real interests lie and who their real enemy is, she warned, then the responsibility for the subsequent working-class defeats and the delay in the genuine emancipation of women will be yours. The Spartacist League does not intend to share that responsibility.

These sentiments were closely echoed in the summary of Marlene Dixon who, in addressing herself to the women of the LSA, remarked that 40,000 workers presently lie dead in Chile and that it was incumbent upon the LSA comrades to read their own press and rethink their political positions in order to understand the responsibility which they bear for these deaths. (The LSA-supported United Secretariat's Chilean affiliate failed to oppose Allende's popular-front government.) Dixon's solidarization with the SL's position on Chile also implied a counterposition to the line of the RMG, which likewise supports the USec.

Turning to the non-aligned women, Dixon defined herself as the "unhappiest Marxist-Leninist in North America," because she was a Marxist-Leninist without a party. She stressed the absolute necessity of constructing a revolutionary vanguard party and the responsibility of serious women militants to struggle for socialism and women's liberation as part of such a party. She urged the audience to read the press of the various ostensibly revolutionary organizations and to begin the arduous but necessary process of political education preparatory to making a decisive revolutionary commitment.

The remaining speakers (with the exception of the woman from "A Woman's Place," who disappeared and the woman from the Mayor's Task Force, who declined to speak) made a few final, ineffective noises—the LSA speaker whined that much of what had transpired "had no place at a woman's conference"—but with the feminists and most of the non-aligned women gone and the reformists thoroughly exposed, the conference was unmistakably over and the battle-lines clearly drawn: Either socialist women will take their place in the ranks of those fighting for international proletarian revolution and for the rebirth of the Fourth International, or they will contribute directly and indirectly to the forces of capitalist reaction. ■

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Fremont UAW

pression that the dispute was an irrelevant one between two "outside" groups who should come to an agreement between themselves. Mays linked the question to the goon attacks in Detroit and elsewhere by saying that such "outside groups" around the country had been attempting to "interfere" in the union during the contract period. When the discussion revealed that members of the union had been involved in the incident Mays' attempt to duck the issue collapsed and he was ultimately pressured into reluctant support of the motion.

But Mays' basic position remains the same as Woodcock's. It was the bureaucratic leaders of the labor movement, with Reuther in the lead, who permitted working conditions in the plants to deteriorate while repeatedly selling out the members' interests at the bargaining table. They prepared for these betrayals by driving "reds" and militants out of the unions during the purges of the McCarthy period. Today the same bureaucracy allows the bosses to get away with firing "troublemakers," i.e., reds, militants, indeed virtually anyone who criticizes the cozy collaboration between the union tops and the bosses.

The trade-union bureaucracy, from Chavez, Mays and Woodcock to Meany, maintains that the workers are better off with the present system and should simply rely on the bureaucrats to improve things a bit at contract time. But if this were true, why is the bureaucracy so concerned to prevent the membership from reading socialist newspapers, and why does it find it necessary to blame "outsiders" for the militant actions of the union membership? Could it be that the rigid, archaic bureaucracy is beginning to worry about losing its stranglehold on the labor movement, which has enabled Nixon to drive down real wages through galloping inflation without a single serious challenge from the unions?

Any political organization, regardless of its members' status as being "in" or "out" of the union, which stands on the side of the workers against the bosses is a legitimate part of the labor movement. Only through free and informed discussion of all alternatives, with participation by all tendencies, can the workers arrive at a clear understanding of their real interests as a class. It is because these interests lie in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism that the reformist bureaucracy, fully committed to the maintenance of the capitalist system of which it is a part, persecutes reds and strangles workers democracy.

The Spartacist League has consistently defended the principle of workers democracy for all legitimate tendencies within the labor movement because it knows that only in such an environment will Marxist clarity triumph not only over the already-discredited procapitalist Woodcock/Meany bureaucracy but also over all those reformist fake lefts whose capitulation to the labor movements' present misleaders drives them to employ the methods of Stalinism—exclusionism and violence—in self-defeating attempts at the physical elimination of opponents against whose criticism their own political bankruptcy renders them helpless. ■

Women and Communism

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- Nov. 12 Marxist Analysis of the Family
- Nov. 26 Bolshevik Work Among Women
- Dec. 10 Why Stalinism Betrayed the Gains of the Revolution
- Jan. 7 The Trotskyist Transitional Program
- Jan. 14 The Vanguard Party

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OCTOBER LEAGUE

reaucracy as possible, while the RU is making a mini-left turn by suddenly discovering the danger of "uncritically" supporting out-bureaucrats. RU leader Bob Avakian could thus remark in a recent speech:

> "We've also seen a number of caucuses that have developed around the spontaneous struggle of the workers, but the leaders of these things often have degenerated into opportunism—not because they started off dishonest, but because they don't have a broader political perspective.
> "And we have to beware of what we in the Revolutionary Union call the 'Triple O's' in the unions—that is, the 'Opportunists Out of Office.' These people within the unions who are looking for a way to get into union positions, and they feel that rank and file militancy is the way to ride their way in. . . ."
> —*Revolution*, September 1973

That, of course, is a perfect description of the Brotherhood Caucus leadership. And no one can deny that they received a little help from their Maoist friends in riding into office on a wave of rank-and-file militancy! The RU may, like the OL after the Mead strike defeat, some day make a pretense of "self-criticism" for supporting the Brotherhood. But the fact remains that at the crucial point these Stalinist policies led the RU to capitulate to the same "Triple-O's" denounced in the abstract months later in their press.

Right-Maoist Fusion?

Earlier this year there were rumors of impending fusion of the RU and OL; however, during the summer the two right-Maoist organizations appeared to be moving apart for reasons that have not been explained. As a principled-sounding cover for this petty maneuvering the RU is now claiming that its strategy of building the united front (in reality a strategic popular front-from-below) is "diametrically opposed to the [OL] line that says that the central task is party building. . ." (*Revolution*, September 1973). As we have shown above, this sharp distinction is a hoax, since the OL has for all practical purposes adopted the same line as the more consistent RU in tailing after reformist labor bureaucrats, black nationalists and just about any other popular movements or leaders that present themselves.

Rather than engaging in obscure semi-polemical shadow-boxing over issues whose only purpose is to mask the basic cliquist appetites dividing the equally cynical, equally reformist RU and OL leaderships, those struggling to crystallize a revolutionary vanguard party must grasp the fact that the U.S. Maoists' class collaboration, like their repeated capitulation to the reformists, is simply the expression of their Stalinist policies. A real understanding of such betrayals as the support to the Brotherhood Caucus at Fremont GM or the capitulation to the SCLC in the Mead strike can be gained only by understanding the origin of the far more costly capitulation by the Indonesian Maoist CP to Sukarno, which prepared the way for the massacre of 500,000 Communists in 1965. The Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country" denies the need for a revolutionary international, for policies of intransigent proletarian internationalism to spread socialist revolution throughout the world. Instead the agents of the Peking bureaucracy must follow a strategy of peaceful coexistence, fundamentally identical to that of the apologists of the Kremlin, not simply in the case of the tinpot despots of Ceylon, Indonesia or Pakistan, but even toward the arch-imperialist U.S. bourgeoisie.

From the failure to fight feminism by advancing any but the most minimal reform demands in the struggle for women's liberation to the failure to fight for a class-struggle opposition to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy of the unions to the apologies for Mao/Brezhnev's various "deals" with sections of the imperialist bourgeoisie, Stalinism stands directly counterposed to the interests of the world proletariat. In contrast, the Trotskyist program of independence of the working class from the capitalists and their agents stands revealed as not merely the direct continuation of the Marxist-Leninist tradition but as in fact the only program which can rescue mankind from the horrors of nuclear war and barbarism. ■

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Jack Tar Hotel

its meetings, it criticizes the Stalinists and their SWP partners (*Bulletin*, 26 October) for throwing the SL out of a forum on Chile, recently held in Cleveland, featuring liberal academic apologists for the Chilean popular front. The WL supporter present at the meeting, however, failed to criticize the Chilean CP/SP policies and furthermore did nothing to fight the exclusion of the SL.

Political Bandits

The Spartacist League intends to continue exposing these fake-Trotskyist poseurs who are afraid to defend their own past political positions and even their current line before opponents. We will point out that the Stalinist organizational practice of excluding opponent tendencies from meetings otherwise open to the public is necessary only for groups who have something to hide. Let Wohlforth defend now his earlier praise of Huey Newton as a great dialectician while Newton is now defending black capitalism, the black church and the Democratic Party. Let him explain to the ghetto youth how the Workers League hailed the 1971 New York City police strike. Perhaps oppositionists in the SWP/YSA would be interested to hear WLers publicly defend their sometime line that "the road to the American working class" is through the rotten, reformist YSA. Rank-and-file union militants, likewise, would no doubt be interested in hearing Wohlforth's fake dialectics explain how calling on the arch-reactionary cold-warrior George ("I've never walked a picket line") Meany to form a labor party can advance the class struggle. With positions like these it is no wonder that Wohlforth refuses to debate the SL. Only once in the last seven years has the WL dared to debate the SL on an equal-time basis, in Los Angeles (see *WV* No. 22, 8 June 1973).

The 30 October *Bulletin* article concludes with a hardly veiled threat: "The actions of the Spartacist League are anti-communist in character and are open provocations. This is why the Spartacist League is barred from all our public meetings." The facts are just the opposite. It is the WL's anti-Leninist practice of excluding opponents from public meetings which denies the principle of workers democracy and is responsible for the SL's picketing. Such protest, including the tactic of picketing exclusionist meetings, is not anti-communist, but a defense of communist principles. ■

SL supporters picket WL exclusionism in Los Angeles, March 1973. WV PHOTO

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SL Central Committee

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Harvester Strike

ted to pursuing the class struggle. As syndicalists opposed to struggling for the leadership of the unions, Workers Voice in practice falls prey to reformism and is thus incapable of providing an alternative to that of Roth and TUAD/CP.

The United National Caucus (UNC), an opportunist grab-bag of bureaucratic hopefuls such as Roth and Jordan Sims (Local 961, Detroit) has flickered into some renewed activity with the contract betrayals. The UNC is activated by its bureaucratic leaders only when they feel it serves their purposes, not when it gets in the way. Thus neither Sims, a UNC co-chairman, nor Roth, who merely supports it occasionally, raised it or its alleged "program" during their recent successful campaigns for local presidencies. It is the fake leftists such as the International Socialists who try to give the UNC a facade of legitimacy as a "radical" grouping to fool would-be oppositionists looking for a serious group. Thus UNC leaflets appearing at Melrose Park have no alternative to Roth's reformism, despite the supposed "radicalism" of their authors. One such leaflet on the Chrysler settlement was completely apolitical, failing even to call for UAW-wide solidarity. Instead, it merely urges, "...let's put Harvester workers back out in front of the Big 3 by voting down the contract."

For a Class-Struggle Union Leadership

Simple, militant trade unionism based on cheap "fight the bosses" rhetoric, such as represented by Roth and his "leftist" supporters, is not enough to replace Woodcock's bureaucratic class collaborationism. Merging ever more closely with the bourgeois state apparatus, reformist union leaderships have become a central prop of the entire capitalist system in the imperialist period. Fake leftists and militants who lack a complete program for breaking the unions politically from this commitment to the preservation of the system can only serve to regenerate confidence in the fundamentally insufficient program of simple trade unionism. Roth, while he continues to mouth a militant line, offers no real alternative to Woodcock on the critical issues and thus merely perpetuates the bureaucracy in which he himself is trapped.

A class-struggle opposition in the UAW can and must be built, but not with the apolitical and tailist methods of "radicals" such as Workers Voice and the International Socialists, both of which caved in to bureaucrats of the Roth/Sims ilk during the last elections (see *WV* No. 25, 20 July 1973). Militant caucuses must be based on a full political program leading to struggle against the system, including UAW-wide mass strikes; a shorter workweek at no loss in pay ("30 for 40") with full cost-of-living protection; strikes against the wars and foreign adventures of imperialism as well as against layoffs, plant closures, etc.; struggle against all forms of racial and sexual discrimination; proletarian internationalist opposition to protectionism in trade war; workers control of production at all levels; expropriation of major industries; and a workers party based on the trade unions, to break the grip of the two capitalist parties and fight for a workers government. Simple trade unionism, without the struggle for these goals of the working class as a whole, is merely a struggle for the illusion of "partnership" in capitalist exploitation. Militant caucuses based on a full working-class program are an expression in the unions of the struggle to emancipate the working class and all the oppressed. And the fight to replace the present sellout union bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership is a crucial and necessary part of the struggle to build the revolutionary vanguard party, to which the Spartacist League is dedicated. ■

Continued from page 1

Dump Nixon!

in its press to detailing "Watergate crimes and corruption" hardly mentions the labor bureaucracy and only inadvertently slips in vague references to a labor party. This is hardly surprising considering its years'-old practice of uncritically tailing after liberal bureaucrats who will make an occasional antiwar press statement and its refusal to permit its members to organize anti-bureaucratic caucuses in the unions.

The fake-Trotskyist political bandits of the Workers League, on the other hand, continue their time-honored policy of calling on the bureaucracy to make the revolution, thereby capitulating to the illusions of militant trade unionists as to the nature of their present leadership. The current WL tactic (amid hysterical announcements that Nixon has abolished the executive branch of government and established a one-man dictatorship), is to call on the Meany bureaucracy to call a "Congress of Labor" to build a labor party. At a time when there is no powerful opposition to the pro-capitalist policies of the existing union leadership, such a program can only mean calling for a reactionary, anti-communist "labor party" dominated by the same Meanyite filth.

In the absence of mass reformist workers parties in the U.S. (unlike France, Britain, Germany, Italy, etc.), the struggle to build a labor party based on the unions is a key tactic in breaking the workers from the two capitalist parties and a necessary complement to the struggle within the unions against the pro-capitalist Meany-Woodcock bureaucracy. The call for a workers party serves to emphasize the essentially *political* character of the struggle in the unions. The goal is not to create militant shop-floor committees (although these may appear as mass formations at a certain point in the struggle), which in themselves represent nothing more than simple trade unionism, but to achieve a revolutionary, communist leadership of the organized workers movement.

We do not seek a reformist workers party in the firm grip of the present parasitic misleaders of labor. Rather we call for a workers party based on the transitional program, i.e., to break with capitalism in favor of representing the historical interests of the working class. Thus, in contrast to the Workers League, we do not call on the arch-reactionary Meany bureaucracy to create a labor party in its own image. Nor do we call for a workers party based on the rank and file, a slogan which seeks to "solve" the problem of the bureaucracy by ignoring the existing mass workers organizations, the unions, under its control. Instead, we demand "dump the bureaucrats, for a workers party based on the unions." This expresses the correct relation of the fight for a labor party as a tactic to break the stranglehold of the bureaucracy over the organized labor movement. (This does not preclude the tactic of calling on reformist left-talking bureaucrats to form a labor party in a period of mass upsurge when their power could be easily shattered by an awakened rank and file.)

Watergate and the Workers Movement

We are presently in a situation in which the ostensibly socialist left can respond only in an essentially propagandistic manner to the Watergate crisis, indicating the main tasks ahead and the means of accomplishing them. Far from ignoring questions of bourgeois democratic rights, we must utilize the opportunities provided by the revelations about Nixon's illegal, Gestapo-like methods to press for full disclosure of the Watergate events, for the elimination of the secret political police (FBI and CIA), for the abolition of the standing army and its officer corps and for immediate presidential elections. Given the need of the leading imperialist power for a "strong state," insulated from the pressures of the shifting domestic political balance of forces, the defense of democratic rights, even for the bourgeoisie, has a powerful thrust against the stability of capitalist rule—which is why Congress has been so hesitant to do *anything* about Nixon, even when it is itself the object of his attacks.

The call for impeachment is another democratic demand of obvious importance at the present time. When this demand was repeatedly raised by the CP and WL during last May-June, we pointed out that in the absence of a mass upsurge of the working class, a campaign for impeachment expressed the desire for another bourgeois ruler and in effect to restabilize bourgeois democracy (*WV* No. 22, 8 June). As the bourgeoisie has itself moved hesitatingly toward removing Nixon, we indicated in August and again following Nixon's dramatic firing of Special Watergate Prosecutor Cox last month, that socialists should support a congressional move to impeach the president (*WV* No. 31, 26 October).

But this is different from a campaign calling for his impeachment. In fact, the call for impeachment is counterposed to the call for new elections, since the impeachment process accepts the structural framework of the present bonapartist Constitution. We seek, rather, to remove this criminal in a manner which to the maximum extent disorganizes the bourgeois state and organizes the proletariat as a class in struggle for a workers government. A class-conscious labor leadership would organize a general strike to force new elections, an end to the wage freeze and cessation of U.S. aid to Israel in the current Near East war.

It is crucial to forge a working-class political alternative to the rule of the two capitalist parties. This is embodied in the propaganda demand of a workers party based on the unions. The principal means for working toward the formation of such a party remains the struggle to build caucuses in the trade unions based on the transitional program (see "The Only Choice: Build a Workers Party!" *WV* No. 13, November 1972).

And while the slogan of a workers party based on the unions is a key tactic in the struggle to break the stranglehold of the reactionary labor bureaucracy, it must not be confused with the struggle to build the Trotskyist vanguard party which is at all times our strategic orientation and principal task. Thus if the Trotskyist vanguard were successful in winning leadership of an embryonic mass labor party, basing itself on the transitional program of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie and successfully smashing the bureaucracy, it would immediately seek to transform the labor party movement into a Leninist vanguard party, the necessary instrument for socialist revolution. ■

Sub-Drive Success!

The success of the just concluded *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive is a tribute to the revolutionary determination and hard work of the cadres of the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth. By the conclusion of the six-week sub drive, which ended November 1, every area had overfulfilled its quota. The Editorial Board of *WV* wishes to extend special thanks to the Buffalo local organization (which triply fulfilled its quota) and to the Buffalo sub drive coordinator, as well as to the individual comrades. The individual leader in sub drive points is Comrade David C. of Buffalo, with 69 points; the runner up, with 64 points, is Susan S. of Chicago.

In addition to expanding the regular readership of *Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution*, the sub drive included regional trail-blazing tours to many cities in the U.S. and Canada. The drive introduced *WV* to new readers at dozens of plants and campuses where the SL press had never previously been available, resulting in doubled and tripled sales of individual copies in virtually every local area.

On behalf of the SL/RCY, the *WV* Editorial Board would like to thank the members and supporters whose hard work made the sub drive a success and to welcome our new readers.

	Quota	Sold	Percent of Quota
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Detroit	120	294	245%
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Cleveland	100	173	173%
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Continued from page 7

School Board vs. Fuentes

provisions of the decentralization law. The "Fleischmann Commission Report on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education in New York State" released last fall suggests that community districts should run their schools with the power to hire and fire personnel, determine wages and decide curriculum, vesting great power in school principals. Despite the miserable condition of the schools and its own findings on the high correlation of academic failure to poverty, the Commission recommends that the *teachers* should be held accountable for students' test scores with pay raises and continuing employment dependent on this. Class sizes would be raised from 20 to 22 students (taking into account the use of non-teaching personnel the actual class size in New York City schools is 30-35 students).

The Commission suggests four new categories of teachers: interns, classroom teachers, special teachers and master teachers. Interns would be newly-graduated teachers who would be required to teach for two years with full responsibilities at below-union-level wages. If performance (based on "accountability" schemes) was held satisfactory, the intern would then become a classroom teacher. But if the locally controlled school system chose not to rehire the intern, it would simply hire another, ready to begin his two-year stint at reduced wages. The plan provides for the expanded use of paraprofessionals, volunteers and even students in the classroom. The report also found teacher pensions "unacceptably high."

Fuentes supports the state's decentralization schemes and charged that the UFT precipitated the recent events in District 1 to discredit decentralization at a time when the state legislature is considering changes in the decentralization law.

The UFT condemns the Fleishmann report, pointing out that its support for community-control forces is simply a cover for vicious union-busting. But ironically, the Shanker leadership, which campaigned for the present District 1 school board on a get-Fuentes program, accomplished exactly the opposite of what it intended. The net result has been to generate anti-unionism, lining up the Lower East Side behind Fuentes.

Nat Cops—But Worker-Teacher-Student Control of the Schools

New York City schools can hardly be called schools at all, but are largely day-time prisons whose conditions trap both students and teachers in a debilitating atmosphere of fear, crime and racial oppression. The number of assaults on teachers rose to 634 in 1972 and assaults on pupils to 511. Despite contemptible playing on the popular image of "black crime" by UFT leaders, violence and crime in the schools is a serious problem. Its main victims are, in fact, the oppressed students. According to Board of Education statistics, students are the most frequent victims of robberies, shakedowns and assaults by strangers entering school buildings. Safer schools would benefit everybody.

Also, demands to improve teachers' working conditions like smaller class size, new schools and better equipment are the same as demands for better education for students. Yet instead of a program to unite students and teachers, the UFT has only one solution: more cops. Last year Shanker criticized the board's planned allocation of $6 million to hire more guards as insufficient and called for a minimum of 4,000 to 5,000 aides merely to regulate the flow of outsiders.

Bringing the cops into the schools,

turning the schools into armed camps, only increases racial hostility. A class-struggle union leadership would instead raise demands that could really unite teachers and students around a program of worker-teacher-student control of the schools which could easily solve the problem of violence and crime in the schools through joint efforts of the union and students. In the process, these two forces could be united against the school administrations ("community" and city-wide), who are responsible for the present ghastly conditions in the schools, and the bourgeois politicians who foster racial antagonisms as the lifeblood of their careers.

"Get Fuentes"

In its drive to oust Fuentes and his supporters the UFT-backed school board has undertaken a series of heavy-handed "junta-style" maneuvers guaranteed to win the hatred of practically everybody. Its first act since taking power in May was to put forward a motion to move the district office out of the Puerto Rican neighborhood to a Jewish one. The board was forced to back down after a wild melee broke out at the July meeting between the parents, the board, the cops and the Jewish Defense League. Next the board threatened to cut back the budget by $1-1/2 million which would have virtually eliminated all the staff jobs and special programs, but backed down because many of the coordinators were in various municipal unions.

The school-board rules call for board meetings to be public, a regulation which the new board observes in gross bureaucratic fashion by refusing to call on anyone from the floor. One member said the board couldn't call on the opposition because it would have been "murdered" by the audience if it had. This is true. The board is so unpopular that to carry out its last public meeting on October 16 it had to meet in the glass-walled projection booth in the school auditorium, further protected from the parents by a line of cops! At this meeting the board filibustered until midnight, then took up an unannounced agenda point and voted to suspend Fuentes on 31 charges of insubordination, incompetency and softness on anti-Semitism.

The attempt to suspend Fuentes provoked a six-day boycott which was about 60 percent successful throughout the district. The boycott was called off after Fuentes' supporters succeeded in obtaining a temporary restraining order against his suspension, pending decision on a suit filed in federal court by the NAACP and the SWP-inspired and dominated Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDel) to declare the May elections illegal. The suit charges that campaign literature was not available in Spanish and Chinese, and that the polling places were not properly equipped and were changed at the last minute.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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Although the lineup of forces in District 1 is basically the same as that in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968, the current dispute is essentially different. In 1968 the "community control" demonstration school board, the parents, the New Left, the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist SWP were lined up behind the bourgeoisie in a campaign to smash the teachers' union. The UFT in District 1 is not under direct attack except in the sense that, given a shift in the balance of forces, Fuentes would undoubtedly like to do away with the UFT.

Both sides in the fight demonstrate depravity to a similar extent. In fact it is hard to tell whether the board/UFT/JDL coalition at any one moment is being more racist than the Fuentes/SWP/poverty buzzards gang is being anti-union. Class-conscious workers must give no support to either side! We stand against the wilfully undemocratic operating procedures of the school board, oppose all cutbacks, oppose the election rigging which no doubt went on, but in no way can this indicate support for the Fuentes slate.

Despite the anti-democratic way the board is going after Fuentes, his hiring as well as his firing is a routine consequence of a shift in political machines in the manner in which administrators in bourgeois politics tend to come and go. In fact, the UFT argues that the only reason that Fuentes is superintendent now is because the outgoing board bureaucratically extended his contract by two years to ensure one of its supporters' remaining in power.

The support for Fuentes comes from contradictory desires. On the one hand it reflects the appetites of a petty-bourgeois layer within the oppressed strata—the "poverty pimps" and hustlers, who look to the preservation and extension of the "special minority programs" as tickets to a few comfortable jobs. On the other, it reflects in a distorted way the legitimate aspirations of the population for the decent education, bilingual teaching and special training programs necessary to enable blacks and Puerto Ricans to integrate into American society.

Community Control or Class Struggle

Along with the Maoists (RU) and black and Puerto Rican nationalists (El Comité and the PRRWO), the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party strive to further the illusion that "community participation" in school affairs is sufficient to reform the system. The SWP not only uncritically supported Fuentes but actively campaigned to put him in office. Having lost NPAC to the Vietnam "peace treaty" and WONAAC after the Supreme Court's abortion ruling, the SWP is currently building an even more reformist (if that is possible!) mini-popular-front group, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, whose sole function in District 1 is to tail after Fuentes' opportunism.

The SWP seeks to build CoDel on two issues only: rescind Fuentes' suspension and declare the board elections illegal. After pointing out that even prominent community-control advocate Kenneth Clark opposes Rockefeller's latest schemes, without a single word of criticism the 27 April 1973 *Militant* printed the following statement by Fuentes on decentralization: "To reject it now would be like criticizing a baby at six months for not being able to run. But with the right encouragement, and enough time, the baby will mature." The SWP thus gives back-handed support to the union-busting Fleischmann report, which comes as no surprise from these scabs of the 1968 teachers' strike and long-time touters of community control.

The position of the Communist Party-supported Teachers Action Caucus in the UFT is indistinguishable from the SWP's, i.e., wholehearted support to Fuentes and the community control forces. A resolution adopted by TAC stated:

> "The Teachers Action Caucus (TAC) whole-heartedly supports the parent boycott of the schools of District 1. We fully support their demands:
> "—The reversal of the suspension of Fuentes...
> "—Removal of the present board, which does not represent the parents of the community and was illegally elected....
> "The parents are fighting for the educational survival of their children and must be fully supported by teachers who are interested in the children."
> —*Daily World*, 24 October

As long as the just aspirations of the doubly oppressed minority populations are channeled into the dead-end "solutions" of ethnic politics, the bourgeoisie will be guaranteed the continued racial division of the working class and ready pools of unskilled, unemployed workers. This is the logical consequence of the nationalist and ghetto-particularist politics pushed by the CP, SWP, El Comité, the PRRWO and other fake-lefts in the District 1 dispute. "Community control" represents only the self-administration of poverty, the isolation of the most oppressed sections of the proletariat in economically depressed pockets and the complete dependence of these oppressed sections on liberal politicians and occasional crumbs from the bourgeoisie. Rather than a fight over who will receive a handful of administrative patronage positions, a struggle for working-class power is required.

The Shanker-style union bureaucracies and Fuentes-style ethnic patronage politicians are today principal instruments by which the capitalists ensure the continued dominance of false consciousness among the workers and oppressed as to their true interests. The first demand of socialists must be the ousting of these agents of the bourgeoisie and the transformation of the unions from the chief means of disciplining the work force in the interests of the capitalists into the instruments of a class-struggle program of the entire working class, including its specially oppressed ethnic/racial minorities: Fight the special oppression of minorities—no budget cuts—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to smash unemployment! Turn the unions into instruments of working-class independence: unconditional defense of the unions against the employers and bourgeois state—organize all school workers into a single educational workers union—dump the Shanker bureaucracy, for a class-struggle leadership of the UFT!

Despite the tactical centrality of the labor unions as the only existing mass organizations of the class, Marxists do not myopically limit their focus to the struggle in an arena which represents a minority and relatively privileged section of the working class. A revolutionary vanguard party, together with its youth section, would fight for a working-class program in all arenas of the oppressed in order to win political hegemony of the entire class as a prerequisite to the seizure of power.

As against the divisive and impotent schemes of "community control," Marxists must seek to polarize the existing struggles on *class* rather than racial lines by calling for worker-student-teacher control of the schools. Such a program provides the *only* real possibility of fighting crime and violence in the schools, and must be combined with struggle against racial abuse and discrimination, and for educational improvements (smaller classes and work loads; training and hiring, under union control, of more teachers; bi- and tri-lingual courses of instruction where linguistic minorities constitute a significant percentage of the student population; etc.) which could transform the schools from day-time prisons into instruments for the cultural emancipation of the working class.

To hope that such a program could succeed under capitalism is ludicrous. The schools in urban ghettoes are vastly inferior not because of inadvertent neglect, but because of the real need of the bourgeoisie for an industrial reserve army of uneducated, unskilled workers. Thus the struggle against the existing misleaders of the unions and minority populations, and for worker-teacher-student control of the schools, must be directly linked to the political struggle to build a revolutionary vanguard party uniting the entire working class and all the oppressed. As the most advanced elements of the most exploited and oppressed sectors of the working class, young militants among Puerto Rican, black and other minorities have a vital role to play in the construction of this party.

In the U.S. today a key task is to struggle to build a workers party based on the trade unions, as an integral part of the fight against the bureaucratic misleaders of the unions. To carry the class struggle forward, such a party must break sharply with capitalist politics and adopt a transitional program in the interests of all the workers and oppressed. At the same time, the struggle to unite all the oppressed around the leadership of the organized and class-conscious proletariat would have as a direct consequence the elimination forever of the racialist fakers of the Fuentes ilk and their reformist/racist/pro-capitalist counterparts in the union bureaucracies. Not community control but workers power! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Condemning RU Attacks on Left Salesmen at Plant Gate...

Fremont UAW Upholds Workers Democracy!

A sharp reply has been made by an important Local of the United Auto Workers to the recent wave of physical assaults on left-wing paper salesmen outside auto plants. By an overwhelming vote, against only isolated opposition, Local 1364 (Fremont, California GM) defended the right of all "labor-socialist" groups to sell and distribute literature at the plant. The motion was raised by rank-and-file militants at the regular monthly meeting on October 28 in response to assaults by the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) on salesmen of socialist newspapers at the Fremont plant. *Workers Vanguard* salesmen had been attacked on June 12, while the latest instance of the RU's Stalinist gangsterism was an assault on salesmen of Workers League's *Bulletin*. The motion is clearly counterposed to the entire Woodcock bureaucracy, which has been encouraging a wave of goon-squad attacks on left-wing paper salesmen in an attempt to intimidate the membership and silence criticism during the contract period.

WV reporters verified the motion with Shop Chairman Earlie Mays and received a copy of it from the local's recording secretary. According to workers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard*, an amendment made by defenders of the RU, to the effect that "if these groups interfere with union business they will be prevented from their sales and distributions," failed for lack of a second. The passage of the motion represented a split among supporters of the Brotherhood Caucus, since the handful of RU supporters broke from the leaders of the Brotherhood to oppose the motion. The RU has in the past been uncritical in its support for the Brotherhood, which emerged victorious in the last local elections.

The meeting was attended by UAW Western Regional Director Jerry Whipple, whose introduction at the outset of the meeting occasioned a chorus of boos and hisses. His attempts to defend the recently-signed Chrysler and Ford contracts, which "set the pattern" for what the Woodcock gang is now trying to do to GM workers, only increased his unpopularity. Lambasted with criticism from all sides, Whipple was also attacked by the local leadership, headed by Earlie Mays. The Brotherhood Caucus has reportedly voiced the intention of expanding to other locals and is, despite its own do-nothing policies, attempting to build support by using the International as a scapegoat.

This is the age-old policy of would-be bureaucrats: attack the incumbents, regardless of program, principle or one's own record. Ex-Western Regional Director Paul Schrade is also reportedly attempting to make a comeback by getting into the act against Whipple. Despite his own clear record of down-the-line support for every traitorous policy of the Reutherite bureaucracy (including calling on the cops to crush the militancy of Fremont workers in the 1970 strike), despite having sabotaged the struggle for the shorter work week and other demands in the interests of black workers and unemployed, Schrade is now supposedly attempting to establish his leftist credentials through denouncing Whipple as a racist for having fired a black staff member!

RU Atrocities: "Kick Ass"

After Whipple finally escaped from hostile workers' questions, which detained him longer than he would have wished, the question of attacks on paper salesmen was brought up in connection with an incident in September when, according to the *Bulletin* (24 September) RU supporters assaulted its salesmen with tire irons and other lethal weapons. But this was just the latest in a long series of such attacks. Impelled by the basest opportunism, the RU has repeatedly attempted to demonstrate its fealty to one or another leftist emanation from the trade-union bureaucracy (the Brotherhood, Cesar Chavez and their likes) by practicing physical gangsterism on such principled opponents as dare to criticize its bureaucratic allies or for that matter seem in any fashion to pose a political threat. Thus last June, supporters of the *Bay Area Worker*, a reformist local paper supported by the RU, attacked *Workers Vanguard* salesmen outside the plant. When the SL mobilized to protect its salesmen, attacks on them ceased, though salesmen of the fake-Trotskyist *Bulletin* remained targets, the Workers League's own established opportunism and tail-ending of trade-union bureaucrats notwithstanding.

After the September incident the SL informed the RU that further attacks on Workers League salesmen would be treated as attacks on the SL. Despite lack of cooperation from *Bulletin* salesmen, the SL mobilized to protect their next sale, appearing at the plant with a large sign reading "*Workers Vanguard* Defends *Bulletin's* Right To Sell" (see *WV* No. 30, 12 October 1973). This demonstrated defense of the *principle* of the right of *all* tendencies to exist and freely propagate their views within the labor movement did not go unnoticed by either the RU or the workers entering the plant. Thus when the issue came up at the October meeting, the defenders of the RU were totally isolated.

The RU supporters claimed that the *Bulletin* salesmen had been interfering with their collections of money for the United Farm Workers union. A defender of the RU's actions reportedly threatened to "kick ass" if anyone interfered with his performance of "union business." This self-righteous bombast met with boos and catcalls. (Such sanctimoniousness is typical of the RU, especially in regard to the UFW where it functions as the pacifist, sellout Chavez bureaucracy's chief apologist on the left. Thus a second RU supporter reportedly attacked as "anti-union" a *Workers Vanguard* leaflet on the Farm Workers, which had circulated widely in the plant. This charge, too, fell on deaf ears, since the SL leaflet had very clearly supported the UFW against the Teamster/grower alliance, criticizing only the bureaucracy's substitution of impotent consumer boycotts for labor boycotts, self-defense of picket lines and other militant strike policies.)

A worker who had been going into work at the time of the incident then got up to denounce the RU story as a lie, saying that the *Bulletin* salesmen were not interfering with collections, but had kept their distance. She said that she had overheard an RU supporter making threats, whereupon she had warned him against any assault. She then pointed out that although she considered the *Bulletin* to be "reformist garbage," no one had the right to deprive her of the right to buy it.

Several additional members of the local also spoke in favor of the motion. The one local supporter of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party (TUALP), the reformist trade-union grouping backed by the Workers League, chimed in hypocritically to support the motion- in defense of the rights of *all* labor-socialist groups—despite the exclusionism and physical gangsterism practiced by the Workers League/TUALP against their opponents on the left. Despite an occasional pretense to principle in its press in practice the WL supports only its *own* right to existence. Thus in the case of the *Workers Vanguard* salesmen beaten in Parma, Ohio, the WL failed to respond to the Spartacist League's call for a united-front picket of UAW Solidarity House in Detroit. The WL (of course without acknowledgement in its press) accepts Spartacist's defense of the WL's right to sell. At the same time, in a futile attempt to justify its cowardly exclusion of SL supporters from meetings advertised as public, it conducts a vicious, lying slander campaign against the SL, in its maliciousness stooping even to deliberate fabrication of the charge that the SL was responsible for the calling of the cops to break up a WL meeting (*Bulletin*, 30 October and 2 November).

Official Goon Squads

It was to smash militant opposition to their sellout, class-collaborationist policies—which resulted in the "pattern-setting" Chrysler betrayal—that Woodcock and Co. initiated the wave of goon-squad attacks. After a series of wildcat strikes in August, one month before the contract expiration, the leadership formed a 1,000-member goon squad of local officials in Detroit to break the Mack Avenue strike and to beat up left-wing paper salesmen. A special denunciation of reds was published in *UAW Solidarity*, and similar local goon squads began to spring up all over the country. It was in this context that on 27 September *Workers Vanguard* salesmen were brutally assaulted by a standing 18-man goon squad outside the Chevrolet plant in Parma, Ohio—the SL being the fourth group to be so attacked in two weeks (see WV No. 30, 12 October).

Aping the bureaucracy's violence against the left, the RU fronts for reformism by denouncing the bureaucracy's worst enemies—those who criticize class collaboration and betrayal—as "anti-union" outsiders with no legitimate voice in the labor movement. That the RU fails to distinguish between the Marxism of *Workers Vanguard* and the hypocritical "reformist garbage" of the *Bulletin* is immaterial: Woodcock, Chavez and Co. seek to label *all* their opponents illegitimate "outsiders." By such actions the RU is however digging its own grave, since such McCarthyite treatment of reds as illegitimate outsiders weakens the position of all militants and oppositionists in the unions, leaving the field clear for a general purge of both real and pretended communists. To bureaucrats like Chavez and Mays the RU is useful so long as it is capable of siphoning off rank-and-file militancy, but as a potential pole of criticism and opposition it will be discarded as soon as it is no longer needed. Already the RU has been the victim of the same bureaucratic goon squads (such as the Parma, Ohio gang) which have attacked other radicals.

It is indicative that in the discussion of the motion Mays at first withheld support on just this pretext that only "outsiders" were involved, trying according to reports to create the im-

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UAW LOCAL 1364 RESOLUTION

No member of this union shall attempt to prevent the sales or distribution outside the plant of the literature of the various labor-socialist groups, since this violates the basic traditions of this union of free and open discussion within the labor movement.

—October 28, 1973

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 33 23 November 1973

UAW Official Shoots Militant at River Rouge–

Auto Workers Threaten Woodcock/Big 3 Agreement

DETROIT, 18 November—Threatened with the prospect of a simultaneous strike against Ford and General Motors, the UAW bureaucracy is stopping at nothing to defend the interests of the auto companies against its own membership. As the built-up anger of Detroit auto workers bursts out in repeated walkouts and protests, the chief obstacles to a massive, industry-wide auto strike are the Woodcock clique and, even more directly, the absence of an opposition in the UAW which could unite the ranks in militant struggle against the companies and the capitalist system.

A widespread and largely leaderless rebellion against the sellout Ford contract broke through the bureaucratic straitjacket last week as the UAW leadership was exposed trying to conceal the terms of the contract and results of membership voting became apparant. Solidarity House (union headquarters) stopped reporting totals and delayed announcement of the final vote on the contract, which was negotiated on 26 October. After spirited demonstrations by workers opposed to the contract and mounting violence in the union halls, the UAW finally admitted on 13 November that skilled workers had rejected the pact by a 4 to 1 margin. However, the bureaucracy claimed the contract had been ratified by majority vote of the production workers.

In fact this was not true. Even according to the UAW's undemocratic "unit rule" voting procedures, the contract was actually voted down in the initial balloting! As the union had agreed at its 1966 convention to separate balloting for skilled trades, with the assumption that they would have veto power over the contract, the "no" vote by skilled workers, acknowledged even by the bureaucracy, meant that for the first time UAW members had turned down a contract negotiated by the leadership.

UAW Tops Force Re-Votes

While the UAW was clearly required to authorize a nationwide Ford strike at this point, Woodcock and Co. sought to extract themselves from the threatening situation by a two-pronged maneuver. First, they maintained that the 1966 constitution amendment actually gave skilled workers a veto over only their own section of the contract. Second, the bureaucracy sought to swing the vote by ordering re-balloting in key bargaining units while it was stalling on announcing the national totals.

According to the union's unit-voting rule, a majority vote for or against the contract at a unit ratification meeting commits the entire membership of that unit. The same holds true for the local itself. Thus in a close vote, the pivotal unit in a large local (such as the River Rouge plant, Local 600, with 34,000 members) could change the national outcome drastically. In the vote as finally presented by the UAW (111,886 in favor to 58,773 opposed, including both skilled and production workers), recording Local 600 in the "no" column would have turned down the contract.

This was no academic question. Before the re-votes River Rouge was reported to have rejected the settlement. While repeat balloting at the skilled-trades units in Local 600, was called off by UAW Ford Division chief Ken Bannon when the situation looked hopeless, re-votes were carried out at the Michigan Casting Center. The bureaucracy's claim that the contract was ratified is based on these re-votes of production workers in Local 600. In fact, therefore, the contract was actually rejected by the membership in the original voting.

The Secret Letter

The serious movement to reject the contract developed after revelation of a secret letter, reportedly obtained from union files, which spelled out assurances to the company to keep up production when skilled tradesmen refuse work under the so-called "voluntary overtime" provision of the contract. The secret terms, not even hinted at in the official announcement of the contract, allow the company to use production workers, part-time employees and employees of outside contractors to do the work of tradesmen refusing overtime. Furious over this potential threat to their jobs and the

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Ford skilled tradesmen picket UAW headquarters following revelation of a secret letter granting rights to the company threatening their jobs. Voting on the contract subsequently went heavily against, forcing the UAW taps to call re-votes in the critical Local 600. Skilled tradesmen opposed ratification by a 4 to 1 margin.

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Auto Workers Threaten Woodcock/Big 3 Agreement

fact that they had been asked to vote on a contract, the terms of which were being kept concealed, hundreds of skilled workers and other UAW members picketed union headquarters over a three-day period, with signs reading, "Read the Fine Print and Say No," "What You See Ain't What We Got," etc.

The *Detroit Free Press* (13 November) described the tense atmosphere in the middle of the dispute last week:

> "With all reports indicating that skilled tradesmen have rejected the Ford Motor Co. contract offer overwhelmingly, the UAW Monday delayed its scheduled announcement of results at ratification meetings for Ford workers.
> "The postponement generated a flurry of rumors in Ford plants and local union halls.
> "Speculation mounted among tradesmen that the UAW leadership would try to salvage victory by running second elections in pivotal plants where the contract has been rejected."

While finally admitting the skilled workers had rejected the contract, the UAW continued to insist it had been approved by the vote of production workers Bannon announced that he would only renegotiate details of the "voluntary overtime" provisions for skilled trades. But the "renegotiated" version would not be subject to membership vote, thereby guaranteeing a deal on the company's terms!

Bureaucrats Pull Guns

Opposition during the voting focused on the skilled-trades units of the mammoth River Rouge complex as well as on the Michigan Casting Center, another unit of Local 600. Fistfights and bitter arguments continued all day on 13 November while pickets called for a "no" vote in the re-balloting. In the middle of the tension David Mundy, chairman of the casting center unit, shot one of the militants, William Harrell, a millwright, after chasing him into a filling station. The incident was viewed by dozens of UAW members and news of the attempted murder soon spread through the Rouge works.

According to one Local 600 official, who asked to remain anonymous, "there is a war going on between the top leadership and the middle leadership, between Solidarity House and people who depend on the ranks." Workers were threatened with "you'll get your throat cut" for voting the "wrong" way. Disputes broke out even in the Local 600 executive board, with a top official reportedly drawing a pistol on another board member. In addition to physical intimidation, the bureaucracy played heavily on defeatism ("you will lose your Christmas holiday pay for nothing if there is a strike") in order to secure changed votes.

UAW Leaders Attack Reds, Members

The attempted murder of a worker by a bureaucrat during the contract dispute should come as no surprise to auto workers after recent events in the union. Physical intimidation of the membership—under the guise of driving off "outside agitators"—has been rampant since the beginning of the contract period last summer. During a series of wildcat strikes in Chrysler plants in Detroit before the contract expiration, UAW leaders blamed "reds" and formed a 1,000-man goon squad composed of local officials to break a sit-down strike at the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant.

This goon squad was then turned loose on radical paper salesmen outside the plants, and a special article in *UAW Solidarity* (September) attempted to blame unauthorized strikes, over what even the bureaucracy admitted were legitimate grievances, on "communists." Bureaucratic thugs were also mobilized in other cities, including an 18-man standing goon squad at the Chevrolet transmission plant in Parma, Ohio, which brutally attacked salesmen of four left-wing groups, including the Spartacist League, over a two-week period this fall. At the conclusion of our report on the Parma assault (*WV* No. 30, 12 October) we warned that the bureaucracy's campaign against "outside agitators" would lead to vicious attacks on the union membership which is exactly what is now ocurring:

> "The official union goon squads and attacks on reds at Ford and GM plants are a direct attempt to intimidate the workers and cow internal opposition at this sensitive time, when the officials know what a rotten sellout they will soon have to defend to the ranks."

At the height of the crisis surrounding the Ford ratification vote, Woodcock called off the deadline for a nationwide strike at GM (originally set for November 19) despite the fact that "practically nothing has been settled." His excuses for this clearly revealed where his primary interests lie—protecting the capitalist economy from the disruption of an industry-wide auto strike:

> "A massive general strike in this present tentative economic situation, and the temptation possibly by G.M. to say 'O.K., the strike lund is so much less than it was three years ago that we'll bankrupt the union again.'... We would just like to remove that class struggle temptation from them."
> —*New York Times*, 15 November

The decision to work past the strike deadline opened the union up to the possibility of a campaign of intimidation by the company, through firings of union representatives, etc., and abandons the threat of a national auto strike, thereby guaranteeing a sellout contract settlement. As a sop to militancy, Woodcock called for isolated one- and two-day "mini-strikes," reminiscent of last year's phony "Apache strategy," which accomplished nothing but let the workers blow off steam without depleting the union treasury. With new-car sales slow, GM will lose nothing through these mini-strikes. (As we go to press there are radio reports of a last-minute GM settlement as Woodcock pulls all the stops to prevent a GM strike.)

Class-Struggle Leadership or Capitulation

Leadership of the skilled trades' revolt fell by default to the existing reformist bureaucratic oppositions to the Woodcock gang, chiefly the Local 228 (Sterling Heights Stamping Plant in Detroit) leadership and the United National Caucus, which, though it has pretensions to being a UAW-wide opposition, has never developed a base beyond skilled workers in a few locals. The UNC's origin lies in the 1966 battle to give special privileges to the trades so that they would stay in the UAW, a battle uniquely unsuited to mobilize production workers' support. Founders of the UNC, such as Art Fox of the Local 600 tool-and-die unit, had long ago given up any aspiration to build a militant, class-struggle opposition to the bureaucracy, and sought instead to climb aboard the official gravy train through militant posturing.

Now this tradition is being reaffirmed as the UNC responds to the rank-and-file revolt with a campaign to sue the union in the capitalist courts. At a citywide UNC meeting today proposals for actions to mobilize the ranks were swept under the rug, while the leaders pushed through a drum-beating campaign for their court case.

Calling in the bourgeois courts to settle disputes within the labor movement can only backfire and serve as a further precedent for government interference in the unions. Legal restrictions are already a prime argument of the bureaucracy against militancy, and government meddling is drawing an ever-tighter noose around the workers' necks. The UNC suit is merely designed to use skilled-trades particularism as a jumping-off point for the bureaucratic careers of its leaders.

The interests of skilled workers cannot be aided by pushing special-interest demands at the expense of production workers. This only serves the company by dividing and weakening the union. What is needed is a leadership and a program which can unite the working class in struggle against capitalism. The present skilled-trades rebellion has raised several demands which are in the interests of all auto workers, though directly counterposed to those of the pro-company bureaucracy. Dump the fraudulent contract! Publish the original unit votes! No secret deals! Abolish all compulsory overtime, with no company rights to bring in replacements for regular workers!

Such demands must be broadened into a call for an international, industry-wide auto strike and open negotiations controlled by rank-and-file strike committees with full reporting of all proposals. With the election of reformist opposition leaders at GM, Ford, International Harvester and Chrysler plants this spring; with the several Detroit-area Chrysler wildcats this summer; and with the widespread dissatisfaction with the Big Three "pattern" contract, it is obvious that a struggle involving all sections of the million-strong union is a real possibility.

The key to the situation is a fight to replace the present isolated bureaucracy not with reformist fakers whose program is limited to demanding "more" (in time-tested business-union fashion), but with a class-struggle leadership whose program educates the workers to the need for unity of the entire class in the struggle to replace the domination of the bosses with a society in which production is for need rather than profit.

This means consistent opposition to interference of the capitalist state in the unions, including rejection of the reformists' tactic of suing the unions in the courts and demanding that all union officials get off all government boards. (Woodcock still sits on several Nixon wage-freezing agencies, despite the UAW's call for Nixon's impeachment and fake "opposition" to Phase Four!) Break state wage controls by militant national strikes!

A class-struggle leadership would also open up skilled jobs to minorities, women and all production workers by demanding equal access to upgrading and training programs and the elimination of all discrimination in hiring. Likewise it would also call for strikes against layoffs, opposition to protectionism and the imperialist exploits of the ruling class. As opposed to the reformists' reliance on Democratic politicians and limp calls for impeachment of Nixon, a militant leadership would pose a class alternative by calling for a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government.

Obviously, such a program depends not on hiring the right lawyer, but on developing a class-struggle opposition throughout the union. *Oust the bureaucrats! For a class-struggle national caucus in the UAW!* ■

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Stalinists on Chile:

Lame Brains in Turbulent Waters

Cynicism is such a deeply ingrained characteristic of Stalinist thought patterns that reality seldom has any effect whatsoever upon them. As the ex-"Great Father of the Peoples" used to say, "paper will take anything that is written on it." But to Stalin's great misfortune, parties are made up of human beings capable of thought, not mere scraps of paper. The so-called "Communist" parties have the added disadvantage of supposedly representing Marxism and the interests of the working class, though their actual practice contradicts this.

As a result of these "unfortunate" circumstances the reactionary military coup in Chile this September has caused considerable unrest in the pro-Moscow CPs. Here is the sterling example of the "peaceful road to socialism" in ruins, eliminated by a mere flick of the generals' batons. The Chilean CP had for months been praising the "democratic" loyalties of the armed forces, and now these same "constitutionalist" officers are shooting down workers, peasants and socialists by the thousands. Since 1970 the Chilean CP had pushed to include the Christian Democrats in the "Popular Unity" coalition government, yet one day after the coup these same "democrats" endorsed this overthrow of the constitutional order! Despite their Stalinist affiliations, the rank-and-file CPers can hardly be enthusiastic about a political line which leads directly to their own physical annihilation.

The protests and objections in the Moscow-line Stalinist parties have been so widespread that in recent weeks every major western Communist Party has launched a vicious campaign against "defeatists" and "ultra-leftists" who oppose the so-called "peaceful road to socialism" and who today seek to draw the lessons of the Chilean events. In an article "On Monday morning quarterbacking and pessimimism [*sic*] on Chile" in the 13 October *Daily World* we read:

> "Some self-styled 'revolutionaries' in the U.S. are already starting to ask: 'What went wrong in Chile?' and are churning out elaborate analyses of all the alleged 'mistakes' of the Popular Unity coalition government which supposedly led to the fascist junta's coup. "The answer to this nonsense is that these 'revolutionary' analyses serve no purpose except to distract attention from the real culprits, the U.S. imperialists.
> "In Chile, as in Spain in the 1930's, the popular coalition was gaining strength, consolidating its power base, when the fascists struck....
> "The same thing is true of Chile. The Popular Unity coalition government undoubtedly would have succeeded in handling all the problems that came up in Chile, if it had not been for the active hostility of U.S. imperialism..."

Aside from the fact that this "analysis" is designed above all to justify the Stalinists' calls to include the Christian Democrats in the Popular Unity (UP) coalition and denies that the Chilean bourgeoisie is capable of mounting its own counterrevolutionary offensive, the CP's whole "explanation" amounts to wishful thinking that "if U.S. imperialism did not exist...." or more accurately, "if only U.S. imperialism had a more peaceful policy..." then a reformist line would be successful. But if only capitalism were not capitalism, then all our problems would be solved! The same self-righteously philistine theme was repeated in a 29 September *Daily World* editorial and in CPUSA General-Secretary Gus Hall's October 15 speech on Chile. The "ultra-lefts" and "Trotskyites" drove the bourgeoisie into the arms of reaction is the common lament.

"Chile is Not France"

If Chile is a bot issue for the CP in the U.S., it is a burning question in France where the local Stalinists have been calling for several years for a "Left Front" with the Radicals and advertising the "Chilean road." When it turned out that the "Chilean road" ended not in socialism but a reactionary military coup, French CP leaders immediately washed their hands of the whole alfair. The very day of the coup, PCF General Secretary Georges Marchais went on radio to announce that "Chile is not France" and while "the Chilean experience was going in the same direction that we want to take here, that is to say a union of the left parties coming to power legally," there were also important "differences." In Chile, the "reactionary forces refused to play by legal rules." The conclusion? "This Chilean experience confirms the necessity... of isolating the big bourgeoisie and preventing it from maneuvering as it did in Chile" (*France Soir*, 13 September).

A leaflet passed out shortly alterwards by the Paris Federation of the French CP put it more bluntly: "... the ultra-left groups add their support and thus also become accomplices of the assassins." And for those who continued to doubt, who worried about the implications of the Chilean bloodbath, the PCF replied in typical bureaucratic fashion —simply denying reality:

> "We must forcefully reaffirm: Yes, it is possible in our country to bring about a new democratic regime; yes it is possible to reach socialism by the peaceful path.
> "Yes, it is possible to force the big bourgeoisie to respect democratic legality by isolating it."

But asserting that "yes, the world is flat" will not make it so.

Certainly the hundred-thousand-strong Communist Party of France would not go to sucb great lengths to denounce "ultra-lefts" simply on account of the criticisms of far smaller groups such as the OCI or the ex-Trotskyist ex-Ligue Communiste. The real reason for this international campaign is the *internal* protests, by members of the Stalinist parties themselves, against the consequences of the murderous "peaceful road" policies. This was revealed in an article by G. Pajetta, a leader of the Italian Communist Party, in the PCI's newspaper *L'Unita* on 16 September. After accusing those who called for "breaking this state apparatus" of "encouraging the radicalization of this apparatus toward the right" (!), Pajetta complained that "thousands of our comrades" are asking about the possibility of a "peaceful road."

Laying Down the Line

That this unrest is not limited to Italy is indicated in a forum given by CPUSA National Chairman Henry Winston in San Francisco on September 14. Though the talk was advertised as a public forum it obviously had the quality of Winston coming out to quiet any questions about what really had happened in Chile and what the CP's role had actually been. According to our report:

> "Winston's remarks were pretty much along the lines of the Third Period Stalinist line following the rise of fascism in Germany. According to him, the Chilean workers were further along the road to socialism after the coup [!] than the American workers. The coup was just a temporary sethack to the Chilean workers...."

Winston's arguments contained an unusual twist. Instead of harping on the need to unite with the Christian Democrats and the "democratic" officers in order to isolate the "reactionaries" and quoting from Stalin and Dimitrov on the need for a "popular front" embracing everyone except the fascists (and maybe "honest rank-and-file fascists," too!), the CP leader spoke of a united front of the working class.

> "He [Winston] stated repeatedly that the Chilean CP had pulled together a 'united front' of the CP and SP which in turn welded together the Popular Unity. He made absolutely no mention of the fact of the Radical Party or the MAPU [two petty-bourgeois parties] in the Unidad Popular. He was clearly basing his remarks on the Fourth Congress [of the Comintern] conception of the United Front (as opposed to the Dimitrov version) and saying that this indeed was the CP strategy in Chile."

Like Gus Hall's belated criticism of both Democrats and Republicans alter the 1972 presidential elections, in which the CP campaigned heavily for McGovern (see Hall's pamphlet, "Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters"), this alter-the-fact fake orthodoxy is simply a cover. The CP in Chile and in the U.S. never once called for a working-class united front against the capitalist parties and the generals, but repeatedly called for expanding the UP to include ever broader sections of the class enemy! His audience apparently had adequate memories to recall these facts, for our correspondent reports that "This [the bogus appeal to Leninist orthodoxy], I think, is an important

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DAILY WORLD

"THIS JOB IS VERY EASY... PART OF THE 'LEFT' IS DOING OUR WORK FOR US!"

Stalinists defend Chile popular front, label all who oppose myth of "peaceful road to socialism" as "ultra-lefts" and "imperialist agents."

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Black Democrat Defeats Cop in Detroit Elections

DETROIT—On November 6 State Senator Coleman A. Young, a liberal Democrat, became the first black mayor of Detroit by scoring a narrow victory over former Police Commissioner John F. Nichols. Young's victory in one of the country's largest industrial centers made him the third black mayor of a major metropolis to be elected this year, following the election of black candidates in Los Angeles and Atlanta.

Far from being a working-class victory, the victory of a "responsible" black "progressive" fits in nicely with the liberal bourgeoisie's current game plan for siphoning off racial tensions by giving the oppressed minorities the illusion of political power. In fact, the election was a set-up to split Detroit's population, which is composed of roughly equal numbers of whites and blacks, along racial lines.

Nichols, organizer of the notorious STRESS (Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Sale Streets) special police unit, ran solely on his record as a cop, with special emphasis on his personal efforts to crush the recent rebellion of black auto workers. It was Nichols who led the police into the Chrysler Mack Avenue Stamping Plant to arrest the leaders of the sitdown strike there last August.

Young, on the other hand, is perhaps the most consistent example of the liberal black mayoral candidate (Hatcher, Stokes, Bradley, Jackson), as well as of the left-liberal, "pro-labor" Democrat. Thus while Nichols appealed to the most backward, racist impulses of poor white workers facing increasingly insecure and threatening conditions, Young was purveying illusions to both black and more conscious white workers. Young's road of legislative reform and pressure for black equality within the system can only pave the way for the eventual victory of the likes of Nichols.

Young based his campaign on his image as a veteran of class-struggle and civil-rights battles who has remained uncorrupted and loyal to his original goals. He was fired from Ford's River Rouge plant in pre-union days for slugging a company spy who discovered his union organizing efforts. Often accused of being a member or former member of the Communist Party, Young was a supporter of Henry Wallace's Stalinist-backed Progressive Party campaign in 1948 and led the "subversive" National Negro Labor Council in the 1950's. Called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1952, he refused to testify against CP members. As a State Senator since 1964, Young has continued to cultivate a "man-of-the-people" image, authoring liberal reform laws such as one making it illegal to fire workers for having their wages garnisheed, talking readily with individual constituents, using "brothers and sisters" rhetoric, etc.

Young manages to combine this image as the personification of militancy with a reality as the personification of class collaboration within mainstream Democratic Party politics.

Reform the Police Image

This demagogy is expressed today in Young's direct appeals to business and religious organizations (he accepted support from the Black Christian Nationalist Church, which called for scabbing in the recent Detroit teachers' strike) and in a basic program which, stripped of its illusory trappings, is remarkably similar to Nichols', *even on the question of police*. The Young campaign coalition emerged directly from the struggle against STRESS. This elite police unit was set up in 1969 as a direct response to the Detroit riots two years earlier and to militant developments among black auto workers such as DRUM and other black-nationalist-oriented militant caucuses organized in the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW). Although STRESS was initially welcomed even by some blacks as a means of fighting crime in the ghetto, the real nature of the "decoy unit" was soon revealed: giving the cops a free hand to terrorize and intimidate ghetto residents. By the end of 1972, these storm troopers had killed 16 people, 15 of them black. In January of last year STRESS cops attacked members of a black vigilante organization (Kwazi) involved in combatting drug pushers. However, the intended victims defended themselves,

FREE PRESS

Ex-cop John Nichols

wounding three cops and killing a fourth. Detroit cops then ran amok in a campaign of racist harassment and in a nationwide manhunt for the "suspects" of the cop killing. STRESS was discredited, however, by the subsequent revelation of police complicity with the drug pushers.

STRESS was thus a prime target for a pressure campaign involving a coalition of radicals and liberals in the black community. Initiated by radical lawyer and ex-LRBW leader Ken Cockrel, an Independent Black Commission (IBC) was formed after a shootout last December in order to oppose STRESS through a campaign of public investigations, at which only blacks were allowed speaking rights. In order to attract support from black ministers, professionals and the liberal bourgeoisie of Detroit, demands were limited solely to the abolition of STRESS; any fundamental tampering with the police was excluded. The result has been that while STRESS was formally abolished to quell criticism and eliminate an obvious point of attack on the system, the "decoy unit" has continued under another guise.

The reformist anti-STRESS campaign played directly into Young's hands. Young's goal is to restore popular illusions in the police, rather than expose their real role as the armed defenders of the capitalist order:

> "First of all, I think that we need a complete reorganization of our police department. I would think that we need a greatly increased number of police officers.... The police department has become too alienated from the people.... I think that could be corrected, first of all, by dramatically increasing the percentage of black police officers."
> —*Detroit Free Press*, 2 August 1973

The racially polarized voting during the primary election led both candidates to soften their images, with Nichols attempting to paper over his racist anti-unionism and Young attempting to appear as "responsible" as possible. In the process they revealed only their lack of substantial differences. While Nichols defended the police department as it is and Young called for racial balance in all departments of city government, both were agreed on fundamentals.

A Pro-Business "Man of the People"

Side by side with advertisement of his "militant" past, Young lauded himself as "a successful businessman who understands business needs," somehow managing to subsume the typical struggling small businessman and insurance salesman, as well as the trade-union bureaucrat, in his so variegated personal history. Both candidates appealed to downtown business interests with plans for revitalization of Detroit through attracting more business, as exemplified in Young's plan to build a new sports stadium. Both candidates supported a newly redrafted city charter which included mild reforms of the police commission and institution of an "ombudsman."

Finally, both candidates, "friend" and foe of labor alike, not surprisingly turned out to have identical positions on...labor. On the recent Detroit teachers' strike, which the city was attempting to crush with an injunction, Young's position differed from that of Nichols only in that it was a greater masterpiece of evasion:

> "As a labor man and a former worker, I support the right to strike as a pretty sacred weapon and I would hesitate to restrict it. I think that in some sensitive areas of public service that is necessary but I'm not prepared to say that teachers fall in that category."
> —*Detroit Free Press*, 7 October

Thus on the most crucial issues facing labor—the right to strike and the struggle of public employees—this "friend" of labor of some 30 years' standing was "not prepared to say" what his position was! This was the necessary culmination of a policy based on class collaboration and work within the Democratic Party, the largest capitalist party.

The Detroit labor bureaucracy, of course, has always worked through pressuring the twin parties of capital. While opposing Nichols' heavy-handedness, it could only counterpose more of the same reformism which has led to the complete erosion of its political authority with the workers and the alienation of the most conscious. In the primary, both the AFL-CIO and UAW Wayne County CAP Council endorsed Common Council President Mel Ravitz over Young. The result was a split and the walkout of Detroit leaders of the UAW from the County CAP Council (the union's political arm, similar to AFL-CIO's COPE), reflecting the pressure of black Detroit auto workers in favor of Young. The UAW's endorsement of Ravitz only had a negative effect on his popularity at the polls, to the benefit of Young, forcing both the UAW and AFL-CIO to endorse Young for the November election.

Liberal Democrat Coleman Young

Reformists and Democrats

On the left, primary responsibility for the lack of working-class political alternatives, in the form of trade-union candidates or a working-class political party, as well as direct responsibility for the careers of politicians like Young, rests squarely with the Communist Party. Consciously rejecting a class analysis, the CP policy favors tailing after popular bourgeois politicians to bolster liberals and weaken conservative forces within the ruling class. Thus (despite CP leader Gus Hall's recent deceptive rhetoric against both capitalist parties) the Stalinists supported Young in order to defeat what they term police control of the city as represented by Nichols. This policy ties the workers to the system more securely than does direct police intimidation, by curbing working-class demands in order to retain the liberal capitalists in the "people's coalition," thereby preventing the development of independent class politics.

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, which ran its own campaign in the Detroit elections, is not qualitatively different from the CP politically. Only his Democratic Party membership kept the SWP from supporting Young. Thoroughly reformist, the SWP tails after popular "movements" uncritically, including the reformist anti-STRESS campaign. The SWP openly supported the racial exclusionism and single-issuism of the IBC, the classless community focus of the campaign and the call for community control of the police, suppressing the fact that such community "control" would in no way change the nature of the police as the repressive arm of the capitalist state.

The opportunism of the SWP was closely rivalled by that of the International Socialists (IS) which elevated the art of tailism to impressive heights in its leaflet "Detroit Needs a Black Mayor—Is Coleman Young the one we need?"

As for why "Detroit needs a black mayor," this is never explained. We assume it is not part of the IS "preferential hiring" program. Actually, of course, no explanation is necessary. We understand this slogan for what it is—a rather pathetic example of the IS policy of accommodation to black nationalist currents.

Even the best examples of bourgeois reformism, such as liberals of the Young stripe, can in no way improve on the system which produces STRESS and racist politicians like Nichols. Left-talking demagogues are dependent for their survival on the same system as the reactionary bigots—on a system that ensures the continued flow of profits through exploitation of labor by the capitalists. The only way forward is the path of class struggle, beginning with the struggle to form a working-class political party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. ■

Once More on Healy/Wohlforth and "The Crisis:"

Cynics Who Scorn Trotskyism

"There is no crisis which can be, by itself, fatal to capitalism. The oscillations of the business cycle only create a situation in which it will be easier, or more difficult, for the proletariat to overthrow capitalism. The transition from a bourgeois society to a socialist society presupposes the activity of living men who are the makers of their own history. They do not make history by accident, or according to their caprice, but under the influence of objectively determined causes. However, their own actions—their initiative, audacity, devotion, and likewise their stupidity and cowardice—are necessary links in the chain of historical development."

—*L.D. Trotsky*, "Once Again, Whither France?" *March 1935*

The article "Healy/Wohlforth and 'The Crisis'" (*Workers Vanguard*, 3 August 1973) must have touched sensitive nerves, for it provoked a rare polemic against the Spartacist League in the pages of the Healyite daily, *Workers Press*. Perhaps feeling that the turgid ravings of its American acolyte, Tim Wohlforth, were incomprehensible to its readers, the Socialist Labour League (recently rechristened the Workers Revolutionary Party) assigned the task of refuting the SL to its chief monetary theorist, Peter Jeffries. In a mercifully brief (by Wohlforthian standards) polemic entitled "Cynics Who Scorn The Crisis" (*Workers Press*, 26 and 27 September 1973) Jeffries attempts to defend the International Committee's analysis of the "fundamental nature of the world monetary crisis."

As we shall show, Jeffries succeeds only in demonstrating the fundamental nature of the ignorance and dishonesty of the Healy/Wohlforth school of politics. Indeed, it is not until the end of his otherwise worthless article (which unfortunately must be dealt with for reasons of elementary political hygiene), that Comrade Jeffries manages to ask one useful question. Pointing out that the capitalists are compelled to "launch the most brutal attacks on the living standards of the working class and their class organizations," Jeffries shrieks:

> "Tell us, Mr. Robertson, where has your group made *any* preparations in the working class for such events? Where, please, are your statements in which you warned the working class of such events?
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> "There are *no* such statements, because like all the revisionists, you hoped that the working class would remain firmly under the control of the Stalinist and reformist trade union leaders, leaderships under which they would be defeated."

Unfortunately for Comrade Jeffries and the IC the record is clear. For example, just eight days after the Allende popular-front coalition gained a plurality in the Chilean elections we read in *Workers Press* (12 September 1970): "There must be a preparation for class action to defend Allende's victory and his election programs to meet this danger." And your cothinkers of the U.S. Workers League state: "There is only one road and that is the revolutionary road of the October Revolution.... As a step in this understanding the workers must hold Allende to his promises...." (*Bulletin*, 21 September 1970). In contrast, shortly after the election of Allende we stated in our article "Chilean Popular Front" (*Spartacist*, November-December 1970):

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

Yes, Comrade Jeffries, the record is clear. Not only are you a liar, but your organization, the so-called International Committee, urged a policy of class treason on the Chilean working class, feeding its illusions in the Stalinists and Social Democrats. Today, faced with the murder of thousands of working people in Chile, which we warned was on the agenda, you can denounce the popular front. Hindsight is cheap indeed! But in the fall of 1970, when Allende had just won his electoral victory, when he was popular with the Chilean masses, you demanded that the Chilean workers should compel an essentially bourgeois government to achieve socialism! No amount of bombast can erase this shameful crime from the record of the IC. Our political differences could not be more clearly posed. Who, Comrade Jeffries, is the revisionist?

"The Crisis" and Political Banditry

Having thus disposed of Comrade Jeffries' question, we can turn to the bulk of his article. In doing so, it is useful to recall that we are engaged in a polemic with notorious political bandits. The salient feature of political banditry is the subordination of political principles and program to organizational appetites. Thus Wohlforth can court Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party and at the same time support the strike of the New York City police. Thus Gerry Healy, who in 1966 proclaimed Pabloism definitively destroyed and the IC to be the Fourth International, four years later comes to the United Secretariat with a proposal for common political discussion and common work hopefully to result in a "joint international conference"! This subordination of principles to appetites is a primary characteristic of the Healy/Wohlforth school of politics and explains many of their activities that might otherwise be perplexing.

But Healy and Wohlforth are not simply political bandits operating in a vacuum. They are political bandits masquerading as "Trotskyists." This affords them a certain left cover, but it also is something of a hindrance to their gross appetites. Consequently they are in need of a talisman which can subtly transmute Trotskyism into the fools' gold of opportunism. "The Crisis" plays the role of one such talisman for the priests of the IC. For under the objective impact of "The Crisis," it seems that trade-union demands become profoundly revolutionary. Thus Jeffries states:

> "It is this sectarianism that leads Robertson to deny that the wages fight today is a political fight with directly revolutionary implications. For him, capitalism can still grant concessions, if only to limited sections of the working class. Here is but an expression of his denial of the depth of the capitalist crisis, of his middle-class belief in its continuing strength and stability."

Under the impact of "the depth of the capitalist crisis" Jeffries renders the Transitional Program obsolete! Simple minimum reforms have come to have "directly revolutionary implications." What is behind this, of course, is the appetite of the Healy/Wohlforth gang to unite with the trade-union reformists—on the basis of simple trade unionism—and become their "left" advisers.

Furthermore, for Jeffries to deny that capitalism can grant concessions to limited sections of the working class is to deny the material basis for labor reformism. This is why Tim Wohlforth

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Vaudeville at the Hammersmith Odeon:

Gerry Healy Presents "The Revolutionary Party"

Gerry Healy

WORKERS PRESS

Finding the billing of Socialist Labour League too modest for his pretensions to grandeur, Gerry Healy has proclaimed the advent of the Revolutionary Party. This transformation was accomplished at a rally in London on November 4 featuring the characteristic carnival atmosphere—the rock groups, the comic skits, the dancing girls—to which the SLL has increasingly resorted in order to divert attention from its record of political banditry.

According to the Workers League's *Bulletin* of 16 November "the great strength of the WRP [Workers Revolutionary Party—the SLL's new name]... was shown in the completion of the $250,000 party-building fund." (Can the WL's recent request for discussions with the Socialist Workers Party be explained by the SWP's $400,000 party-building fund, supposedly indicating even greater strength?)

For Leninists, the proclamation that a revolutionary organization has become a *party* is a serious matter indicating an *objective, qualitative change* in the relationship of that organization to the class and to its existing leadership. Thus Lenin did not proclaim the Bolshevik faction as a *party* until the Prague Conference in 1912 when the fusion with the "pro-party" Mensheviks had stripped the reformists of their industrial proletarian base.

On a smaller scale, the American Trotskyists did not declare themselves a party until 1938, when they had won over the social-democratic youth group as well as the Socialist Party's best cadre and had acquired indisputable *hegemony* over those forces to the left of Stalinism. In contrast, the Healyite organization remains a propaganda group whose relationship to the British working class and left has remained essentially unchanged, though somewhat deteriorated over the past decade. Having devoted much energy to making nonsense of the Marxist concept of economic crisis, the Healyites will now devote themselves to making a mockery of the Leninist concept of the party.

Part 1/ Jewish Colonization in Palestine

A Marxist Analysis

The Birth of the Zionist State

While the "Yom Kippur" war of 1973 is the direct result of the defeat of the Arab states by Israel in the 1967 war, it is more fundamentally the product of the conflict between Zionism and Arab nationalism which has torn apart Palestine since the demise of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. To determine what position to take in the present war it is useful to look at the whole process of Balkanization in the Near East which resulted in the formation of a Zionist state side by side with a series of artificial royal states and "republics" led by petty-bourgeois military cliques, all of them (to different degrees) subject to imperialist domination. In particular, we must look at the 1948 war which led to the present state of Israel and the simultaneous expulsions of several hundred thousand Arabs from their homes and lands.

For the Zionists the 1948 war was an "anti-imperialist" war of "national liberation," the creation of a haven for a people decimated by fascist genocide. For the Palestinian Arabs 1948 was the origin of their "diaspora," the destruction of their nation, the deprivation of their means of livelihood and their relegation to the wretched refugee camps where they are imprisoned in an enforced state of idleness and subsist on ten cents of UN rations a day. This has resulted in one of the most difficult national conflicts in recent decades with both a Hebrew and an Arab nation competing for the same small territory. The fact that Israel emerged victorious in the first three wars (1948, 1956 and 1967), and thus bears direct responsibility for the tragic plight of the Palestinian Arab refugees, must not blind us to the need to recognize the right of self-determination on both sides as a necessary guarantee against genocide. The struggle for a truly democratic bi-national Palestinian workers state, as part of a socialist federation of the Near East and the product of a united struggle of Hebrew and Arab workers and peasants, cannot simply ignore the national question.

Origins of Zionism

Zionism as a political movement is as much a product of the epoch of imperialism as is its counterpart, fascism. Jews as a "people-class," to use the expression of the Belgian Trotskyist theorist on the Jewish question, A. Leon, as money lenders and merchants, provided the yeast for the development of capitalism. Those Jews able to transcend the obscurantism of the synagogue and the parsimony of the marketplace were often the leaders of cultural enlightenment. But capitalism in its decline and death agony has no place for the merchant caste of the Middle Ages. Like the proletariat the Jews "were without a country," and it was partially because they entered the 20th century unshackled by nationalism that Jews played such a leading role in the proletarian movement, especially its left wing.

Only with the world historic defeat of the German proletariat in 1933 was Zionism transformed into a mass movement. Prior to 1933 Zionism was a tiny sect of petty-bourgeois Jewish intellectuals who were emancipated but not assimilated. The Jews of the Eastern European ghettos, if they identified with any political movement at all, were either Communists or members of the Bund, an anti-Zionist Jewish socialist group with Menshevik policies.

At the end of World War I there were 60,000 Jews in Palestine, many of these living in ancient orthodox communities which were hostile to political Zionism, and 644,000 Arabs of whom 574,000 were Moslem and 70,000 Christian. In order to encourage an Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire Britain armed and equipped Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca, to wage "Holy War" on the Turks. The Levant was carved up in the secret Sykes-Picot Treaty (1916) between Britain, France and tsarist Russia, a treaty which was made public only by the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution. This treaty gave Lebanon and Syria to France while Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq went to the British.

The Zionists early realized that they could accomplish their aims of creating a Jewish state in the Arab East only under the sponsorship of somebody's imperialism. Theodor Herzl, the originator of modern Zionism, had first approached the Ottoman Sultan and German Kaiser where he was rebuffed. After the tsarist Minister of Interior Plehve had organized the Black Hundred pogrom of Kishirev in which hundreds of Jews were massacred, Herzl had an audience with Plehve where he offered him the Zionist method of "getting rid of the Jews." As Nathan Weinstock says in his *Le sionisme contre Israel* (Paris, 1969): "The Zionist course and anti-Semitic reasoning are symmetrical."

Indeed, the Zionists finally got a sympathetic ear from that notorious anti-Semite, Lord Chamberlain, who was at the time British Colonial Minister. Chaim Weizmann, the leading British Zionist and the future first president of Israel, had already succinctly stated the Zionist case for the British bourgeoisie in his November 1914 letter to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, C.P. Scott, which stated:

> "We can reasonably say that should Palestine fall within the British sphere of influence and should Britain encourage Jewish settlement there, as a British dependency we could have in twenty to thirty years a million Jews out there or more; they would develop the country, bring back civilization to it and form a very effective guard for the Suez Canal."

This argument was not lost on the British branch of the Rothschild banking family, which was the largest holder of Suez bonds and had become also the most prominent contributor to the Zionist financial arm, the Jewish National Fund. Immediately following the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian withdrawal from the war the British, both in order to mobilize Jewish support behind the war effort and Zionist support behind Britain's imperial ambitions in the Arab East, issued on 2 November 1917 the Balfour Declaration which promised a "Jewish national home" in Palestine.

Prior to the smashing of the Ottoman Empire, no Palestinian nation existed as such, at least in the modern sense of a nation. Instead Arab nationalists living in Palestinian towns considered themselves part of Syria and attended the Syrian National Congress of July 1919. On the basis of Wilson's fourteen points and promises made to the Arabs by both France and Britain this Congress proclaimed political independence for a united Syrian state (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan) which was to be a constitutional monarchy ruled by Hussein's son, Faisal.

Thus the "promised land" was simultaneously promised to British imperialism, the Jews and the Arabs. The Sykes-Picot treaty was reaffirmed at the San Remo conference and implemented as French troops occupied Damascus chasing away "King" Faisal. The British gave Faisal the throne of Iraq as a consolation prize, severed Transjordan from Palestine and recognized Faisal's brother, Abdullah, as the Emir of Transjordan.

Zionism and Colonialism

Prior to World War I Jewish colonization in Palestine was by religious communities which were hostile to political Zionism. Later colonization by Jewish entrepreneurs, who wished to colonize Palestine in order to exploit Arab labor in the tradition of the French colonization of Algeria and Tunisia, was sponsored by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association. The PJCA was backed by the Rothschilds, was hostile to political Zionism and soon to come into conflict with the latter.

Zionism was motivated by a sophisticated and even "Marxist" understanding of the "Jewish question," recognizing Jews as a "people-class" whose economic function as merchants and money lenders had become antiquated. But it sought the solution to the "Jewish question" not from the assimilated Jew, Marx, but from the anti-Semite, Proudhon. The Jew was to be liberated from the stigma of the ghetto through the creation of his own ghetto-state. The transformation of the Jew from money lender and merchant to proletarian and farmer would come about in a racially-exclusionist closed economy.

Zionism went to Palestine under the slogans of "conquest of labor" and "conquest of land," well knowing that labor and land were to be conquered from the Arabs. As early as June 1895 Theodor Herzl wrote in his diary:

> "The private lands in the territories granted us we must gradually take out of the hands of the owners. The poorer amongst the population we try to transfer quietly outside our borders by providing them with work in the transit countries, but in our country we deny them all work. Those with property will join us. The transfer of land and the displacement of the poor must be done gently and carefully. Let the landowners believe they are exploiting us by getting overvalued prices. But no lands shall be sold back to their owners."
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> —quoted from Theodor Herzl's *Selected Works* in "The Class Nature of Israel" by the Israeli Socialist Organization

Next Issue—
THE 1948 WAR

This was an accurate prognosis of the next 55 years of Zionism in the Arab East except that the conquest was neither gentle nor peaceful, nor was the bulk of the land which constitutes the modern Israeli state "purchased," much less at "overvalued prices," but it was stolen through outright terror, intimidation and military force. Unlike classical colonialism and imperialism which established settler-colonies to exploit native labor, Zionism colonized in order to *displace* native labor. The effects of the Zionist "conquest of labor" on the indigenous Palestinians were much more vicious and devastating than the role of the British in Rhodesia, the Portuguese in Angola or the French in Algeria, depriving them not only of national independence but, eventually, of any ties to social production whatsoever.

The so-called twin pillars of Zionist "socialism," the Histadruth and the kibbutz, were the pride of the "left" Zionists, the old Poale Zion, which at one time actually applied to the Comintern for membership, and the Hashomer Hatzair (Young Guard). However, these were the institutional embodiments of the reactionary racialist slogans, "conquest of labor" and "conquest of land." The Histadruth was founded in 1920 as the "General Confederation of Hebrew Workers in the Land of Israel" by 4,500 of the 5,000 Jewish workers in Palestine. At the time there were ten times as many Arab workers in Palestine but they were excluded from the Histradruth.

In fact, the Histadruth was not even created to defend the Palestinian Jewish proletariat, but to *destroy* the Palestinian Arab proletariat! Its first activities were the boycott of businesses (both Jewish- and Arab-owned) which hired Arab labor and the physical intimidation of Jews who shopped in the Arab marketplace and Arab workers who worked for Jews.

The kibbutz was originally set up to make the Jewish community agriculturally self-sufficient but increasingly it more closely resembled a U.S. Army fort in the "Wild West" than an agricultural settlement. As pointed out by Amos Perlmutter in his book, *Military and Politics in Israel*, the kibbutz provided the foundation for Israel's modern army and the kibbutzniks provided both the elite for the General Staff and the core of the Defense Ministry. The Haganah was originally the defense arm of the kibbutz, a kind of farmers' militia.

Prior to the 1948 war most of the land occupied by the kibbutz movement followed the dictum of Herzl and was purchased, generally from absentee landlords at "overvalued prices." The Jewish Agency, the shadow Jewish government set up under British mandate, stated before the Shaw Commission of 1929 that 90 percent of the lands purchased up to that time came from absentee landlords. While some of this land represented heretofore uncultivated desert and swampland, on much of it, especially in the coastal plain near Haifa, thousands of Arab tenants were evicted to make way for Jewish settlements.

On the one hand this created land speculation and inflation leading to the boom/bust of the 1925-27 period, and on the other hand it created a disenfranchised peasantry and lumpenproletariat in the cities. In the absence of a strong proletarian movement, or even a republican bourgeois nationalist movement, these declassed elements were easily incited by Moslem religious leaders like the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem into intercommunal strife against the Jewish communities. Thus the 1929 riots were not between the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew nationalities, but between Moslem and Orthodox Jewish communities. The precipitant to the 1929 riots was a struggle over, of all things, the old "Wailing Wall" in Jerusalem.

Zionism and the Workers Movement

Where Arab and Jewish workers were forced to work together as on the docks of the port city of Haifa, intercommunal strife was held to a minimum, and Arab and Jewish workers often crossed racial/religious lines and gave a deaf ear to their respective

Chaim Weizmann, head of the World Zionist Organization, in 1942.

clericalist-chauvinist "leaderships" in order to engage in common strike action. But the overall impact of Zionism, in collaboration with British imperialism, was to prevent the development of a united Arab-Hebrew working-class movement, but also to retard the development of a Palestinian proletariat or even a Palestinian bourgeoisie.

Arab Palestine was overwhelmingly rural consisting of poor peasantry or fellahin, a rich landlord class or effendis and a tiny middle class. The effendis were more often than not like the Mufti, Haj Amin el Husseini, also religious leaders, and were divided among themselves along family lines. Each family organized its own "political party." Thus the Mufti organized a "Palestine Arab Party"; another rich prominent effendi clan called the Nashashibis (traditional antagonists of the Husseinis) organized a "National Defense Party," etc. In pursuance of family vendettas they tried to play off the British and the Zionists, but were usually unsuccessful.

Another obstacle to Arab-Hebrew proletarian unity was the treacherous role of Palestinian Stalinism. In its early years the Palestine Communist Party (PCP) had a modest but real influence among Jewish workers. However, it was unable to build up an organization because it correctly told those Hebrew workers it won over to return to their countries of origin and join the revolutionary movement there. (A significant number of Comintern agents in inter-war Europe were former members of the PCP who had followed this advice. Among them was Leopold Trepper, head of the famous "Red Orchestra" Soviet intelligence network in World War II.)

The party from its inception recognized the need to reach the Arab workers and fellahin, but under Stalin's Comintern "Arabization" came to mean something else. During the 1929 riots the PCP played an essentially correct role, trying to quell the intercommunal strife, putting the blame on the mandate, defending the Jewish quarters and pointing to the situation in Haifa (where the most conscious workers, both Arab and Hebrew, refused to get caught up in the riots) as a model. However the Stalintern denounced the role of the PCP in the 1929 riots and demanded a purge of all party members who did not "accept the view that the August uprising was the result of the radicalization of the masses."

This was obviously not popular with the Hebrew workers so the PCP began to publish separate propaganda. For the Hebrew workers they stressed Arab-Hebrew class unity, and to the Arab worker the PCP essentially became a more radical mouthpiece of the Mufti. This laid the basis for the later split in the party into its Jewish and Arab components, the former becoming pro-Zionist, the latter pro-Arab nationalist. Such is the logic of Stalinism and nationalism.

Large-Scale Jewish Immigration

Between 1919 and 1931 some 117,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine. But the harsh life, the hostile environment, the racial/religious tensions, the unemployment and economic crisis of the late 1920's, caused many to leave after a short stay. Between 1924 and 1931, for every 100 immigrants who arrived, 29 departed. By 1931 the Jewish population was 175,000 out of a total population of 1,036,000 or 17.7 percent.

Without Hitler's victory in 1933 and the subsequent closing of all borders to Jewish immigration—especially those of the U.S., Britain and the Soviet Union, where Eastern and Central European Jewry would have been most assimilable—Zionism would never have become a mass movement and the "Jewish National Home" in Palestine would never have become a state. The Jewish Agency which purported to represent all Jews, not just the Jews in Israel, did not lobby for opening the borders of the U.S., Britain and the USSR to Jewish immigration. Quite the opposite, it wanted "its" Jews for colonization to Palestine. And this is not only where Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin wanted them, but also Hitler.

Before World War II the Jewish Agency and the Nazis came to a meeting of minds on how Eastern and Central Europe were to "get rid of their Jews." The most "responsible," "respected," "prominent" Zionists are only too willing to brag about their collaboration with the Nazis to "save" a few thousand Jews with enough money and the right connections while millions went to the gas chambers. For example, the leading British Zionist Jon Kimche and his brother David (who joined the Israeli diplomatic corps after "independence") co-authored a book entitled *The Secret Roads: The "Illegal" Migration of a People, 1938-1948* (London, 1954) from which it is worth quoting extensively:

> "... the only road to large-scale emigration from Austria led through the Gestapo Headquarters and the S.S. Office for Jewish Affairs for which the sumptuous mansion of Baron Rothschild had been requisitioned. There in charge of the 'Central Bureau for Jewish Emigration' sat Captain Carol Adolph Eichmann.
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> "Bar-Gilad [a kubbutz leader] explained that he wanted permission to establish pioneer training camps to train young people for work in Palestine and to arrange for their emigration as quickly as conditions permitted. Bar-Gilad could not know that the man he was talking to was the prime mover behind the plan of 'Jewish emigration for money.' Eichmann's Central Bureau was designed originally for this very purpose. It would receive all Jewish applications for permission to leave Greater Germany. For all those who could pay for the services—and his charges were adjusted to the anxiety of his well-to-do Jews—Eichmann would sweep aside bureaucratic formalities and delays and issue passports and visas and provide the passage.... It was a lucrative business for the Gestapo.
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> "... [Eichmann] supplied the farms and farm equipment. On one occasion he expelled a group of nuns from a convent to provide a training farm for young Jews. By the end of 1938 about a thousand young Jews were training in these Nazi-provided camps."

The sense of arrogance and Realpolitik, the supreme qualities of the Zionist self-image of the "new, tough soldier-Jew" which pervades this book were certainly needed "virtues" for members of a Zionist intelligentsia who were soon to become apologists for "their state" born from the cadavers of six million Jews and from the wretched multitude of one million Arab refugees.

The Second World War

Although the leadership of the 1936-39 Arab revolt was clericalist and middle class, nonetheless it was a genuine expression of the Palestinian

Henryk Erlich, leader of the Bund

democratic aspirations. The three demands raised by the revolt were an end to Jewish immigration, the end of land sales to Jews and self-government. The Zionists had always opposed self-government in Palestine for they realized a genuinely democratic regime would place control of immigration in the hands of the Arab majority. The 1936-39 revolt was primarily launched against the British and not against the Jewish communities. Nonetheless, the Zionists were only too willing to aid the British in order to maintain the protection of the mandate. During this period the Zionists strengthened their economy during the extended Arab unrest. (The revolt started with a middle-class-led shutdown of Arab businesses in protest against Britain's pro-Jewish policies. This was later followed by guerrilla warfare waged by Arab workers and fellahin.) They also strengthened their army, the Haganah, under the protection of the British in order to collaborate with the British police actions against the Arabs. The Haganah, for example, was assigned by the mandate authorities to guard British pipelines. The strike could not have been broken and the revolt suppressed without the collaboration of the Zionists.

Twenty years of British imperialism in the Near East had, on the eve of World War II, turned many Arab governments pro-Axis. In order to shore up their shaky Arab support the British were quite willing to jilt their faithful Zionist servants. In 1939 they issued another "White Paper" which restricted Jewish immigration to 75,000 for the next five years and thereafter made it conditional on the consent of the Arab majority. Further, the Jews from European displaced persons camps, who had been promised a "haven" in Palestine, were not only surrounded by hostile British forces, pro-Axis Arab governments and coups, but Palestine itself was threatened with German occupation.

At the end of the second imperialist war, Britain, while militarily "victorious," was in ruins and bled white. A Labour government headed by Atlee was swept into power in the General Elections of 1945, assigned by the British bourgeoisie with the thankless task of trying to put back the pieces of the British Empire with as little dismantling as possible. Although the Labor Party was in the same "International" as the Zionist "socialists" and for 11 past conferences had voted for Jewish statehood, nonetheless Palestine was the British "fallback" position in the Arab East, and Atlee and his Foreign Secretary Bevin were determined to hold on with bulldog determination.

Bevin ordered the commandeering of wretched vessels like the *Exodus, 1947* of Zionist moviemaking legend, whose overcrowded "cargo" were the desperate survivors of German concentration camps, and this "cargo" either shipped back to Germany or "stored" in specially prepared concentration camps on Cyprus. At the June 1946 annual Labour Party conference, its first since the electoral victory of the previous year, Bevin had a ready response to the waves of vociferous and self-righteous indignation that swept across the Atlantic from the U.S. The U.S. wanted the Jews in Palestine "because they did not want them in New York." This was, of course, true but equally hypocritical in the mouth of Bevin, for the Labour Government did not want the Jews in London either. At this conference Bevin made it quite clear why he also did not want to admit the remaining 100,000 Jews in displaced persons camps to Palestine: it would cost Britain another army division and 200 million pounds. As Sir John Glubb put it, in his *Soldier With the Arabs* (London, 1957): "It was a question of how many divisions of troops would have been necessary to fight a three-cornered civil war against Jews and Arabs simultaneously."

Just as the U.S. rushed in to replace the crumbling empires of the British and French in Asia and the Arab East, so the center of imperialist patronage for Zionism switched from London to

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Debate

The Coup in Chile

Speakers from:

SPARTACIST LEAGUE
COMMUNIST PARTY
NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Friday, November 30
7:30 p.m.
1100 Broadway

New Orleans

Which Way Forward for the Women's Liberation Movement?

Speaker: SUE McKINLEY, RCY National Committee

Tuesday, November 27
7:30 p.m.
Hillberry A, U.C.B.
Wayne State University

DETROIT

Wednesday, December 5
7:30 p.m.
Michigan Union—Anderson Room A
University of Michigan

ANN ARBOR

British Labour Party Adopts "Socialist" Program:

A Left Face for Labourism

LONDON—The annual conference of the British Labour Party (BLP) was held in October amid widespread publicity of a radical left turn. The prestigious conservative journal *The Economist* (29 October) concluded that even if the Labour left was checked, "Mr. Wilson and his parliamentary colleagues will be saddled with the most rigidly old-fashioned, left-wing programme that the Labour Party has ever put before the electorate. They will be committed, if they win the next election, to such widespread nationalisation and state intervention as to make the British economy and society the most controlled of all major industrial countries outside the communist system." The liberal newspaper *The Guardian* (3 October) claimed that the Labour Party had adopted the "most radically socialist election programme for sweeping new extensions of public ownership in its 70-year history," one that in effect fell "little short of an industrial and financial revolution." Likewise, Harold Wilson described the program as "socialist," the official BLP paper announced that "the Labour Party has united around the most radical programme in its recent history" (*Labour Weekly*, 5 October), and Michael Foot, M.P., perennial leader of the Labour-left Tribune group cheered "the finest socialist programme I have seen in my lifetime." The *Tribune*, (5 October) for its part, proudly trumpeted in a front-page headline, "We've kept the Red Flag flying here!"

Wilson and Janes Fudge the Nationalization Issue

The sound and the fury centered around the BLP National Executive Committee's document, *Labour's Programme for Britain*, which was put out last May. Amid the usual rhetoric about the BLP being a "democratic socialist party" and about how "the economy is completely dominated by a hundred or so giant companies," the document had the temerity to concretely project that "some twenty-five of our largest manufacturers... would be required [to be nationalized], very early in the life of the [National Enterprise] Board." This suggested a commitment to nationalize, not bankrupt or failing industries as previous Labour governments have, but the highly profitable core of British capitalism, companies like British Petroleum, Imperial Chemical, Royal Dutch Shell, Leyland and Ford.

There were a number of factors leading the BLP's Executive to come out with a program which under present British conditions could only create economic and political chaos as in Allende's Chile. The BLP leadership, of course, had no intention of ever carrying out such a program, much less the social revolution which would be necessary to consolidate it. Rather, the most fundamental reason for its current "leftist" phrasemongering has been the gradual radicalization of the working class as both Labour and Tory governments have attempted to get Britian out of its decade-long economic stagnation through attacks on the trade unions. This radicalization has manifested itself primarily by leftward motion in the unions and, in a weaker way, in the Labour Party. (Thus, while the 1972 Trades Union Congress voted to oppose entry into the Common Market on principle, the Labour Party conference merely voted to re-negotiate the entry agreement.)

A second factor was the belief that, given the Tories' widespread unpopularity, Labour could not lose the next election, so that a program able to satisfy Labour's socialist constituency would not be damaging electorally. (Since May the electoral advantage of Labour has eroded, primarily because of the unexpected gains of the Liberal Party.) Another important reason for the "radical" nationalization stance has been the union bureaucracy's desire to deflect industrial conflict against the Heath government onto "the parliamentary road to socialism."

The use of nationalization as a sop to the left has a certain history in the BLP. For example, in the early days of the Wilson government (1965) the re-nationalization of steel was a genuflection to socialist principle in the context of generally right-wing policies centering on state wage control. Another indication that the Labour leadership intends this program only as a sop to its constituency, rather that as a call to militant class struggle, is the determined efforts by the union leadership to maintain "labor peace." Strikes have fallen to their lowest level since Heath took office, with a drop of 77 percent since the wage freeze began (*Economist*, 6 Ocotber 1973). (However, the lengthy electricians' strike at British Chrysler this fall and the current miners' strike threaten to upset this pattern.) Shortly after the BLP conference, the Heath government announced its "flexible" Phase III which allows for a 7 percent basic wage increase; the trade-union leaders have reacted by making some militant noises, but generally acquiescing to it.

Harold Wilson threatened to veto the 25-companies commitment, stating that it was "inconceivable that the party or its leader would go into a general election on this proposal, nor could any incoming Labour government be so committed." After an attempted compromise was rejected by the BLP Executive in late September, it appeared that the 25-companies issue would convulse the BLP conference creating a deep left-right schism.

Had the conference voted to endorse the 25-companies proposal it would have created a situation similar to that in 1959 when the party conference voted for unilateral nuclear disarmament and the Gaitskell parliamentary leadership had to openly flout the will of the "highest" party body. The repetition of such a situation would have done considerable damage to the illusion that the British Labour Party is a democratic organization. This is important since the widespread and deeply held belief that the BLP is internally democratic and thus responsive to its working-class base is a decisive factor in keeping the socialist aspirations of the British working class within the framework of reformist politics.

This dangerous situation for the Labour bureaucracy and British capitalism was averted when one of the powers in the Labour "left," Jack Jones, head of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers (TGWU), defected to Wilson. Since all members of British unions are automatically members of the BLP, the union bureaucracy, with its bloc vote, holds the voting power at party conferences. (And despite occasional appearances and widespread illusions to the contrary, the union bureaucracy wields the real power as the BLP is totally financially dependent on the unions.)

With Jones' support the conference passed all kinds of motions for nationalization, but by a vote of 3.9 million to 2.2 million rejected "the concept of a shopping list of industries and companies for social ownership." This was the death of the 25-companies proposals. The real politics of the trade-union "left" leaders, like Hugh Scanlon, and the real weakness of the socialist forces in the Labour Party were revealed in a motion to nationalize 250 major companies plus the banks, finance, real estate companies, etc. without compensation; it failed 5.6 million to 290,000!

When the smokescreen created by Wilson and Jones' rhetoric had cleared away, the newly "radicalized" BLP was left with a stated commitment to nationalize (with compensation) shipbuilding, the docks, the aircraft and machine tool industries, all of which are already heavily subsidized or failing, and to nationalize the North Sea oil and gas reserves (which, since it means cheaper fuel, may be supported by sections of British industrial capital). Such a program of nationalizations obviously does not mean socialism, but neither is it purely token.

The question of nationalization could thus become a highly explosive issue if Labour comes to power. On the one hand, the Labour Party's working-class base expects even more in the way of public ownership. On the other hand, the right wing of the BLP, under the leadership of prominent M.P.s such as Roy Jenkins, is well organized, willing and able to break party discipline (they did it during the Common Market debate last year), and controls about one-quarter of the Labour parliamentary delegation; it can thus easily block any scheme for widespread nationalizations. Therefore, elements of the parliamentary Labour Party might oppose even the present limited program in the event of a Labour government.

The other issue on which it was expected that major diffenences might emerge was the Common Market. The Wilson leadership feared that the anti-Market left might provoke the pro-Market right into open protest. As it was, the BLP reaffirmed its policy of re-negotiation and pledged to submit the issue to the electorate. A resolution stating that the Common Market was set up to promote capitalist interests and further that the "fight for a socialist Britain is part of the fight for a united socialist Europe" was put forward. But it did not even concretely call for withdrawal and was narrowly defeated. To make matters worse, much of the opposition to the Common Market was couched in chauvinist terms. Jack Jones said, "Those who threatened our lives in the last war should not be allowed to determine our future," and Michael Foot simply called for the Labour Party to "appeal to the greatness of the English people"!

Because a major dispute was averted over the nationalization question, a confrontation over the powers and independence of the parliamentary Labour Party did not materialize. And here again the "lefts" showed they can be depended on to defend the present anti-democratic structure. In a private session Michael Foot made a strong plea in defense of the prerogatives of the right-wing M.P.s. A resolution that the Labour parliamentarians must accept conference decisions as party policy was referred back to the National Executive for consideration. What this meant was made clear by right-wing M.P. John Cronin at the end of the conference when he attacked the "extreme and unrealistic" decisions of the conference which he stated would never be implemented since they would be "buried by Labour Cabinets and Labour MP's who are accustomed to commonsense decisions and political realities" (*Guardian*, 6 October).

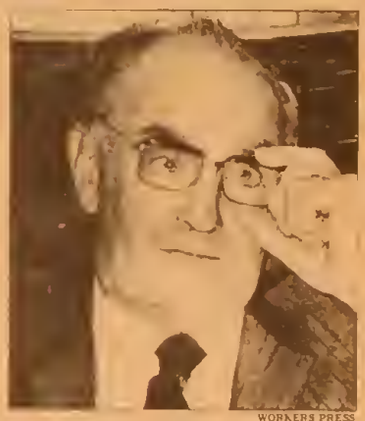
All Join Hands to Re-Elect Wilson

For a conference proclaimed as marking a sharp left turn, it was surprisingly free of factionalism. Instead, the dominant theme was the need for unity to achieve an electoral victory. Wilson articulated the real consensus when he stated:

> "We are debating not what we would like to do if we had political power. We are debating what we must do to turn our debates into the reality of political power. Otherwise this party will be reduced for years to the frustrations of parliamentary opposition...."

It was the upcoming election, in which a Labour victory cannot now be taken for granted, which conditioned the unexpected self-restraint of the "left." Michael Foot, leader of the left-wing Bevanite faction, played a key role with Jones in the nationalization compromise, justifying this beforehand by declaring himself against "old-fashioned fundamentalist ideas" (*Tribune*, 8 June 1973). Jones coined a new political axiom that the party should not make promises it could not keep in one term of office.

Similarly, Eric Heffer, an ex-red and now a prominent left-Labour M.P., limited himself to observing that "in some respects" Wilson's speech and



WORKERS PRESS

Hugh Scanlon

policy could have gone a "little further" and that he was "a little unhappy" with Wilson's reference to the constitutional rights of the shadow cabinet. Anthony Wedgewood-Benn, M.P., the left leader most closely associated with the 25-companies proposal, delivered the National Executive recommendation *against* the resolution for sweeping nationalizations and attempted to divert attention from the concrete nationalization proposals by railing against the evils of multi-national corporations.

Just as the left attempted to conciliate the party center, so did the right. In this "most left-wing" of BLP conferences the Labour right did not revolt or threaten to split, but jumped on the bandwagon. The leader of the right, Roy Jenkins, who broke party discipline to vote with the Tories for entry into the Common Market, declared himself a "radical," albeit "a responsible and reasonable" one.

On balance, the BLP leadership, which runs from Foot and Jones on the left to Jenkins on the right, successfully walked a tight-rope between placating the increased radicalization of its base through largely ideological concessions, and of convincing the bourgeoisie that it remains a responsible reformist party to be trusted with administering the state. However, the fundamental contradiction between the interests and demands of its base and the tasks it must accomplish for the capitalists, a contradiction which was only patched over by the compromises at the conference, can produce convulsive factional struggles in the Labour Party in this period.

British "Trotskyism" Faces Left Labourism

Two ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Britain, those around the papers the *Militant* and the *Chartist*, exist essen-

tially as organic factions within the Labour Party and regard the task of building a revolutionary workers party essentially as one of pressure to transform the BLP into a revolutionary organization. The *Militant* group controls the Labour Party Young Socialists and, with the absorption of the Tribunites into the Wilson regime, is becoming something of the official left opposition.

The *Militant* group is characterized by a pollyanna-like belief in the ever-deepening leftward movement of the BLP. Despite the fact that the "left" leaders clearly sold out on all major issues, the *Militant* (5 October) rejoiced, "the Labour Party is once again aware of its working class nature. It is a class party.... the ranks are moving the leadership to the left." Reading *Militant* accounts of the conference, one would never know that Wilson, with the connivance of the "left," had scotched the 25-companies proposal.

For the *Militant*, the Labour Party by definition never moves to the right. At the 1972 BLP conference, the *Militant*-supported Shipley amendment calling for massive nationalizations was actually *passed*, partly because the bureaucracy was being careless about votes with the elections still a way off. At the recent conference, however, a similar *Militant* resolution was overwhelmingly *defeated*. Commenting on this turnabout, the *Militant* (12 October) judged, "the Labour Party has not taken a step backward."

The *Militant* group's illusions of gaining power in the BLP rest on its base in the constituency parties, which are composed of individual members. On the key nationalization vote *all* of the *Militant* group's support came from the constituency parties, while the trade-union delegations buried it, demonstrating for the millionth time that the BLP is controlled by the trade-union bureaucracy. Properly carried out, entry work in the constituency parties could be a useful means of projecting revolutionary politics. However, to believe that one is waging a struggle for *power* in the constituency parties is childish. Indeed, the union bureaucracy finds the constituency parties a convenient playground for the naive "revolutionary left."

At present, while the Labour Party receives at least 80 percent of the British working-class vote, and in the absence of any alternative mass workers party, one of the key means for transforming a Trotskyist propaganda nucleus into a revolutionary workers party (and winning the leadership of sections of the class in struggle) will be through entry work inside the BLP. The purpose of such entry is not to transform the BLP gradually into a revolutionary party by supporting endless successions of left oppositions. Rather, in this period it is to aid in recruiting and developing a hardened communist cadre through struggle against the Labourite leadership, both the Tribunites, Wilsonites and Jenkinsites. One of the most promising areas for such work at present is in Labour youth organizations. But the decisive conflict in the Labour Party will occur in the *unions*, through a struggle to oust the bureaucracy and replace it with communist leadership. And while it is important even for a small propaganda group to exploit Labour's contradictions by working inside the BLP, especially now when it is putting on leftist airs to appease its electoral base, to *center* activity on this single arena would be deforming a revolutionary organization.

The small Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), which publishes the *Chartist*, sees itself as the left wing of the *Militant* tendency in the Labour Party. It denies that the BLP is a social-democratic *party*, describing it as belonging to the category of "the mass, amorphous, 'united front' movements and bodies of the working class (which are in themselves politically colourless)..." (*Chartist*, August 1973). Thus, the RCL views the Labour Party as a politically neutral body (which occasionally administers state power) whose reformist leadership can be simply displaced, denying the need to *split* the BLP, to create a fundamentally different type of party, both programmatically and organizationally.

In its current agitation the RCL (as well as the *Militant*) has laid great stress on the Chilean events and the similar dangers facing the next Labour government: "The terrible defeat in Chile hung over all of the debates at the conference" (*Chartist*, 13 October 1973). In one sense, of course, it is always in order to call for the arming of the labor movement. However, to project the Chilean situation onto the next Labour government suggests that Wilson will actually carry out massive nationalizations provoking capitalist economic sabotage and counter-revolutionary violence. This is nonsense. A second Wilson government will pursue policies similar to that of the first Wilson government which, one should recall, (after re-nationalizing the steel industry) was mainly called on to discipline the unions through a "national incomes policy"—i.e., state wage controls. Unfortunately, it appears that the *Militant* and *Chartist* groups actually believe that the next Labour government will deliberately disrupt the orderly functioning of British capitalism.

The RCL has perverted the correct position that revolutionaries must have an orientation toward the mass organizations of the working class into a position that the road to proletarian revolution must go through the BLP and its transformation into a soviet. It is certainly possible that in a revolutionary situation the organs of dual power may arise out of local Labour Party bodies, but to suggest that this is inevitable is to adapt to the present consciousness and organization of the class.

This is the same sort of error made by Andrés Nin, the leader of the Spanish Trotskyists in the early 1930's, who argued that because of their large size and relatively militant leadership, in Spain the trade unions would take the place of soviets. What this position amounted to in practice was revealed at the height of the civil war, when Nin's centrist POUM repeatedly capitulated to the anarchist leaders of the CNT labor federation. At the heart of this position is the substitution of organizational amalgams for political leadership. This is made clear in the RCL's document, *The Socialist Charter: A Programme for the Labour Party*, where it states that the "new Fourth International" will be based on the trade unions, labor and socialist organizations and the "socialist" states!

If the internal struggles of the Labour Party are pregnant with revolution for the *Militant* and *Chartist* groups, they are irrelevant for two other ostensibly revolutionary British organizations, the International Socialists (IS) and Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League (SLL), recently metamorphosed into the "Workers Revolutionary Party." Tony Cliff's IS is affiliated with and similar to its American namesake and is likewise a left social-democratic group currently on a syndicalist jag. The IS paper, *Socialist Worker*, devoted a few brief, condescending articles on the BLP conference, the substance of which was that it was not important. The theme of these articles is captured in the final sentence of one of them (*Socialist Worker*, 6 October 1973): "The energy spent in trying to convince Harold would be more profitably spent in fighting with the working class in its everyday struggles." In other words, the leadership of its mass party, supported by the trade unions, should be a matter of indifference to the British working class. Moreover, the IS agrees with Harold Wilson that, regardless of the attitude of the ranks, he runs the Labour Party and revolutionists should accept that. The ho-hum reaction of the IS to the BLP conference may reflect something more. The main issue at this conference was nationalization. Since the IS believes in the possibility of a completely collectivized capitalist society, it may regard the nationalization dispute in the BLP as an *inter-bourgeois* conflict in which the working class should be neutral.

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"Left" union bureaucrat Jack Jones opposed nationalizing key monopolies.

During the period of the BLP conference, the SLL was feverishly preparing to announce itself as "the revolutionary party." The process consists primarily in the recruitment of raw youth by methods pioneered by P.T. Barnum and refined by the Maharaj Ji. The coverage given the BLP conference in *Workers Press* was often dwarfed by *pictures* of the SLL's rock groups and dramatic skits, its main methods of building "the revolutionary party." Countering the bourgeois press' claim that reds were playing an important role in the Labour conference, *Workers Press* (5 October) noted sarcastically, "our man at the conference combed the delegations searching for a Marxist, but has so far not encountered a single one. Nor do we expect him to." After years of banner headlines proclaiming "Make the Lefts Fight!" and projecting a refurbished Bevanite "Labour left," the Healyites have now decided that the BLP can simply be written off:

> "It [this Labour Party conference] marks the total bankruptcy of social democracy in Britain. It means the end of the role of the 'left' in the workers movement. [!]
>
> "From now on, the fight for socialist policies can only be based on the growing strength of the Revolutionary Party and the Workers Press."
>
> —*Workers Press*, 6 October

Thus the SLL brags that it has nothing to do with the internal life and struggles of *the* mass party of the organized working class in Britain, in effect asserting that a revolutionary party can be built completely independent of the real political motion of the class.

Last but not least is the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the revisionist United Secretariat (USec). For the past period the IMG has been the most "revolutionary" tendency within the USec, tending toward workerist sectarianism; it refused to give critical electoral support, much less do entry work in, the "bourgeois" Labour Party. Quite recently it has dawned on the IMG that social-democratic parties in Britain and elsewhere are moving to the left. As an example of this, the IMG points to the French "Union of the Left" where the Socialist Party united with the Stalinist Communist Party (the mass party of the French industrial proletariat). In reality, the "Union of the Left" was based on an explicitly capitalist program designed to attract the liberal wing of the French bourgeoisie, which was duly represented by the left Radicals. Even more inspiring to the IMG than the "Union of the Left" is the fact that French SP leader Mitterand defended the rights of the Ligue Communiste and even shook Alain Krivine's hand.

Seeking to replicate these French triumphs in Britain, IMG has called for a broad front against the Tories:

> "... we propose the formation in every area of a united body of *all* socialists, trade union and political organizations, open to all those who are prepared to struggle against the Tory government and its policies."
>
> —*Red Weekly*, 31 August 1973

Perhaps without fully realizing it, the IMG is here calling for a *popular* front with that genuine and increasingly important bourgeois party, the *Liberals*, who clearly meet the criterion of opposing the Tory government. Such are the subtle ways of drifting into class collaborationism. Especially in the present context, the IMG's hoped-for anti-Tory front can hardly mean anything but the historic bête noire of the British labor movement, a Lib-Lab coalition.

A Lib-Lab Coalition?

Because of the betrayal of Ramsey McDonald in the National Government in 1931 the BLP has been one of the few social-democratic parties with a strong policy against coalition governments with openly bourgeois parties. There are now, however, strong reasons why this tradition may be broken, producing a Liberal-Labour government. One is that the Labour leadership would very much like to escape responsibility for the "radical" party programme without openly opposing and defying it. Wilson would like to be able to say, "I, of course, favor nationalizing the 'commanding heights of the economy,' but our coalition partners would never go along." Secondly, the Liberals may well hold the parliamentary balance of power, and the Labour leadership is nothing if not hungry for office.

The real possibility of a coalition with the Liberals (explicitly pro private enterprise and Common Market) when the Labour Party is supposedly moving left reveals the fundamental contradictions within the Labour Party. One is that the Labour leadership is consciously committed to maintaining bourgeois society and does not just

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Cynics Who Scorn Trotskyism

can with a perfectly straight face call upon the arch-reactionary George Meany to form a labor party. You see, there is no longer any basis for reformism—now it has directly revolutionary implications! Moreover, the argument that if trade-union demands cannot be objectively realized they are necessarily revolutionary can lead to dangerous utopian illusions. Why not assert that pacifism and parliamentarianism are objectively revolutionary since it is not possible to end war through disarmament or overthrow capitalism through electoral means?

It is, therefore, hardly surprising that Peter Jeffries should leap to the defense of "The Crisis" in so belligerent a manner. Stripped of the objective nature of "The Crisis," the Healyite opportunists would simply be naked.

What Type of Crisis?

Since Healy/Wohlforth are purposefully vague about the meaning of the term "crisis," a few questions are in order. By capitalism's crisis, Comrade Jeffries, do you mean the historical crisis of the entire capitalist order? Or are you referring to one of the cyclical crises of capitalism? Or don't you make any distinction between these two types of crisis? In any case, *our* position is in essence that of Trotsky:

> "However, the cyclical oscillations are inevitable, and, with capitalism in decline, they will continue as long as capitalism exists. And capitalism will continue until the proletarian revolution is achieved. This is the only correct answer to the question: 'Is this the final crisis of capitalism?'"
>
> —"Once Again, Whither France?"

Jeffries' article actually reaffirms one of our central accusations—that for the Healyites the term "economic crisis" has no *objective criteria*, but is simply whatever and whenever they say it is. Jeffries writes: "'Economic crises' cannot be measured in terms of production indices. This is the shallow method of the capitalist commentator—and one shared by Robertson and his group."

We assert that the Marxian concept of economic crisis refers precisely to a *phase* in the industrial cycle when expanding production turns to contraction with its attendant effects on prices, circulation and employment. "The reverse is true in a period of crisis. Circulation No. 1 contracts, prices fall, similarly wages, the number of employed laborers is reduced, the mass of transactions decreases" (*Capital*, Vol. III, Ch. 28). Whatever Jeffries means by the term "economic crisis" (in reality everything and nothing), Marx clearly defined it in terms of quantitative indices. But the high priests of the IC never soil their hands by coming into contact with the raw data of the gross material world!

Having determined the essence of the SL's position, Jeffries proceeds to demonstrate the Spartacist League's "denial of the nature of the epoch in which we live as one of the decline and breakup of world capitalism...." He accomplishes this "demonstration" by grossly misquoting us. According to Jeffries:

> "This is made explicit towards the end of his article when he tries to explain why capitalism did not restore the pre-1914 Gold Standard [Jeffries stands in such awe of these words that he feels compelled to capitalize them] after the end of World War II.
>
> "'That this did not occur after World War II was the result of the absolute economic and political hegemony of the U.S. in the capitalist world, a condition which lasted until the late 1960's,' says 'Workers Vanguard.'"
>
> "What the Spartacists 'miss out' is that the restoration of the 1914 Gold Standard was made impossible by the *historic decline of capitalism as a world system*, seen above all in the loss of Russia, Eastern Europe and soon China. It was this, and *not* the power of US capital, which precluded a restoration of the relations of 19th century capitalism. But like all petty-bourgeois revisionists, Robertson can see only the *strength* of American capitalism and not its *contradictions*."

Jeffries' quote is taken completely out of context, rendering it utterly fraudulent. Here is the paragraph from which this mendacious quack so cleverly extracted his single sentence:

> "After World War I, the qualitatively greater instability in the world economy, the strengthening of the labor movement and development of powerful revolutionary proletarian tendencies made domestic deflation to correct a balance of payments deficit too politically dangerous.... After World War I, the conflicts between the national bourgeoisies produced international financial anarchy because this condition enabled a national bourgeoisie to maintain or increase its share of world trade and capital at the expense of other nations through permanent borrowing, competitive devaluation and direct control over foreign exchange transactions. That this did not occur after World War II was the result of the absolute economic and political hegemony of the U.S. in the capitalist world, a condition which lasted until the late 1960's.... The endless crises of international finance are arenas of struggle between the imperialist powers over markets and spheres of exploitation. The decisive arena is war."

The rest of Part I of "Cynics Who Scorn The Crisis" is simply a plodding struggle against this tottering straw man set up by Jeffries.

The question arises as to why Peter Jeffries is so dishonest as to distort our position in such a crude manner. Evidently, he feels free to ascribe the most fantastic positions to us, confident that the great majority of the readers of *Workers Press* will have no opportunity to read "Healy/Wohlforth and 'The Crisis'" in *Workers Vanguard*. Why not, Comrade Jeffries, assert that the Spartacist League is composed of strange green creatures who are agents of the Mikado? The method of the lie is not the method of Marxists, but the method of the bureaucratic usurpers of the October Revolution. By stooping to such methods you only indicate again the depth of the political degeneration of yourself and of the IC.

Monetarism and Crisis-Mongering

But finally, after all the lies and straw men, Jeffries gets around to defending the Healyite holy grail, "The Crisis," from the cynics, scoffers and scorners. It is a lie, he says, to accuse the IC of having a monetarist conception of the economic crisis:

> "But we never said that this crisis was purely a monetary crisis. And Robertson can quote *nothing* from our many published statements which in any way give this impression. For us the monetary crisis was [*sic*] an acute *expression* of the capitalist crisis, the crisis of capital accumulation, the content of which is, of course, the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the restrictions imposed on this development under imperialism by the system of production for profit."

Of course, no one can accuse Comrade Jeffries of saying that this crisis, "The Crisis," is purely monetary. Quite the contrary! *Everything* is lumped into one big super-crisis. However, readers of the *Workers Press* and *Bulletin* must be shocked by Jeffries' assertion that the IC merely regards the devaluation of the dollar as an "expression" among many other expressions of the contradiction of capitalism as a productive system. Why, then, is the definitive IC work on "the post-war economic crisis" entitled *The Dollar Crisis?* Why, then, does this same work state that the gold convertibility of the dollar *caused* the post-war "boom":

> "The fact that after the Bretton Woods 1944 conference it [the ruling class] was forced to establish a series of agencies through which the economy was artificially stimulated by means of inflation was its recognition that the working class was too strong to be dealt with at that stage."

Why, then, is the "greatest crisis ever" of capitalism projected because *"nothing"* can replace the dollar as an international medium of exchange:

> "In no way could the implications of the crisis after August 1971 be likened to those of 1931. Despite the depth of the earlier crisis, it was one in which the world's major trading currency, sterling was replaced by another currency, the dollar. The blunt fact today is *nothing* can replace the dollar."
>
> —"Development of the Post-War Economic Crisis," *Workers Press*, 24 February 1973

No, no one could possibly have the impression that "The Crisis" was rooted in the monetary system—unless he read the IC press!

Crisis Mongers Deny Social Chauvinism

Jeffries' polemic is as significant for what it does not deal with as for what it does. A central theme of our article was that the IC analysis denied that the economic contradictions of capitalism lead to inter-imperialist conflict with attempts by the national ruling classes to line up the labor movement behind them on the basis of social chauvinism:

> "Despite its lip service to Lenin's 'Imperialism,' the SLL negates the Leninist-Trotskyist view of contemporary capitalism. Written during World War I, 'Imperialism' has two major themes. The first is that a decaying world economy intensifies inter-imperialist conflicts leading to a war over the division of world markets and spheres of exploitation. The second is that labor reformism necessarily leads to social-patriotic support for one's own imperialist bourgeoisie. In contrast to Lenin, the IC ignores the question of imperialist war and denies the possibility of labor reformism, even in its virulent social-chauvinist form."

It is most interesting that Jeffries' reply has nothing to say on these questions.

To summarize, the main purpose of the IC's concept of "The Crisis" is to assert that conventional trade-union struggles have become inherently revolutionary and the labor bureaucracy objectively revolutionary. The IC definition of an economic crisis is based on no objective criteria, but is completely subjective and arbitrary. The IC analysis is obscurantist monetarism completely at odds with Marx's analysis of circulation. And the IC in effect denies that the contradictions of capitalism as a productive system generate inter-imperialist conflict and war, giving rise to social-chauvinism as one of the most fundamental obstacles to revolutionary socialism within the working-class movement. Healy/Wohlforth capitulate to this as they consistently do to sundry other manifestations of reformism and bourgeois consciousness in the proletariat.■

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1199 Leadership Bows to Nixon

Nixon at Saturday peace rallies, they let pass the opportunity to generalize support for this strike by spearheading a political strike to smash the wage controls and oust Nixon at a time when both are highly vulnerable. When the bourgeoisie screams about "striking against the public" and causing increases in hospital rates, a militant union leadership would have responded by demanding municipalization of the "voluntary" (they are in fact heavily subsidized by the city) hospitals under workers control and free hospital and medical care for all. Davis, however, has given backhanded support to victimization of the working people by exhorbitant medical costs, simply demanding more "equitable" subsidies and more community and labor representation on hospital boards.

Stalinists Apologize for Sellout

The foremost apologist on the left for Davis, who has a well-known Stalinist past, was the Communist Party. From the beginning to the end of the strike it uncritically reported every bombastic assertion of the union leadership. The November 7 *Daily World*: "Local 1199 has made it clear that it will not back down on its demand for payment of the full increase." After the strike's conclusion, November 13, the *Daily World* cynically ran the following headline: "Hospital Strikers Win 6% Hike"! The CP is indeed driven to the most contorted gymnastics in order to maintain the illusions of workers in the "progressive" wing of the bureaucracy.

The political subordination of these progressive bureaucrats to the bourgeoisie has never been clearer. For all their ostensible "anti-Nixon" posturing, these liberals differ not one whit from Meany and Co. in their fundamental response to the Nixon regime. During the week of the hospital strike, the CP advertised various rallies to impeach Nixon to be addressed by such bourgeois politicians as Abzug, Allard Lowenstein, Sidney Von Lutber, etc. At the same time they openly collaborated with Davis' refusal to even hint at the need for a political strike to smash the wage controls and oust Nixon.

The trade-union bureaucracy has in fact been one of the most solid supports for the Nixon government. When even *Time* magazine has deserted the Nixon camp, the CP calls for impotent Saturday rallies that only tailend the parliamentary maneuverings of the bourgeoisie. The 1199 strike, occurring at the time of several other strikes in NYC, presented a real opportunity for the labor movement to launch its own offensive against Nixon and the capitalist policies he stands for. However, such a struggle would have clearly exceeded the bounds of labor respectability, demonstrating in action the need for labor to build its own party and threatening the bureaucracy's political ties with the bourgeoisie.■

SL/RCY support hospital strike

WV Photo

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Lame Brains in Turbulent Waters

tell-tale sign of dissension in the CP ranks around the CP's pop-front strategy in Chile and elsewhere, and Winston was attempting to double-talk his way around it. Again, the way his remarks were received (quietly, almost sullenly) by the CP/YWLL [Young Workers Liberation League] membership present, I don't believe they were swallowing it."

Who Defends Marxism-Leninism?

The most cynical of those who today are claiming to oppose the Moscow-line Stalinists' strategy of "peaceful coexistence" and a "peaceful road to socialism" are the various and sundry Maoists. In addition to the fact that Mao himself calls for peaceful coexistence with imperialist number one, Richard Nixon, and that the Chinese leaders supported the Indonesian CP's "peaceful road to socialism" through support for Sukarno; and in addition to the fact that Mao immediately recognized the reactionary junta, China still maintains an embassy in Santiago and refuses to grant political asylum to Latin American leftists threatened with execution by the military (!!!)—in addition to all this, we should note that none of these Maoists who today warn of illusions in a peaceful transition did so when the UP regime was in power and popular.

In an editorial, "Lessons of Chile," the U.S. Maoist *Guardian* (26 September) had some fine words to say about how simply placing the blame for the coup on the CIA was an attempt to absolve the Chilean CP of all responsibility for the bloodbath. It is notable, however, that the *Guardian* fails to mention Allende's role in fostering illusions in a "peaceful road to socialism" and the "democratic loyalties and professionalism" of the armed forces. This abstention is no accident, for at no point during Allende's regime did the Maoist *Guardian* oppose Allende's government, but it instead consistently supported the same reformists it criticizes today.

Such behavior is to be expected of the Maoists, who simply represent a national variant of Stalinism and accept the same reformist strategy of class collaboration as the pro-Moscow species. Far more pernicious is the behavior of those who claim to support Trotskyism and today label the Allende regime a popular front, but who took an *opposite* line when he was first elected. We have pointed out before that following Allende's election in September 1970 the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party similarly gave what amounted to de facto critical support to Allende: "...failing to recognize the positive elements in it [the UP government], condemning it in toto out of some sectarian dogmatism, would mean suicidal isolation." To such Johnny-come-lately "Trotskyists" the label of "Monday-morning quarterback" can certainly be applied.

SL Warns Chilean Workers

The Spartacist League, not afraid to swim against the stream, was the only one of all the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations to take a clear stand against the popular-front UP government *from the beginning*. Immediately after the 1970 elections we wrote:

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism is ready."
>
> —*Spartacist*, November-December 1970

The SL repeatedly warned in its press that this popular-front regime was leading to a massacre of the workers and peasants. In December 1972 *WV* stated:

> "Beneath the evolutionary facade, Chilean socity has been deeply polarized and is building toward an explosion, a counterrevolutionary onslaught before which the proletariat is defenseless. As the forces of repression gear themselves for the confrontation and the petty-bourgeoisie slides into the camp of reaction, the working class stands naked, without the organs of dual power, without arms, without a vanguard."
>
> —"Pop Front Imperils Chilean Workers"

And as Allende was announcing that "there will be no coup d'état and no civil war because the great majority of the Chilean people reject these solutions" ("Allende support grows: Chile's right backing up?" *People's World*, 8 September), the SL warned in a leaflet: "A bloodbath is being prepared in Chile as rightist forces attempt to create political and economic chaos as preparation for a counterrevolutionary putsch. ...Only a workers revolution can prevent this, and the first obstacle in its path is the popular-front Allende government itself!" ("Showdown in Chile," 4 September 1973).

GAMMA

Soldiers burning books in Santiago.

The Stalinists can prate all they want about "Trotskyite sectarianism" but they cannot accuse us of "Monday-morning quarterbacking"! And to "revolutionary" organizations—such as the ex-Trotskyist SWP and pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League—whose opportunist appetites and bankrupt tailist politics made them afraid to label the UP a popular front and to oppose it when it was popular for fear of "suicidal isolation," we can only reply that intransigent opposition to the popular front was the *only alternative* to suicide!

Ex-Trotskyists Front for Stalinists

One might think that these ex-Trotskyists would learn the error of their ways after the Chilean disaster. But this would be to underestimate the nature of the disease. The SWP is not simply "forgetting" its Trotskyism or "making mistakes," it is committed to a Pabloist methodology which leads directly to the complete liquidation of Trotskyism. And this is clearly shown in its response to the Chilean coup.

The SWP's reformist line was graphically demonstrated at an October 12 New York rally called by the SWP-led U.S. Committee for Aid to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). An endless parade of anguished liberals, fellow travelers and hardened apologists for Stalinism paraded across the stage without one word of protest from the supposed "Trotskyists" who built the meeting. Adam Schesch, a featured eye-witness reporter currently on tour for USLA, viciously baited the "ultra-leftists" who maintain that the CP-Allende government disarmed the working class. Although the audience was filled with SWP luminaries there was no answer to this Stalinist garbage.

These Pabloist renegades from Trotskyism naturally have an elaborate explanation for this anti-Marxist behavior, speaking of a strategy of single-issue democratic demands. Thus in the antiwar movement they seek to bloc with the liberal Hartke on the slogan "Out Now" and in the women's movement they want a bloc with the liberal Abzug on the slogan "Repeal All Abortion Laws." But such mini-popular fronts serve only to eliminate in practice the fight for the Trotskyist Transitional Program, replacing it with a minimum program in the traditions of the Second International and abandoning the struggle for socialist revolution. ■

Continued from page 7

Birth of the Zionist State

Washington. Truman became the champion of the "100,000" not only because he did not want them in New York, but because he knew that Britain could indeed not afford another army division and 200 million pounds for Palestine. It could not even afford having one fifth of its army and the 35 million pounds it required to hold on to Palestine after World War II.

The U.S. wanted to get into the Arab East fast. It was afraid that the USSR was about to pull off another Czechoslovakia in Persia. Furthermore, the British had joined Chaim Weizmann at the White House welfare line, and the U.S. was able to apply enormous economic pressure to England. By the beginning of 1947 the Atlee government had decided to wash its hands of Palestine and turned the question over to the UN. Stalin, motivated more by irrational Anglophobia than narrow conservative bureaucratic Realpolitik, lined up with Truman and co-sponsored the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. (The price of Thermidor is that the personnal whim of The Leader may sometimes be even contrary to the interests of the bureaucratic caste he represents.) Thus Stalin, who in 1929 purged and denounced the Palestinian Communist Party for not supporting the Arab pogroms and in 1936 made the PCP line up behind the Mufti, in 1947-48 was the most vigorous ally of Zionism. Marshall Plan bribery combined with Stalinist betrayal led to the UN partition resolution passed on 29 November 1947. Britain then agreed to end the Mandate by the coming May 14.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Continued from page 9

A Left Face for Labourism

opportunistically tail backward consciousness among the ranks as do pseudo-revolutionaries. Leftward motion within the ranks does not automatically force the leadership to the left; rather that leadership may strengthen its ties to sections of the bourgeoisie to counter the radicalization of its proletarian constituency.

More fundamentally, because it involves the basic political attitudes of the British working class, a coalition with the Liberals raises the question of Labour's "inviolable" commitment to parliamentarism. The BLP's new "most left-wing program ever" begins by stating, "We are a democratic socialist party...." In plain English, the Labour Party is committed to come to political office *solely* through winning an electoral majority. Given the weight of the petty bourgeoisie in the electorate and the control of the bourgeoisie over the institutions of education, culture and information, it is possible that the Labour Party can never win an electoral majority running on a formally socialist program.

While the working class must always strive to win over the middle classes, the institutions of socialism can only come about by the *dictatorship* of the proletariat—the replacement of parliamentary rule by soviet power. With a possible coalition with the Liberals in order to attain a parliamentary majority, the fundamental contradiction between the socialist aspirations of the British working class and the parliamentary character of its party, the Labour Party, has rarely been more manifest. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

NYC Hospital Workers Defy Wage Board but—

1199 Leadership Bows to Nixon

30,000 Strikers Forced Back to Work

NEW YORK—The Leon Davis leadership of Local 1199 (Drug and Hospital Workers' Union) successfully avoided a major political confrontation with the tottering Nixon regime when it led 30,000 striking workers at New York's private hospitals back to work on Monday, November 12. This strike took place concurrently with a series of other actions affecting New York City labor, including a nationwide strike against TWA, the first strike of firemen in the city's history and a strike against the Daily News. The hospital strike, however, was the key to this situation, not merely because it involved the largest number of workers, but also because a victory would have meant a successful defiance of government wage controls.

Wage controls have been the cornerstone of Nixon's domestic policy, and with the worst-ever inflation, particularly reflected in food costs, producing falling real wages, Nixon's bankrupt "Phase Four" has become widely unpopular in the working class. Simultaneously, the Watergate affair has seriously undermined the government's authority. Thus Nixon's current unpopularity, occurring at a time of marked labor restlessness in New York City, provided an excellent opportunity to launch a citywide strike as a definitive step to smash wage controls and to oust Nixon.

The ostensibly "leftist" Davis leadership, however, consistently de-emphasized the political nature of the strike and failed to mobilize support from other sections of the NYC labor movement, not even calling out the thousands of Local 1199 workers in city-owned hospitals. Instead, in the time-honored traditions of Meanyite "bread-and-butter unionism," the left-talking 1199 bureaucrats eschewed labor solidarity, pleading the *special* needs of their members, limited their propaganda to "more money now," and after the bourgeois press had effectively isolated the hospital workers, eventually caved in to the Cost of Living Council and hospital management.

The major conflict occurred over the size of the wage increase. A New York state arbitration agency had awarded 1199 a 7.5 percent increase or $12 over the current weekly minimum, whichever was larger. This increase was due in July but, under Nixon's Phase Four, wage increases exceeding 5.5 percent in the food, construction and health industries must be approved by the Cost of Living Council. (Last year workers in Local 1199 had gone almost 12 months before receiving their increases.) A meeting of the Council, on October 30, was inconclusive. Blaming management's collective bargaining representative, the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Nursing Homes, for not putting sufficient pressure on the Council, the union called a work stoppage for 48 "private" institutions on November 5.

Strikers Solid, Union Leaders Cave In

Union and management appeared in federal court on November 8. Leonard Boudin, representing the union, argued that the wage controls discriminated against low-wage employees in the health industry, and were therefore unconstitutional. Dismissing these lofty arguments, Federal Judge Robert Carter sustained an injunction against 1199, while slapping a $500,000 fine on the union, a $10,000 fine on Davis, $7,500 fines on other elected union officers and threatening the union with additional $25,000 fines for each day the work stoppage continued. Judge Carter also ordered the Cost of Living Council to reconvene no later than two days hence. When the Council met shortly afterward, it determined that anything above a 6 percent increase would be unacceptable.

By this time the 1199 strikers had been effectively isolated. Threatened with the use of the anti-labor Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes in New York by government employees, the firefighters went back to work without a settlement only a few hours after the strike had begun. A couple of days later the leaders of the Newspaper Guild announced a settlement with the *Daily News*.

While the *Times*, *Daily News* and *Post* predictably launched an anti-strike propaganda campaign focusing on the plight of the patients, the 1199 leadership did not bother to obtain the official backing of any other city union. Utilizing this atmosphere the Davis leadership moved quickly to endorse the Council recommendations. Meetings of the union's executive council and the two city-wide delegate assemblies representing the Hospital Division (blue collar) and Guild Division (technical and clerical workers) ratified the agreement.

The following day, balloting at the picket sites, an angry but demoralized membership voted to return to work. While the Council decision okayed a small workweek reduction for some 10,000 workers and increased vacations for the Hospital Division, on the crucial questions of wages and employers' pension contributions the final settlement held firm to federal guidelines—and gave the lie to the earlier demagogy of Davis and Co., who had promised to stay out until they received the full 7.5 percent.

1199's "Pragressive" Image Exposed

While 1199 retains an image of being a progressive and democratic union, built by relying on the resources of the black and Spanish community, none of this is true. The origins of the 60,000-member Local 1199 lie in the pharmaceutical industry. In the post-war period 1199 membership barely exceeded 1,000 and consisted of a largely Jewish, relatively skilled workforce of pharmacists and drug clerks. Local 1199 belonged then, as it does today, to the RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Union), and within that international union it was "protected" by the larger District 65, whose leadership, like that of 1199, was of Stalinist origin.

Local 1199 began to organize hospital workers in New York City in 1958. This has radically altered the composition of the membership, with almost 80 percent of the hospital workers black or Spanish-speaking, and 60 percent women. The shrewd 1199 bureaucracy has demagogically played up this fact to the hilt, openly parading its alliance with civil-rights moderates like Martin Luther King (who called 1199 his "favorite union") and King's SCLC, even winning occasional praise from more radical figures like Malcolm X.

WV PHOTO

1199 picket captain (left) stands by while cops assault militant at Beth Israel Hospital. The union official told strikers to go home, later thanked cops.

Most of 1199's early organizing victories were due not to King and Co., however, but to the assistance of the openly right-wing trade-union bureaucracy. In the union's first big hospital breakthrough in 1959, picket lines of hospital workers were joined by members of the mostly white construction unions. Van Arsdale, head of the NY Central Labor Council (which was dominated by the construction trades and the conservative leaderships of other municipal unions), also supported these strikes.

1199 and Tokenism

The 1960's were a period of general unrest within the ghettos, with considerable antagonism directed at the racial policies of the conservative union leadership. The official support granted to 1199 provided a cover for the bureaucrats' neglect of minorities in their own backyard. The bourgeoisie, too, while willing to grant certain concessions to blacks and Latins, was interested in playing off the black and Spanish communities against the unions. Tolerating a union responsive to the wishes of the "community," and in a certain sense counterposed to the central leadership of the NYC labor movement, made sense as part of this broader strategy.

This policy paid off when Davis supported the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community school board against the UFT in the bitter 1968 teachers' strike. Davis again demonstrated his political loyalties by supporting Mayor Lindsay in 1969, against the wishes of the Central Labor Council.

In days past the bourgeoisie touted 1199 as a union uniquely responsible to the wishes of its membership. The record of the 1199 leadership leaves much to be desired, however. While Davis originally justified the organization into separate divisions of blue collar workers on the one hand, and clerical and more skilled technical workers on the other, as a temporary measure, he successfully opposed a move for merger in 1969. This allows the 1199 leadership to play off the "professionalism" of the Guild Division against the less well paid Hospital Division, while at the same time isolating opponent political groupings (mostly concentrated in the Guild) from the real base of the union.

On the key issue of wage controls and anti-labor laws, despite occasional outbursts of demagogy, the 1199 leadership has a positively dismal record. In 1962 Governor Rockefeller ended strikes at Beth-El Hospital and Manhattan Eye, Ear and Throat, promising to pass a law permitting collective bargaining rights for voluntary hospital workers. Davis in return promised to refrain from further strikes and threats of strikes.

The result, a state law passed in 1963, specifically directed that disputes not settled through direct negotiations be submitted to binding arbitration (i.e., denied the right to strike to hospital workers). And for all his harsh words directed at 1199's treatment at the hands of the Cost of Living Council, Davis has never called for a labor walkout from that class-collaborationist board. Indeed, the president of RWDSU, Greenberg, today sits on the Council!

Foot-Dragging Strike Leadership

A successful conclusion to the New York hospital strike would have won the confidence of thousands of underpaid, unorganized hospital workers for 1199. The ultimate failure was hardly due to lack of determination of the 1199 membership, which demonstrated over and over its willingness to fight on the picket lines. But a victory required a leadership fundamentally different from that provided by the reformist Davis bureaucracy.

While Local 1199 officials kicked off the strike by asserting their determination to stay out until all demands had been met, their conduct during the strike demonstrated total unwillingness to back up these empty promises. There were no real strike preparations or strike fund or legal defense fund for workers arrested by the cops. "Volunteers" were allowed to enter the hospitals. The top union leadership was virtually absent from the picket lines, consciously allowing individual militants to risk their necks in disorganized skirmishes with the cops that could only discourage the membership.

While the "progressive" 1199 leaders like to flaunt their opposition to

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

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SHEIKS, TEXANS and GAULLISTS

World Oil Tangle

Will Arab Oil Boycott Cripple U.S. Economy? ... page 8

In one very general sense, the oil boycott is a conflict between industrial capitalists and landlords over the division of surplus value between profit and land rent. It is the first such conflict of major *political* importance since the industrial revolution in early 19th-century England. At that time, the lag of agricultural productivity behind industrial growth, combined with a rapidly increasing urban population, led to ever-rising food prices and a fierce conflict between landed property interests and industrialists.

British landed interests were politically defeated with the repeal of the "Corn Laws" and the food shortage solved through the *international* expansion of capitalist agriculture. And in general the industrial bourgeoisie has been able to overcome shortages of primary products through economizing or substitutionalist technology (e.g., synthetic rubber), or by geographical expansion into backward nations. Since the 1840's, the relative price of food and raw materials has remained stable or declined, except during major wars. However, this pattern was sharply reversed during the worldwide economic boom in the early 1970's; from November 1971 through this month the world market price of food and raw materials has risen 117 percent (*Economist*, 7 July and 24 November 1973). Thus the historic conflict between landlords and industrialists is being revived on an international plane. The sharpest (but not the only) current expression of this conflict is the deployment of the "oil weapon" by the Persian Gulf sheiks.

Inter-Imperialist Rivalry Encourages Oil Cartel

World oil production and distribution is dominated by seven companies, five American, one British and one British-Dutch. Beginning in the early 1950's, the oil-producing states received a 50 percent royalty on the official, so-called "posted" price of crude oil. (The actual world market price was sometimes lower, while the price of U.S. domestic crude was higher due to to tariffs and import quotas.) Faced with a market surplus in 1959, the oil majors cut the posted price provoking the oil-producing states into creating the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), whose core is Saudi Arabia, the Persian Gulf sheikdoms and Iran, in order to increase their bargaining power against the companies.

During the 1960's the major oil companies dominated the weak OPEC. Both the posted prices and royalty shares remained unchanged, so that with inflation their real income per barrel fell. The weakness of the oil-producing Arab states was demonstrated by the total ineffectuality of the boycott after the 1967 Arab-Israel War.

A decisive turning point in Arab-oil company politics came in 1970 when Colonel Qaddafi's newly-fledged "revolutionary Islamic" regime took advantage of a favorable economic situation (the closing of the Suez Canal and the cutting off of the Syrian pipeline to the Persian Gulf) to demand both a rise in the posted price and in the state royalty. Qaddafi threatened to prohibit oil to the American companies

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Saudi King Faisal and his palace guards.

GAMMA

As Woodcock Accepts Zionist Award...

Arab Workers Shut Down Dodge Main

DETROIT, 29 November—More than 1,500 Arab auto workers refused to work yesterday in a political strike aimed against the UAW bureaucracy's collusion with U.S. imperialism's pro-Israeli foreign policy. In a highly-organized action, nearly every Arab worker on the second shift at Chrysler's huge Hamtramck assembly plant (Dodge Main) heeded the call of demonstration organizers not to go to work. The plant was forced to shut down all but one of its numerous assembly lines and to send home most of the remaining second-shift workers.

Together with other Arabs and various radical groups, the Arab workers from Dodge marched 1,000-strong to Cobo Hall in downtown Detroit to demonstrate against UAW president Leonard Woodcock's acceptance of B'nai B'rith's "Humanitarian of the Year" (!) award. Although the crowd was predominantly Arab in composition, some black workers also participated. The militant chants attacked the UAW's purchase of nearly $1 million in Israeli war bonds during the recent Arab-Israeli conflict.

This significant political strike and demonstration is one of several indications of the increasing militancy of Arab auto workers. It follows by only two weeks another demonstration, by 2,000-3,000 Arab workers in Dearborn, protesting the purchase by UAW Local 600 (Ford's River Rouge complex) of Israeli war bonds.

An indication of the bourgeoisie's concern about these events is the news blackout in the ruling-class press. There was absolutely nothing in either of Detroit's daily papers about the highly significant political strike at Dodge Main, and only the smallest mention of the demonstration in the *Detroit Free Press*.

The strike and demonstration further revealed the deepening isolation of the UAW bureaucracy from its ranks. Only two days before, over 100 auto workers had picketed a meeting of the union's GM Council at which delegates meekly accepted the sellout contract negotiated by Woodcock. Despite mounting reports of economic downturn and imminent layoffs of thousands of workers announced by GM, no preparations for a fight against these layoffs were included in Solidarity House plans. Meanwhile, anger and discontent over the contract betrayal are still rampant in Ford plants where a majority voted down Woodcock's terms on the first ballot. The Arab workers' protests are simply aimed at another aspect of the bureaucracy's policy of class collaboration—its craven support to the U.S. bourgeoisie's foreign policy.

WV PHOTO

Arab workers demonstrate in Detroit against Woodcock support for Israel. A mass walkout by Arab workers shut down Dodge Main earlier in the evening.

Special Oppression of Arab Workers

Detroit's 80,000 Arabs are the largest concentration of Arab population in the U.S. Intimidated by the lack of legal rights of citizenship and separated from their fellow workers by a pervasive language barrier (only about half the Arab workers in Dodge Main speak any English), the Arab workers are a specially-oppressed layer of the work force. Fully integrated into the capitalist economy, they are kept in desperate conditions by segregation in the lowest sectors. In the auto plants they are given the dirtiest, most difficult jobs. At the Hamtramck assembly plant, where 20-25 percent of the work force is Arab (the highest concentration in Detroit's auto plants), there are no Arab supervisors or foremen and no Arab union representatives.

The importation of Arab workers into its plants in Detroit was undertaken by Chrysler in 1968 as part of a conscious effort to divide its increasingly racially homogeneous (black) work

continued on *page 4*

What Labor Should Do About Watergate

The continuing Watergate crisis has pretty nearly totally discredited the U.S. government, thereby creating unusual opportunities to fight for an independent workers party based on the unions and for a workers government, as the only alternative to Nixon and the capitalist system which produces his ilk. Of course, as we have said before, Watergate is fundamentally a dispute within the capitalist class. Spying and bugging have long been used against labor and the left, along with frame-up trials, murder and other police-state methods. But Nixon used his "Watergate methods" against the Democrats, another bourgeois party, and he got caught.

NEWSWEEK

This in itself would be enough to cause a minor scandal. But the subsequent cascading crises have been the result of Nixon's own desperate efforts to cover up absolutely everything. As I.F. Stone wrote in a recent *New York Review of Books*, Nixon's behavior is entirely rational if you assume (as he must) that once out of the White House he would go straight to the federal penitentiary. What has been revealed in the process is an administration in which skullduggery, rake-offs, blackmail and various forms of corruption have reached unprecedented levels. And, according to the Harris Poll, 55 percent of the population believes the President of the United States is lying. Such a situation is not normal, and it is necessary for Marxists to know how to respond to the present sharp government crisis.

A Socialist Answer to Watergate

For his truly enormous crimes against the working class Nixon should be removed from office at once. *Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. But impeachment is not enough!* We do not seek to perpetuate bourgeois democracy, the system that has produced a quarter-century of imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the bombing of Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Great Depression. To limit the labor movement to calling for impeachment of Nixon, as do the AFL-CIO tops and the Communist Party, is to wind up supporting Gerald Ford. A class-struggle answer to Watergate must shift the axis of struggle. *The fight to remove Nixon must become a fight not to replace Nixon with Gerald Ford, but to fight to replace the rule of capital with a workers government!*

The labor movement cannot leave the fate of Richard Nixon in the hands of the U.S. Senate ("the most exclusive club in the world"). Instead, labor must call for immediate recall and new elections. This demand is a sharp attack on the structural bonapartism of imperialist democracy and a threat to capitalist stability—which is why the bourgeoisie will strongly resist it. Consequently it is necessary for the working class to reply with a *political general strike of the organized labor movement to force new elections, so that labor can present its own candidate against the twin parties of capital.*

The Democrats and Republicans have both amply proven their unfitness to rule, and in the absence of a working-class political alternative new elections would remain a hollow victory. On the other hand, there is today no mass workers party in the U.S. Socialists must seek to overcome this contradiction by demanding a *labor candidate for the presidency, with a class-struggle program counterposed to both bourgeois parties, and a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government.*

Such a demand can strike a sensitive nerve among America's working population. Faced with runaway inflation, threatened mass layoffs and now the prospect of being frozen out of their homes this winter, wide sectors of the working class can be won to see the need for a socialist transformation of society as the only real answer to Watergate corruption and Nixonomics. Militants must take these demands to the unions where the biggest obstacle to a workers party and a labor candidate will be the bureaucracy. Local unions should be challenged to issue a call to the labor movement for a giant rally to launch a labor candidate.

At the same time, the fight for a working-class program is primary since a "labor party" in the image of George Meany, without a program counterposed to Republicans and Democrats, would be a deception for the masses and quite possibly a step backwards in the class struggle. In the present situation of rampant inflation and mass layoffs, the transitional demand of a sliding scale of wages and hours is one key programmatic demand which can awaken widespread enthusiasm in the working class and is absolutely necessary to maintain present living standards. Likewise the demand of labor off all government boards, smash state wage controls is crucial to the program of a working-class party, as is opposition to the U.S. imperialist designs in Vietnam and the Near East.

Class Struggle and Democratic Rights

The SL's policy of integrating the struggle for the removal of Nixon into the class struggle against capitalism has recently been attacked by the tiny, semi-syndicalist Revolutionary Workers Group, which in effect denies the importance of any struggle for democratic rights. In order to explain the methodology behind the Marxist attitude on the question of democratic rights we wish to reply to this attack, a classic example of ultra-left abstentionism.

In an article, "American Capital-

In Defense of Exclusionism... Wohlforth Lies!

It is the elementary obligation of all Workers League/Young Socialist members who claim to support workers democracy to examine the facts concerning the exclusion of the Spartacist League from a WL "public" meeting in San Francisco. They will thereby soon discover what the rest of the left already knows, namely that their leadership is composed of inveterate and shameless liars.

Several recent *Bulletin* articles have contained allegations that the SL "brings in the cops" as part of an "anti-communist" drive to disrupt and break up WL meetings. The 23 November article asserts:

> "it is now clear that the Spartacist League's sole reason for existence is to break up our meetings and disrupt our activities. They are willing to do anything and ally with anyone to accomplish this aim.
>
> "it is this blind frenzy and hostility to constructing a revolutionary movement that places them in league with agent provocateurs and the most reactionary forces who are out to destroy the revolutionary movement."

The purpose of such hysterical statements is to serve as a provocation to violence against the SL on the part of WL/YS supporters. We can only warn that the WL will greatly regret any such attempt.

We have already outlined the facts concerning what actually took place during the incident in question in the 9 November *Workers Vanguard* ("What Really Happened at the Jack Tar Hotel and Why Wohlforth Calls the Cops"). The latest *Bulletin* account now charges that: 1) the SL attempted to disrupt the meeting, 2) that the SL picketed the meeting shouting slogans, 3) that SLers threatened Lucy St. John they would force their way into the meeting and 4) that St. John told the hotel management in the presence of SLers that she did not want police there. Each of these statements is a total fabrication.

Every WLer has undoubtedly witnessed the exclusion of the SL from at least one WL "public" meeting, since this has been Wohlforth's policy for years. But *never* have they seen the SL bring in the cops, since the SL is opposed on principle to using the apparatus of the bourgeois state against tendencies within the workers movement. Wohlforth is attempting to claim that "somewhere else" the SL behaves differently. In San Francisco, as elsewhere, the SL did not bring in the cops nor threaten to break up the WL meeting, but the WL admittedly called the Jack Tar Hotel management to prevent Spartacists from selling outside the meeting. And this was done with full knowledge that the order to leave was to be enforced by the police. Local WL leaders sniggered as police identified themselves and ordered the SL to leave the premises.

In this incident the SL did what we consistently do throughout the country—namely, we protested vigorously at this undemocratic, anti-communist exclusion of our supporters and called it what it is, a disgusting, cowardly refusal to defend the WL's own politics. Wohlforth, St. John, O'Casey and their ilk openly sneer at workers democracy because *they have no use for it.* They, like the union bureaucrats and the Stalinists, do not seek open debate so that the working class can become conscious of its own interests and act accordingly. For a group whose politics consist of chasing alter every conceivable faker from Huey Newton to the Red Guards, meanwhile gazing with affection on the posteriors of the labor bureaucracy, workers democracy is less than worthless—it is a threat. It is an invitation to principled Marxists to challenge Wohlforth to defend his support of the 1971 New York City police strike or his obscene praises of Ho Chi Minh, the murderer of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. This Wohlforth does not want and, so far as he can manage to do so, will not permit.

Any supporter of the WL/YS who does not believe our account can find out for himself what Wohlforthian politics consist of by simply demanding of his leadership that SL supporters be admitted to the WL's *public* meetings *with the same rights as everyone else.* Some WL supporters have attempted this course and soon discovered that the internal regime of this fake-Trotskyist mini deformed workers state strikingly resembles that of Stalinist organizations.

Wohlforth is worried because his own membership occasionally gags when forced to swallow some of the slimy excretions he feeds it, now twice-weekly, in the *Bulletin*. This is why the WL uncharacteristically noted that the Spartacist League was thrown out of a "Chile support" meeting in Cleveland organized by the SWP, among others. And it is because Bay Area WLers know quite well that the SL energetically defended the *Bulletin's* right to sell at Fremont GM that Wohlforth tries to whip them into a frenzy to support the class treason of excluding socialist opponents from public meetings and calling on the management (and therefore indirectly, and knowingly, the cops) to remove them. Only those who have no principles can show no shame, for they have nothing to betray. ■

Skylab and "The Crisis"

In conjuring up an ethereal all-encompassing "Crisis," which magically transforms labor reformism into revolutionary struggle and renders the Transitional Program superfluous, Healy/Wohlforth have gone to considerable lengths to deny reality. One example which comes to mind was the article "Skylab Fiasco Dooms Future Space Programs" in the *Bulletin* of 28 May 1973:

> "The Skylab fiasco is a manifestation of the crisis of international capitalism and the resulting refusal of big business to invest any significant amount of capital in new technology, factories or equipment."

We refrain from the temptation of asking Wohlforth what he believes the corporations spent a record amount of investment capital on last year, and simply inquire: if the original Skylab difficulties are a manifestation of the "final crisis" of capitalism, then what does its current success signify, the beginning of the bourgeois millenium?

UPI

ism's Constitutional Crisis," in *Workers' Truth* (November 1973), the RWG ridicules the demands for publishing the 1970 secret police plan and playing the Watergate tapes in full on nationwide radio, thereby tacitly acknowledging the "right" of the capitalists to keep the government actions secret from the population. If the RWG were consistent we presume it would also criticize Trotsky's call to "open the books" as irrelevant or reformist. Likewise the *Workers' Truth* article dismisses the call for new elections as irrelevant since the bourgeois state would still remain. A labor party is rejected without explanation, and the slogan of a workers government is treated as if it were simply a parliamentary labor government.

For revolutionary Marxists, in contrast, the question of the direct democratic expression of the will of the working masses (immediate elections) is of enormous importance. It is the key reason why we call for the formation of soviets and factory committees at a time of revolutionary upsurge, even though such institutions by themselves are no more working-class in character than the unions. Likewise the struggle for a workers party based on the trade unions is a key instrument for polarizing political struggle on class-against-class lines, as well as a necessary demand for raising the struggle against the union bureaucracy to a political level. The fight for the independence of the working class is, after all, the crux of Marxist politics from the *Communist Manifesto* onwards. But the intransigent syndicalists of the RWG would simply have us abandon the parliamentary arena altogether. As for the call for a workers government, we (with Trotsky) always maintain that this can only mean the replacement of the rule of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat. We raise this demand precisely to counterpose the program of revolutionary Marxism and the interests of the working class to the reformists, who at all costs seek to avoid a break with the capitalist parties and an assault on the institutions of the bourgeois state.

The essence of the RWG position is conveniently underlined in this same article, namely that *"The bourgeois state, because it is in the final analysis the instrument of the capitalist class, is organically incapable of aiding the working class."* Hence they attempt to ignore it as far as possible! Marxists, however, have never ignored the question of democratic rights. The SL supports the equal rights amendment (against sexual discrimination), equal rights for blacks and other minorities, and freedom of the press. Karl Marx himself fought in the 1848

continued on page 4

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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Letters

November 25, 1973

To the Editor:

The National Caucus of Labor Committees has made major contributions in exposing current forms of proto-fascism. These forms include slave labor programs (e.g., Work Incentive Programs, methadone treatment, work-release for prisoners), the counterculture (e.g., Hari Krishna, Jesus freaks, the Guru Maharaj Ji), co-determination or local control, Meadows and Forrester's Zero Growth ideology, Skinnerian rat psychology, Jensen and Herrnstein's racist genetics, and Imamu Baraka (LeRoi Jones) of Newark. The NCLC's contributions signify that the NCLC could hardly be an organization of "fascist government agents," as many people contend. Instead, the events of recent months show that the NCLC is a cult of demoralized psychotics engaged in a dance of death.

The grandiose NCLC is running full speed in hell. The NCLC's most recent flop-triumph was its demoralized campaign in the New York City mayoral race. The National Executive Committee of the NCLC psychologically caved-in while its sacred chairman, Lyn Marcus, was absent from New York due to his trip to Europe; the nine members of the NCLC's National Executive Committee are supposedly the junior Prometheans of the world. The National Executive Committee as well as the local New York City Labor Committee, the largest local chapter of the NCLC, actually believed that their candidate, Tony Chaitkin, was destined to become the next mayor of New York City. Witness the manic-depressive psychosis of one Nikos Syvriotis, a National Executive Committee member who fainted in the middle of his speech at the NCLC's last national conference. The following is an excerpt from an article he wrote in the September 21, 1973 issue of *New Solidarity*:

> "The irony is that none other than the U.S. Labor Party (the party representing the NCLC on the ballot) will force a decisive swing of the pendulum of their (the ruling class's) moods. On November 5, every half-baked political commentator in the country will be writing columns to explain how Abe Beame's campaign was wrecked by the Chaitkin... campaign. Similar results from elections in other cities will help drive the point home."

In reality, however, on November 5 Beame won the election by a landslide, and Chaitkin recieved far less than one-tenth of one percent of the vote.

The NCLC, especially its leadership, is literally psychotic. The NCLC is detached from reality; they have no true awareness of space and time. In the same article, Syvriotis further reveals his organization's sick grandiosity:

> "This year's election day will demonstrate that our movement has changed the rules of the political game in this country. The panic that the capitalist toads will feel running up and down their spines as they watch the impossible, the (NCLC's) mass organizing of workers around a revolutionary program, this panic will drive them back to grim reality, back to Rocky, back to Nixon's jugular. From that moment on it will dawn on them that they too are walking on a tightrope."

The NCLC has repeatedly stated that "we are the only thing that scares the ruling class."

The NCLC's delusions of grandeur which caused their insane election prediction are the same delusions which cause the NCLC to claim that they will overthrow the governments of the United States, Canada, and Western Europe within the next five years. They are the same delusions which cause the NCLC to claim that its insipid Operation Mop-Up against the Communist Party "smashed the CP" and gave the Labor Committee "hegemony" over the left throughout the world. Operation Mop-Up was essentially a minor military tactic lasting about a month last spring, and mainly occurred on college campuses in a few cities in the northeastern U.S. Lyn Marcus provides the ideology for Operation Mop-Up in his article "Their Morals and Ours" in the April 23, 1973 issue of *New Solidarity*. In essence, Marcus echoes Nietzsche: the NCLC casts aside conventional morality and ruthlessly creates its own morality; the NCLC smashes the weak, demoralized CPers; the NCLC is invincible. Accordingly, the NCLC membership believes that they are Supermen fighting a Holy Crusade in the name of Humanity. While Chairman Lyn Marcus publishes his erudite paper, "Beyond Psychoanalysis," the organization he created has fallen victim to a fatal psychotic disorder.

Fraternally,

Robert S. Solomon
Detroit

WV replies: *We agree that the NCLC is not "fascist," as the Communist Party and others on the left claim, and see the origins of its truly bizarre politics in an unusual intersection between petty-bourgeois frenzy and the psychological quirks (to use a mild expression) of its Supreme Leader, Lyn Marcus. However, it would be equally inaccurate to describe the Hari Krishnas, followers of Guru Maharaj Ji and Imamu Baraka as "proto-fascists." None of these movements has anything approaching the social base of European (or even American) fascism in the 1920's and 1930's. A real fascist movement in the U.S. would not draw its sustenance from the Christian mysticism of the Jesus freaks, the frenzied Jewish nationalism of the JDL or the anti-white nationalism of Baraka's Young Simbas, but rather from the much more powerful brew of white racism.*

□

25 November 1973

To the editor:

The NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus resolution on the Arab-Israeli war (*WV* No. 31, 26 October) has an omission which could require a policy of giving military support to the Arab side in the war. The resolution specifies Israel's aggressive capitalist designs "to continue the suppression of the Palestinian Arabs ... and exploitation of both Arab and Jewish workers." However it only says that "the Arab states similarly seek a victory not to liberate but to oppress the Arab masses themselves."

Just because they will not liberate the masses does not mean socialists would not support the Arab states if, in this war, they were fighting for the right of self-determination for the Palestinians. The right of self-determination under capitalism means calling for the exploitation of workers of a particular nation by their own bourgeoisie—in order to undercut nationalist sentiments and eliminate sources of national hatred in the working masses.

As it stands, the resolution implies a situation in which Marxists would, without extending any political confidence, bloc militarily with the Arab states against Israel. What the resolution left out was the fact that the Arab states have no intention of defending the right of self-determination for the Palestinians, and that they also seek to oppress (or drive into the sea) the Hebrew masses just as the Israeli state seeks to exploit and/or expel Arab peasants and workers. The resolution's correct conclusion, in favor of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, was thus somewhat weakened.

A comrade

□

November 10, 1973

Comrades,

In an article entitled "SL Polarizes Toronto Women's Conference" (*WV* No. 32) mention is made of the origins of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). The RMG is a Canadian group formed last spring which describes itself as "a Trotskyist organization in active political solidarity with the Fourth International" (USec.). The article states that the RMG is "an organization which split from the LSA" (League for Socialist Action). This is completely inaccurate.

The RMG was formed by a fusion of two groups (the Old Mole and the Red Circle) and various individual leftists. The Old Mole was formed in mid-1971 as a new left student group at the University of Toronto. The Red Circle was formed as a study group in the summer of 1972 from among individuals in the left wing of the New Democratic Party (Canadian social democracy). At approximately the same time the Revolutionary Communist Tendency [RCT], a pro-"European majority" tendency was formed within the LSA.

All of these formations had certain informal links, and in the case of the Old Mole and the Red Circle, they were largely initiated by the same individuals. Also since its creation the RMG has been joined by a few ex-LSA members and numerous members of the LSA's youth group (the Young Socialists). In no sense, however, can the RMG be considered to be a split from the LSA.

It is my opinion that the RMG represents a significant development in the North American Left and deserves the more careful and serious attention of the SL than this error would seem to indicate.

Comradely,
Anton Delgado

WV replies: *While the RMG was formally independent of the RCT, the "informal links" between them certainly existed and the identity of their political views was not accidental. The original RMG leaders were contacts of the RCTers who were doing entry work in the New Democratic Party. Moreover, during June of this year some 26 members of the LSA and its youth group resigned to join the RMG. Finally, on October 4 the remaining 29 members of the RCT resigned from the LSA; the next day they attended the first national convention of the RMG where several ex-RCTers were elected to the leadership. Thus while the process has been somewhat ragged, it is essentially correct to characterize the RMG as a split from the LSA. Both the LSA and RMG consider themselves supporters of the "United Secretariat," the former allied with the SWP-led reformist minority and the latter tied to the centrist European majority.*

Debate

The Vanguard Party and the Class

Speakers:

Class Struggle League
HENRY PLATSKY

Spartacist League
STEVE GREEN

Sunday, December 9, 7:00 p.m.
Third Unitarian Church
310 North Mayfield

Chicago

For more information call:
(312) 728-2151

What Is the CP Up To?

Curiously, despite its almost daily coverage of auto news, the reformist Communist Party's *Daily World* has not seen fit to print a single line about the massive rebellion in Detroit against Woodcock's latest contract sellout. It has never even mentioned the infamous "secret letter," in which UAW leader Ken Bannon gave Ford Motor Co. guarantees on overtime that threatened the jobs of skilled workers, leading to a stunning three-to-one rejection of the contract by tradesmen. The *Daily World's* only mention of several days of militant demonstrations at Solidarity House by angry skilled workers was a single picture.

Shortly afterwards, David Mundy (unit president of the Michigan Casting Center) allegedly shot a militant in front of dozens of union members during heated arguments over the contract. Despite front-page coverage across the nation, the *Daily World* has never mentioned the incident. Perhaps the CP agrees with Woodcock that news about a bureaucrat shooting a militant is just "sensationalism." Or does a sympathetic interview with Mundy published in the *Daily World* only a few days beforehand indicate more than meets the eye? In any case, the CP apparently agrees with Woodcock on the contract because, while Ford and GM workers were still protesting the sellout, the CP plant newspaper *Dodge Worker* called on the ranks to "implement the contract"!

The suspicions of some kind of hanky panky between the CP and auto union tops are heightened by a curious report in the *Detroit News* (24 August) at the time of last summer's wildcats. Interviewing William Allan, Michigan correspondent of the *Daily World*, the newspaper reported:

> "Allan was at the plant gates along with UAW officials when the trouble was stirring last week.
> "'Irving Bluestone and Emil Mazey (two UAW officials) both asked me if I knew any of the leaders of this stuff,' Allen said. 'I told them I didn't know any of them, but that I could spot them easy enough in a crowd. They're the kids with the credit cards sticking out of their back pockets!'"

Whether or not Allan actually fingered anyone to these UAW vice-presidents is unclear, although he does not make the obviously called-for remark that refusing to finger militants to the bureaucracy or company is a matter of principle. Instead he took up the UAW leaders' theme of blaming the sit-downs on "outsiders": "Say, there are plenty of legitimate reasons to complain about conditions in the auto plants. But pulling stuff like these outsiders did last week isn't going to help anything." The CP's policy of playing up to "liberal" and "progressive" trade-union bureaucrats is nothing new. And just as in the 1940's when the UAW ruthlessly purged any known "reds" from the union, no "secret deals" or understandings will aid the Stalinists when the ruling class puts the heat on. Only a consistent political struggle against the sellout bureaucracy can prepare the road to victory for auto workers. "Diplomatic" reporting and playing footsie with the Woodcock gang, as the CP is evidently doing, means defeat for the class and self-destruction for the communists.

Continued from page 1

Arab Workers

force which was becoming dangerously militant (exemplified by the DRUM, ELRUM and other oppositional caucuses). Chrysler opened a labor recruiting office in Yemen for this purpose. Compared to the blacks in Detroit auto plants, it is now these Arab workers who are subject to the double oppression to which blacks are subjected in the economy generally.

Although the demonstrations and political strike by Arab workers have engendered little more than mixed neutral reactions from black workers, there is a background of tension in the plants. Many black workers resent the presence of the Arabs who, because they are economically desperate and legally vulnerable to immediate deportation, can be induced to accept more work by the foremen. The company uses them to dampen militancy. When Dodge workers "jumped the gun" on the Chrysler strike by walking out early at Dodge Main in September, it was Arab workers on the second shift who led a general back-to-work movement for the remainder of the day. Yet two months later it was these same workers who led a one-day political strike!

The situation of Arab workers in auto plants in Detroit underlines the importance of a Marxist understanding of racial and national oppression. Rather than petty-bourgeois race-guilt theories, it is necessary to understand how racial/national divisions are used to perpetuate capitalist domination and the role of doubly-oppressed minorities as a "reserve industrial army" to hold down wages. Because Chrysler Corporation found itself with an increasingly racially homogeneous and militant work force and needed a mechanism to replace the divisive role that black-white hostility had previously played in the plants, it is now black workers who are occasionally heard uttering that infamous line, "they ought to send them back to where they came from"... about the Arabs!

It would be a disaster for black workers to fall into the chauvinist temptation to adopt a hostile attitude toward Arab workers in imitation of white chauvinism and the anti-foreignism of the labor aristocracy. The fact that desperate black workers were often used by the auto companies to break strikes of white workers in the 1920's and 1930's merely made the slogan of black-white unity all the more important, in fact vital for the advancement of labor. Today it is likewise crucial to fight for real *black-*

SL/RCY pickets call for international working-class unity. WV PHOTO

Continued from page 3

...Watergate

revolution for a bourgeois republic instead of Prussian absolutism. But in all cases we seek to integrate the struggle for democratic rights into the class struggle rather than simply restricting ourselves to classless reform demands. What the RWG does is simply reject the struggle for democratic rights altogether.

Failing to understand the distinction between calling on the bourgeoisie to remove Nixon as the solution to Watergate, and supporting such a move if the bourgeoisie should undertake it (while continuing to call for a class-struggle solution), the RWG falsely counterposes two quotations from *Workers Vanguard*. In the 8 June *WV* we wrote: "For socialists to call today for impeachment of Nixon can only mean a desire to have another *bourgeois* ruler..." In the 26 October *WV* we stated: "Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon." Are these counterposed policies?

No. In the spring the bourgeoisie was not proposing to impeach Nixon, while in late October (and as early as July) they were forced to consider this move. But even in October *WV* only calls for "support[ing] a congressional move to impeach" and plainly states in the headline, "Impeachment Is Not Enough." For "revolutionaries" who find this difficult to understand how one can support impeachment yet still call for new elections and a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government we suggest they read Lenin's explanations of why the Bolsheviks called for all power to the soviets yet still supported moves to convoke a constituent assembly.

Bolsheviks are the most consistent supporters of democracy, yet at all times giving precedence to the class question. To call for impeachment (that is, for the bourgeoisie to replace the president in the framework of the existing bonapartist constitution) as the solution to Watergate, as do the AFL-CIO and the reformist Communist Party, is to abandon any independent working-class political perspective. But to ignore questions of impeachment and democratic rights maintains the "purity" of one's principles by simply abandoning the political struggle, and thereby the revolution as well. ■

SOVIET UNION: State Capitalist or Degenerated Workers State?

SPEAKERS:

Revolutionary Socialist League
Jack Gregory, RSL Central Committee

Spartacist League
Joseph Drummond, SL Central Committee

For more information call: (212) 925-5665

DEBATE

Saturday, December 15
St. Gregory's Church
144 West 90th Street
7:30 p.m.

NEW YORK

Correction

The article "New Left Maoism: Long March to Peaceful Coexistence—The Revolutionary Union" in *WV* No. 31 (26 October) stated that the RU's initial core of leaders set up the Radical Student Union to fight PL influence at the University of California (Berkeley). In fact, however, the RSU was organized by an amalgam of New Leftists, anarchists, student-power activists, unaffiliated Maoists and ISers, welded together by anti-communist hostility toward PL's empirically pro-working-class line in SDS. The RU did not become heavily involved in the RSU for several months, eventually gaining considerable influence, however. The Berkeley RSU-SDS split anticipated the later split in SDS nationally by six months and reflected the same political divisions.

The article also refers to the RU's "layer of veteran CPers, two of 20-year standing" who "left the party during the late 1950's, in the wake of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the 1956 20th Congress of the CPSU." The RU's core of ex-CPers actually included at least five of 20-40 year standing, most of whom left the CP during the mid-1960's, reflecting a specifically pro-Chinese current, loyal to the Maoist bureaucracy from its very inception, unlike the more Stalin-oriented tendencies which later gave birth to the Communist League and Progressive Labor Party.

Spartacist Local Directory

BERKELEY-OAKLAND..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139

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New York, NY 10001

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San Diego, CA 92122

SAN FRANCISCO..... (415) 653-4668
Box 1757
San Francisco, CA 94101

Arab unity and against the special oppression of Arab workers. *Full citizenship rights for Arab workers! Special programs under union control for the advancement and training of Arab workers, including special publications in Arabic, and English-language training! Fight layoffs with a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—jobs for all!*

Not Arab Nationalism, But Proletarian Internationalism

The highly political character of the Arab workers' protests underlines the possibility and importance of communist work in this specially-oppressed section of the class. The Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth, in full support of the demonstration's opposition to any support for Israeli war aims, participated with its own banners, signs and slogans. The SL/RCY refused, however, to capitulate to the prevailing sentiment in favor of Arab victory in the conflict, pointing out that the Arab armies would neither liberate the Arab masses (not to mention the Hebrew masses) nor allow the right of self-determination for the Palestinians. As the SL/RCY leaflet at the demonstration declared:

> "Only the organized and conscious working class, Arab and Hebrew alike, can overcome the endless cycle of war, oppression and revenge, issuing from the domination of competing nationalisms, and provide a truly democratic solution to the national conflict—a bi-national, Palestinian workers state, as part of a socialist federation of the Near East."

The SL/RCY banners and signs at the demonstration included the slogans: "End Discrimination Against Arab Workers! Oust the Bureaucrats—Build a Workers Party! Forward to a Workers Government!" Also raised were the demands "Oust Woodcock—Defeat the Sellout! For a Class-Struggle Leadership in the UAW!" and "No Support to Arab Regimes, Butchers of the Palestinian Resistance!"

The rest of the left capitulated in one way or another to the demonstration's Arab-nationalist mood. The Maoist Revolutionary Union, which played a leading role in organizing the demonstration in the Arab-American Coordinating Committee, was careful to keep its political line completely indistinguishable from the mass sentiment. Neither the RU leaflet nor speaker for the occasion in any way helped to prepare Arab workers for the inevitable struggle against the treacherous Arab rulers, both reactionary sheiks and demagogic nationalist colonels.

Like black nationalism, Arab nationalism (particularly in the U.S.) can only play a divisive role within the working class, serving to further isolate a doubly-oppressed layer without in any way providing a political basis for its liberation. Only the building of an international Leninist vanguard party of socialist revolution—the rebirth of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky—which unites all racial and national groups behind its proletarian internationalist program can lead a struggle capable of smashing capitalism and thereby liberating the world working class and all oppressed peoples.■

Forum

The Crisis in Leadership: The Need for a Vanguard Party

Speaker: SUSAN ADRIAN
Spartacist League
Central Committee

Sunday, November 16, 7:30 p.m.
Trinity Methodist Church
13100 Woodward

DETROIT

For information call:(313) 921-4626

Marcus Raves On, Part 2

"RATS!"

Lyn Marcus

Apparently in preparation for his current class series, entitled "Beyond Psychoanalysis," National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) leader Lyn Marcus wrote an internal document "'Trotskyism as Organized Sexual Impotence," dated 20 August 1973), from which we reprint excerpts below.

...As many know, I have had to confront the hazard of "massive rejection" by potentially everyone with whom I am associated, repeatedly, to sometimes attack the entire membership of our tendency at all costs. It is this not-so-easy chore, repeatedly confronted, which has been the special personal quality demanded of me, otherwise our tendency could not have come into being nor grown....

•

...The "Trotskyist," not-accidentally so, has transferred certain of his special religious needs from the Christ of religion to the "Trotsky" of "Trotskyism." "Trotsky" has become the image of Christ in Gethsemane, Christ crucified. "Trotskyism" is the cult of the passion of Trotsky, his blood that of the Lamb of God, and the entire liturgy of "Trotskyism" either a strictly canonical Requiem Mass ("Trotskyist orthodoxy") or a Lutheran cantata. It is a chiliastic image of man, squatting in earthly impotence, unable to consider actually changing the world, dreaming self-righteously of the embrace of Heaven, where "Trotsky" stands smiling, waiting to embrace the faithful one who has given long, suffering years of impotent service to the Faith on earth....

•

...The fear of rats, or sometimes insects substituted, is the deeper mental image which one locates "underneath" the immediate impulses for sexual and other social impotence....

...Rats! See them approaching! See their beady eyes! So many beady eyes all looking at us! Ugh! It almost seems that rats have hands! Stand still! Let's hope they pass us by! Shut up! Do not move! Perhaps they will not be annoyed by our presence! Be like a rock—anything inert, unalive; the rats must not see us! Or, perhaps we can convince them that we, too, are rats!!!???

Impotence! Fear of rats! CIA-rats, KGB-rats, FBI-rats, trade-union-official-rats, Left-rats generally. Rats! Rats! Rats! Save yourself! Be impotent! The rats hate anything which is not impotent! There are so many rats!

Gigantic, awfully monstrous beetles, malevolent beetles with beetle eyes and gigantic sexual organs are coming to rape us!

You are at work. You fear the employer-rat, who will destroy you with hunger and depersonalization. You look at your fellow-employees as the rat-employer's eyes turn evilly against you; your fellow-employees are turning into rats, too. Rats! Rats! With their evil, beady eyes, there are so many of them! Be impotent!

You are before a union meeting. The union members turn into rats. You "forget" what you were going to say, and say something obviously foolish (impotent) instead, or you close your inner eyes against the audience and recite to the skies, cautiously not directing anything you say to the inside of the rats; do not provoke the rats; evoke their sympathy for your pathetic self-righteousness, for your innocent (impotent) sincerity of belief. It is only your "little thing;" you are not actually trying to change the world, you are begging only for a little sympathy. Seeing that you are impotent after all, the union members look a little less like rats. You are alive; you have survived. The rats did not attack you; you reassured them *with your impotence.*

Live! Be a rat! Be a sadist! If you are a woman, find a susceptible man for your female sadism. You feel better; you are one of the rats; the rats, therefore, may not attack you, especially the gigantic, awful rat of a mother-image inside you.

Live! Be a rat! Be a male masochist with a woman. Find a woman to be a surrogate for your mother, and propitiate the awful gigantic rat of a mother-image sadist within you with another woman. Good! You have suffered self-degredation at the hands of the surrogate-mother-image of this woman-rat. You feel better at the same time you feel the awfulness of that degradation. Mother always loved you again after you were punished. Degrade yourself with a woman; that is the way to be loved again.

Rats! The furies who revenge the Gods upon those who commit the crime of hubris—the crime of potency.

Impotence is the fear of rats, the rats who hate anything human. Do not expose your humanity, do not reach for the humanity of another. Live a private life of Hell, keep your frightened Self cowering within the rat-mask you wear for the edification of the world of rats. Be impotent; be a "Trotskyist."

•

Present-day "Trotskyism" has seized upon the failures of the living Trotsky to create a morbid cult of self-righteous sexual impotence around his name. Most conspicuously in such a case as the U.S.A.'s tiny "Spartacist League," or the so-called "Trotskyists" of the other Schachtmanite [*sic*] cults, the name of Trotsky has been degraded into a premise for introducing the most obvious manifestations of sexual impotence as "orthodoxy." In other cases, such as those of the Healeyites [*sic*] or the followers of Mandel, the direct connection to impotence in the bedroom is more veiled, although ultimately no less decisive.

•

...*The male, at the same time, oppresses the woman by encouraging her sadism.* In the extreme case, we have the commonplace Madonna-whore pattern of the "Latin lover." This pathetic victim of Latin motherhood (only Black ghetto mothers tend to be as effectively sadistic to their male children as Italian or Spanish mothers) divides his mother-image into two parts: one, his Madonna-wife, whom he touches with guilt, and the other the whore, the degraded woman who permits him to be a pure beast....

...In Left politics, the same pattern persists as "Trotskyism" (in particular). One sets out to love the workers as potential revolutionaries, yet, meeting the workers, actually speaking to workers, becomes a degraded act in the same way as the proximity of the bed affects marriage. One "takes a position." The worker and the "Trotskyist" are both degraded in the same fashion as Lady Chatterly (Lawrence's wife-mother and the "Trotskyist" alike) and her gardener (the worker). The only term which adequately expresses the outcome of such Left political antics is Blah, and then more, Blah, Blah, Blah. It is a very bad morning after the night before, like a night in bed with an existentialist, the most sexually impotent of all lovers.

...Sexual life—and Left politics—is generally dominated by exactly such fantasy. The so-called program of the "Trotskyist" group is essentially nothing but such a pathetic fantasy, through which he says, chiefly: "This is my current fantasy, otherwise known as my party's program, my political position." The Trotskyist can imagine a large audience of workers or others swooning in admiration at his fantasy-speeches; one has but to watch a member of the Spartacist or Workers Leagues in action to catch this performance with the greatest clarity. Such a "Trotskyist" never imagines himself or herself actually penetrating the inside of the worker and changing him. It is all the fantasy of a sexually-impotent person.

We, by contrast, address ourselves to the deep feeling of impotence in the worker, evoke this terror within him, charge him with destroying himself and his family by his infantile submission to authority. We give him no peace, and no alternative but that of organizing for expanded reproduction. We are not impotent, and the "Trotskyists" and other Leftists therefore hate us deeply—because we confront them with the fact of their political and sexual impotence.

The time has come to deal more seriously with this. We shall no longer make merely an implicit threat to reveal the sexual impotence of these pathetic "Trotskyists" to them. We shall pull up the image of their own sexual impotence, their own terror, from within their unconscious processes, and hold it before their eyes until the echoing unconscious knowledge of the truth of what we say comes bursting forth into their conscious recognition. Then, they have no choice but to accept our terms or dissolve themselves. We shall do the same for the working-class generally.

INDUSTRIAL SUPPLEMENT

WORKERS VANGUARD

December 1973

For A Class-Struggle Alternative to the Woodcock Machine–

Unchain the UAW!

1973 has been the year of the Great Betrayal by the labor bureaucracy. The U.S. working class is being subjected to staggering increases in the cost of living. Food prices alone soared upwards by 19 percent in the last twelve months. Yet the corrupt Nixon regime has been able to enforce its vicious anti-labor wage-control policies without difficulties, despite its almost total isolation due to the revelations of the Watergate scandal. More than 700 contracts came up this year affecting more than five million workers, yet strike activity for 1973 represented a nine-year low! This is through no fault of the ranks.

Not since the CIO leadership initiated the World War II No-Strike Pledge has the real role of the labor tops been so sharply revealed. In 1973 we have seen the great reformer Arnold Miller of the UMW, in office only a scant two months, launch a campaign against wildcat strikes. I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, himself brought to power by an earlier rank-and-file revolt, signed a no-strike pact with the steel barons to last four years. The "progressive" Harry Bridges of the ILWU signed a no-strike pledge in a desperate (and successful) effort to head off a dock strike. Cesar Chavez, darling of the Kennedy liberals, simply dissolved the grape strike, thereby threatening the very existence of the UFW, rather than mobilize the ranks for a militant struggle against the Teamster/grower conspiracy. *When we speak of the labor bureaucracy as the agents of the bosses inside the workers movement we are simply giving a factual description of their activities in the last year!*

Pistols, Lies and Vote Rigging

The most blatant example of this scabbing has been given by the supposedly "liberal" Woodcock leadership of the United Auto Workers. Not content with negotiating an incredibly rotten contract, which does not even keep wages in line with soaring prices, the Woodcock gang is determined to shove this garbage down the throats of the UAW membership no matter what. This meant mobilizing more than 1,000 union bureaucrats to crush the wildcat strike at Detroit's Mack Avenue Stamping Plant in August. This meant ordering re-votes when Ford skilled tradesmen turned down the sellout contract. This meant hiding key sections of the contract in secret "letters of agreement" with the companies. This meant "reinterpreting" the union constitution so that skilled workers no longer have veto power over the contract as was agreed to at the 1966 convention. (This provision was an undemocratic violation of the principle of industrial unionism, but Woodcock's unilateral abrogation of a convention decision had the sole purpose of thwarting militant resistance to the sellout.) This also meant simply eliminating the tradesmen's right to vote on the contract, since the revisions to be worked out between the UAW and Ford will not be submitted for membership ratification.

But this is not all! UAW leaders have not only taken to shooting rank-and-file militants but, according to sources in Local 600, pistols are even being brandished at executive board meetings to force the contract on the middle-level leadership. And when the entire Local 600 (River Rouge) rejected the contract by a vote of approximately 15,000 to 11,000, Solidarity House suddenly stopped reporting vote totals altogether and ordered re-votes for production workers as well.

According to the UAW's undemocratic "unit voting rule" the entire Local 600 vote should have been recorded against the contract, which would have been sufficient to turn it down nationally. Woodcock & Co. say the contract was ratified. They lie! *Both production workers and skilled workers voted down the Ford contract on the first vote!* We challenge the UAW to publish the unit-by-unit vote totals on initial balloting.

UAW bureaucrat gunning for militant during contract dispute.

NEW YORK TIMES

War on the Ranks

The trouble around the Ford contract began with the skilled workers, who went into a state of virtual rebellion when they learned that concealed terms of the contract threatened the jobs of those who refused "voluntary" overtime (see the "secret letter" reprinted below). According to the *Detroit Free Press* (19 November):

> "They [the skilled tradesmen] had won a qualified right to strike over subcontracting of their work and they had won a form of voluntary overtime.
>
> "On the other hand, they might be replaced by subcontractors if they refused weekend overtime. 'It's like putting it in one pocket and taking it from another,' said one tradesman."

The skilled trades units reacted sharply to this underhanded deal, rejecting the contract by a vote of 20,086 to 5,943 nationally. Emotions ran high. According to the same *Free Press* article:

> "...at one ratification meeting after another, it was learned after the votes were in, the union officials were shouted down after a chorus of jeers and catcalls.
>
> "The resentment ran so deep that at one debate in Local 600 a picture of the late UAW president Walter Reuther was torn from the wall. And pickets smashed a lock on a Solidarity House gate so they could get closer to the front of the UAW headquarters.
>
> "...UAW craftsmen [following rumors of impending re-votes] were jangling Detroit's newsroom telephones off their hooks, charging 'dirty pool' and 'the fix is on.'"

As we reported in our previous issue (*WV* No. 33, 23 November) the atmosphere surrounding the re-votes in Local 600 was, according to one source, that of a "war going on between the top leadership and the middle leadership." Workers were physically threatened and intimidated into voting the "right" way, and a pistol was reportedly drawn on a member of the Local exec by another bureaucrat at a board meeting. The tension broke into the open when Michigan Casting Center unit president David Mundy allegedly shot a militant after an argument over the contract at the time of the re-votes.

The rejection of the Ford pact by the tradesmen sent the Woodcock clique into a state of frenzy. Sounding like a White Citizen's Council in the deep South, the UAW tops blamed all the trouble on the media and "outside agitators."

> "...UAW President Leonard Woodcock termed one media account of the shooting of a union member by a local union leader 'sensationalism.'
>
> "When the hassle boiled over into the senseless shooting near the Local 600 hall, Woodcock asked why nobody inquired about what the worker who was shot was doing there.
>
> "The fact is, he was there to vote 'no' in a ratification election he did not know had been called off, a rerun that he thought never should have been called in the first place.
>
> "He was there to do what the sitdown strikers did in the 1936-37 glory days of the UAW at Flint—dissent."
>
> —*Detroit Free Press*, 19 November

The Bureaucracy Isolated

The incredible behavior of the "liberal" Woodcock bureaucracy only confirms its isolation from the ranks. What did they expect? It doesn't take "outside agitators" to tell auto workers that the 1973 contracts are sellouts and an insult to every UAW member. Woodcock tries to portray these pacts as modest victories. But what has been won? The "right" to be forced to work a 54-hour week (remember the 40-hour week which the union won before World War II?), with "voluntary overtime" thereafter...provided your attendance record has been perfect, not many workers take the same day off and the union secretly agrees to let outside contractors do the work at lower wages! This is no "contract gain" but a blatant effort to help the companies fight absenteeism.

Woodcock also "won" a provision extending a new hire's probationary period to six months, putting part of his wages into a fund to be paid only at the end of probation period—thereby making it financially attractive to the auto companies to fire large numbers of new workers. This provision (which allows the firing of probationary workers *without cause*) effectively guts the possibility of a serious fight against speedup in many auto assembly plants. And on the inflation front, Woodcock won a "whopping" three percent (that's right!) per year wage increase as prices are skyrocketing at more than double that rate. The bureaucrats try to ram this rotten deal down auto workers' throats and when they gag on it UAW leaders blame..."outside agitators"!

This performance is nothing new for Woodcock. During the wildcat strikes at Detroit Chrysler plants last August/September, the UAW tops also

THE "SECRET LETTER"

October 26, 1973

Ford Motor Company
The American Road
Dearborn, Michigan 48121

Attention: Mr. Malcolm Denise,
Vice President

Gentlemen:

If skilled trades personnel declines to work overtime hours under the Memorandum of Understanding at any location and this results in an insufficient number of tradesmen to perform necessary work to maintain operations, the Company may take the following steps to get the required work done during such hours: (a) upgrading unskilled Company personnel or assigning them to assist in doing work normally done by skilled tradesmen (without regard to the requirements of any upgrader, changeover or similar agreements); (b) hiring part-time temporary employes; or (c) utilizing employes of an outside contractor. If not enough skilled tradesmen who normally would be called in for such work volunteer for two successive weekends, the Company will be deemed justified to invoke the above alternatives for whatever period is necessary to be assured that the required work will get done.

Very truly yours,

Ken Bannon, Vice President
Director—Ford Department

blamed the trouble on "outsiders," although they themselves were forced to admit the working conditions were intolerable. To counter a supposed "handful of agitators" Solidarity House mobilized its infamous thousand-man goon squad of UAW officials to crush the Mack Avenue sitdown. Soon after, squads of union thugs were beating up and harassing paper salesmen at auto plants throughout Detroit, as well as at the Parma, Ohio Chevrolet plant, the Ford plant at Mahwah, New Jersey, and elsewhere. We warned at the time that these goon assaults on "reds" were only a prelude to attacks by the bureaucracy on any opponents to their sellouts inside the union as well. The Woodcock clique is determined to make the membership eat the rotten contracts, at gunpoint if necessary!

Labor Skates Back Capitalist Exploitation

The 1973 "Year of Betrayal" was no accident. It is the continuation of 1970 when the UAW leaders "led" a debilitating lengthy strike against GM only to settle for what the companies offered earlier, or of 1967 when Walter Reuther voluntarily gave up the unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause. It is the continuation of the 1960's when AFL-CIO chief George Meany (who boasts of never having walked a picket line!) openly backed imperialist aggression in Vietnam, and the ostensibly antiwar liberal bureaucrats never lifted a finger to mobilize labor's power to stop the bloodbath. It is the continuation of the postwar years when the "militant" CIO leadership drove the "reds" out of the unions while refusing to call a national strike against the union-busting Taft-Hartley law despite widespread sentiment for a political general strike.

Repeatedly, the "liberals" and "progressives" of the Woodcock-Reuther-Bridges stripe have shown themselves to be no less committed to serving the interests of the bosses than the hard-line reactionaries like Meany and Abel. Meany, Woodcock and Abel all sat on Nixon's anti-union pay board from the beginning (which was no accident since they had been calling for wage controls for years!). They formulated the fraudulent guidelines which have permitted real wages to nosedive by 1.5 percent in the first six months of 1973 while productivity increased by 3 percent. And when the Pay Board turned down aerospace and dock workers' settlements, the "militant" Woodcock and Bridges could only screw up their courage enough to... sue the government in the capitalist courts! After a phony protest walk-off maneuver, the same bureaucrats crawled back to a renamed pay board (advisory committee to the Cost of Living Council).

These betrayals are merely symptoms of the deeply ingrained common feature of the trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay: their ever-increasing integration with and support for the capitalist system and its state. The reason Woodcock & Co. refuse to call an international industry-wide strike, even though they are perfectly well aware of the blatant collusion of the auto Big Three against labor, was already explained by Leon Trotsky in 1940:

> "Monopoly capitalism does not rest on competition and free private initiative but on centralized command.... the trade unions in the most important branches of industry find themselves deprived of the possibility of profiting by the competition among the different enterprises. They have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions—insofar as they remain on reformist positions... of adapting themselves to private property—to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

The position of Meany/Abel/Woodcock/Bridges/Chavez is the necessary position of all trade-union reformists, no matter how militant. As the UAW tops put it in the infamous "Harmony Clause" of their 1973 bargaining resolution, "... the growth and success of the company are of direct interest to the workers and their union, and the growth and success of the union are of direct interest to the company." This is a fools' paradise for in fact, as every militant can learn from daily experience, the interests of labor and capital are directly counterposed. As Trotsky pointed out, in the imperialist epoch the unions can either serve the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalism, or they will be instruments in the hands of the capitalists to crush and destroy every gain won by labor through years of painful struggle.

Class-Struggle Alternative

The only two significant opposition forces in the UAW today, which claim to represent an alternative to the openly anti-labor policies of the Woodcock machine, are the barely-existing "United National Caucus" (UNC) and supporters of the reformist Communist Party. The events of the last few months have brutally revealed the militant posturing of these fakers as in fact not qualitatively different from the present Solidarity House gang. At *no* time did they make a single effort to forge a *political* leadership which can provide an alternative to abject submission before the might of the capitalists. They only asked for "more" and when the chips were down they simply capitulated.

The UNC has occasionally made militant noises about opposition to the Vietnam war and calling for a labor party. But in the 1973 bargaining they simply tailed after the incumbent UAW leadership demanding "25 and out" and "voluntary overtime." When the skilled-trades revolt last month suddenly thrust the UNC into a position of leadership of the opposition to Woodcock's sellout Ford contract, these militants ran for cover. Even though the tension was centered at Local 600, one of the few places where the UNC has any support, the most it was able to come up with was an anti-union scheme to sue the UAW in the courts.

As for the fearful "reds" of the Communist Party, their pathetic response to these events was to call, in their shop paper the *Dodge Worker*, for *enforcing* the Woodcock contract! "A call for unity of all Chrysler workers to enforce and implement the union contract has been issued by the Chrysler section of the Communist Party" (*Daily World*, 27 November). This is only a taste of what the CP has in store for the working class. As an expression of its "strategy" of seizing every conceivable opportunity for class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the CP called for a "permanent no-strike pledge" following World War II.

Scabbing, no-strike pledges, court suits, vote-rigging, gun threats, lying—these are the means by which reformists and reactionaries alike will enforce the will of the bosses unless they are replaced by an alternative leadership pledged to a class-struggle program.

At the present time the key task is to move beyond the uncoordinated and largely unconscious rebellion against the labor bureaucracy to organize the most conscious elements into national caucuses whose program provides a perspective of consistent class struggle for workers democracy, that is to say, the rule of the working class itself, both in the unions and in society as a whole. Against the Woodcocks and Meanys, with their participation on wage-freezing government boards and their attacks on the membership and socialists, we demand, "Break with the Capitalist State! Labor Off All Government Boards! For Strikes Against State Wage Controls and Imperialist War!"

A class-struggle leadership would combat discrimination against minorities and women, opening up jobs for the unemployed through a shorter work-week at no loss in pay (sliding scale of wages and hours) and full cost-of-living protection. As opposed to the reformists' reliance on the twin parties of capital, Democrats and Republicans, such a caucus would call for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for the expropriation of industry under workers control and for a workers government. *Oust the Bureaucrats! For a Class-Struggle National Caucus in the UAW!* ■

Pushes Productivivity Hoax...

Union Chief Fronts for U.S. Steel

We reprint below a U.S. Steel advertisement featuring USWA President I.W. Abel demanding that his membership produce more and cut down on absenteeism, and two letters from U.S. Steel executives telling their subordinates not to display this ad in the plants. As they point out, steel workers would not take kindly to this blatantly pro-company propogando. The two letters were first published by the reformist National Rank and File Committee, on opposition caucus which is supported by the Stalinist Communist Party.

October 15, 1973

Mr. R. O. Hawkanson

During a visit to Homestead District Works on Friday morning (for a program partly supported by Public Relations in a very effective manner) I noticed on plant bulletin boards, prominently featured, a copy of the I. W. Abel productivity ad.

During our discussions with the Advertising and Marketing people it was, I thought, clearly agreed that this particular poster would not be utilized in our plants. We have all feared overexposure of I. W. Abel on this whole ENA-Productivity question, and we have recognized the risk of setting him up for his political opposition by too much identity with us. He has trusted USS not to do this.

We are getting lots of requests concerning the ad. My general view is that it should not be given for use in any plants (our company or others) with Steelworker bargaining units.

[signed]

J. Bruce Johnston

eg

cc: Mr. R. H. Larry
Mr. G. A. Jedenoff
Mr. W. L. Pader

October 16, 1973

General Superintendents
Western Steel Operations

Please make certain that the advertisement discussed in the attached is not displayed in your plants.

G. A. Jedenoff

At the invitation of United States Steel...

I.W. Abel tells how America can become more productive.

USS We're involved.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ Enclosed is $3 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 8 issues

includes **SPARTACIST**

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY,NY 10001

Continued from page 1

World Oil Tangle

and sell directly to the European governments.

Qaddafi's challenge provoked consternation within the Nixon administration, with some officials advocating a coup against the upstart Libyan fanatic. After much debate and diplomatic goings-on in Europe, the American government capitulated to the Libyans. The decisive reason was that the Europeans would have tolerated, even welcomed the elimination of the American middlemen in order to deal directly with the Arabs. According to James Akins, a leading State Department official involved in the Libyan situation:

> "It seemed unlikely, indeed inconceivable, that France, Germany, Spain or Italy would have allowed that [Qaddafi's cutting of oil production] to happen; especially as the goal would apparently have been only to protect the Anglo-Saxon oil monopoly, which they had long sought to break."
>
> —*Foreign Affairs*, April 1973

Qaddafi's victory put backbone into OPEC. Since 1970, there has been a continual spiral in the posted price of Arab crude oil and of the Arabs' share in it; the posted price has risen from $1.80 to $5.10 per barrel and the royalty share has gone to 55 percent (*Economist*, 24 November 1973). This price spiral is purely the result of the Arab state oil company capacity to organize and use monopoly power. Pure economic factors alone might well have led to a fall in crude oil prices since the Persian Gulf has enormous reserves extractable at constant real cost. The fundamental political condition for the effective use of this monopoly power has been and remains the desire of the European powers and, to a lesser extent, Japan, to replace the oil companies and deal directly with the sheiks, thus preventing a bloc of oil-importing nations.

The Oil Majors Twixt Mecca and Washington

There is a considerable overlap in economic interests between the oil companies and the Arab states. The way the system works, the oil companies almost always gain from higher posted prices since they are usually passed on through higher gasoline and other oil product prices. Very conveniently such price increases can be blamed on Arab pressure. One anti-company oil expert, M. Adelman, reports a British executive saying that prices are raised to cover tax increases. "and leave some over" (*Foreign Policy*, Winter 1972-73).

However, the oil companies are concerned (in a sense that the sheiks are not) that too-rapid price increases accompanied by shortages will lead to a political backlash. Since oil is basically an intermediate product important sections of the American bourgeoisie have an interest in low fuel prices. Thus the forces potentially hostile to the oil monopolies extend far beyond the left.

While the oil companies would like to steadily jack up prices, the present politically motivated boycott directed against the U.S. government is the last thing they wanted. Given the state of demand, it would be more profitable to sell all the oil they can extract. But more importantly this boycott creates near perfect conditions for popular attacks on the oil companies; they can be believably accused of colluding with enemy states, driving up prices to make outrageous profits and pushing the economy into a slump. If the pro-Zionist forces were clever enough to adopt a popular demand which would also undercut left-wing support for the Arabs, they would call for nationalizing the oil monopolies.

Since American imperialism is currently not in a position to simply smash Arab nationalism, the oil majors have a strong incentive to reach compromises with the sheiks. From their standpoint, U.S. support to Israel is an unnecessary handicap when bargaining with Faisal, Qaddafi and Company. The oil monopolies are, therefore, the most important anti-Zionist interest group within the American bourgeoisie. However, they do not want to intensify the Arab campaign against Israel since this could lead, in short order, to a confrontation between the Arab states and U.S.—like the boycott. In any serious conflict between Washington and the Arab oildoms, the oil companies could only be chewed up by both sides as treacherous partners, the usual fate of strategically placed neutrals. The oil monopolies did not organize and do not want this boycott, but would like to see it ended by conciliating the Arabs through a marked change in U.S. foreign policy.

For Greed and Piety: Faisal Radical Nationalist

The most important reason that the U.S. tolerated the growing strength and wealth of OPEC was that its two leading members were ruled by pro-Western reactionaries—Shah Pahlevi's Iran and King Faisal's Saudi Arabia. Faisal had publicly opposed using oil as a political weapon and had promised to supply the U.S. with all its oil needs (if the price was right). Moreover, he had put his oil where his mouth was by forcing the liquidation of the attempted oil boycott following the 1967 Arab-Israel War.

However, last spring Faisal began talking about how the volume of Saudi oil exports was dependent on a reversal of the U.S.' pro-Israel policy. While the full reasons for Faisal's rather abrupt about-face may never be known, no doubt he believed his uniquely favorable economic position would enable him to *succeed* in blackmailing the U.S. Probably he had visions of going down in Islamic history as *the* liberator of Palestine. Faisal's religious motives should not be dismissed. It is reported that while he is prepared to allow Egypt and Syria to work out the general terms of settlement, he insists that the "holy city of Old Jerusalem" be returned to Moslem hands. On a more mundane level, the boycott has enabled Faisal to outflank the republican-nationalists on the *left* and still the money keeps rolling in. Praised by Allah, the masses and his bankers—he is in a rare state of perfection for any man. Faisal cannot enjoy it for long.

It should not be thought that the Saudi king is being pushed to the left by the pressure of the radical nationalists. On the contrary, Faisal is the hard, driving force behind this boycott, with the so-called "radical" states playing the role that Faisal did in 1967. Iraq, pleading poverty, has not cut its oil output so much as one barrel; Libya and Algeria have made only nominal cuts in their production. Because they are not cooperating with the Saudi policing machinery, it is reported that Iraqi and Libyan oil is filtering through to the U.S. (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 November).

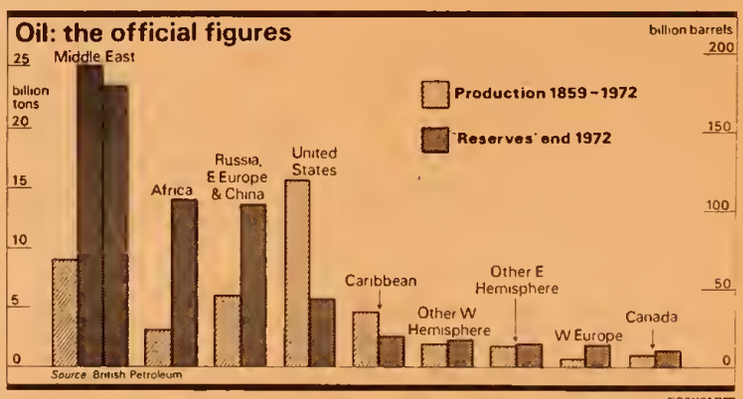
Faisal's boycott serves a useful purpose in showing up the Stalinist and revisionist notion of an "implacable" conflict between the "progressive nationalist republicans" and the "pro-imperialist feudal reactionaries" as so much hot air. A Faisal-Sadat axis now dominates the Arab world and, from a nationalist standpoint, that is how it should be. Faisal's oil weapon has done more harm to Israel than Egyptian arms or "Arab socialist" rhetoric, and every serious supporter of Arab nationalism should hail the god-given ruler of the last bastion of chattel slavery as his rightful leader. Those, like the SWP, who claim that "consistent" nationalism leads to socialism should now invite the Arabian king into the socialist movement. No doubt Healy and Wohlforth will claim that the ever-deepening "Arab Revolution" (a revolution not directed against the Arab ruling

AL AHRAM

Libyan leader Qaddafi (right) and Egyptian president Sadat (center).

Will Arab Oil Boycott Cripple U.S. Economy?

Historically the American ruling class has pursued the very same policy that it now condemns the Arabs for—state restrictions of the current production of crude oil and natural gas. The primary reason was military-strategic and secondarily to keep up prices, which is why the control system has been supported by the oil majors. In a system going back to Roosevelt's New Deal, the Texas Railroad Commission determines the current flow of crude oil from U.S. wells. Production and prices of natural gas, the main heating fuel, are likewise extensively controlled by the Federal Power Commission.



The Contrived "Energy Crisis" of Early 1973

The "energy crisis" began last year with a bureaucratic screw-up over natural gas regulation. Failing to anticipate either the rapid inflation or increased real demand, the Federal Power Commission kept the natural gas price too low for profitability, only one third of the price of imported gas, leading to an actual decline in gas production in the early months of this year (*Foreign Affairs*, April 1973). This is what caused the brownouts last winter in the Midwest and western states.

The natural gas shortage led to a sharp unexpected increase in demand for heating oil, creating the second stage of the "energy crisis." After heavy investment in refineries during the 1962-66 boom, the oil companies found themselves with excess capacity during the 1969-70 slump. So they stopped building refineries and ran out of capacity in 1972. The only way they could produce additional fuel oil was to cut back on gasoline production.

Naturally the oil monopolies used the cutbacks to drive out independent gas dealers by giving them no gas, while keeping their own stations adequately supplied. The anguished cries of bankrupt gas station owners both gave the impression that the oil shortage was worse than it was and led to the belief that the oil monopolies had created a completely artificial shortage.

In his April 18 energy policy statement, Nixon, while paying lip service to environmentalism, capitulated to the oil companies. Price controls were removed from natural gas and tax breaks were given for new refineries, wells and exploration. It is important to recall that the "energy crisis" of Nixon's April "energy crisis message" had *nothing to do* with a shortage of Arab oil imports. On the contrary, Nixon's policy called for a short-term *increase* in oil imports, removing all tariffs and quota controls. Even the most alarmist experts did not foresee any shortages of Arab oil before the 1980's. Despite the pro-Zionist purpose of his remarks, Harvard economist Wassily Leontief is undoubtedly correct in tracing the *pre-boycott* "energy crisis" to "gross mis-

classes) has forced even Faisal into its camp. Faisal's present role shows how utterly reactionary is the position that Zionism should be defeated not by the Hebrew and Palestinian workers and peasants, but by the Arab states.

What Will the Imperialists Do to the Sheiks?

The militarily powerless Arab oil-doms—"gazelles in a world of lions" in Senator Fulbright's words—will not be allowed to do grave damage to the economies of the capitalist powers with impunity. However, the tactics in dealing with the sheiks present real problems.

The easiest solution would be a pro-American coup against Faisal. Analogies to what happened to Mossadegh when he nationalized the Iranian oil fields in the early 1950's are now being bandied about in diplomatic circles. The influential conservative London *Economist* (17 November) is openly calling for an anti-Faisal coup. Quite likely the CIA unit in the Persian Gulf whose assignment had been to prevent a republican-nationalist coup against the king has received a new, more difficult assignment—depose Faisal and replace him with a U.S. puppet regime.

However, there is damned little social basis for a pro-American coup in Saudi Arabia. This can be seen by contrasting the present Saudi situation with Iran in the early 1950's. Mossadegh's National Front, a petty-bourgeois movement (supported by the strong Stalinist Tudeh Party) had nationalized the oil fields in the face of opposition from the traditionalist ruling elite centered around the Shah. Moreover, the oil companies and great powers successfully boycotted Iranian oil driving the nation into bankruptcy. In contrast, there are no Saudi political groupings to the *right* of Faisal and this boycott is immensely lucrative for all sections of the Saudi ruling class. It is doubtful whether the most venal, ambitious and embittered officer in the Saudi army would sell his soul to the Americans to depose Faisal with his new stature as an Islamic hero. (Come to think of it, Faisal is in a better position financially and politically than Nixon, who at this point might be willing to trade the presidency for a sheikdom!)

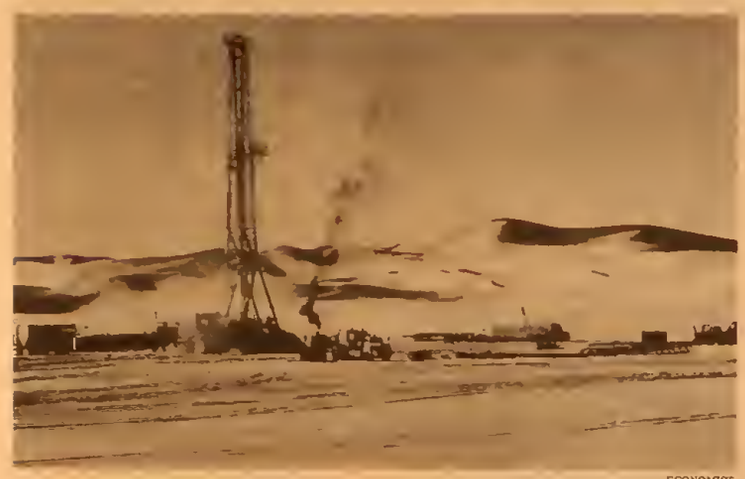
A reverse economic boycott, including the confiscation of Arab financial assets in the West, is also being bruited about in ruling circles. Total economic war against the Arabs, backed up by comprehensive rationing and other wartime-type measures might well work. Losing most of their money and finding their nations economically dependent on the Soviet Union, the sheiks would probably capitulate.

However, in reality, an effective economic boycott against the Arabs is a non-starter. It would require an impossible degree of cooperation between the capitalist powers. And the European and Japanese working classes will not accept the sacrifices of a full-fledged war economy in order to make the Sinai safe for the Israeli army.

That leaves direct military intervention as the most likely potential weapon against the boycott. This is the logical weapon since the sheiks are weak militarily, while strong economically, and currently enjoy considerable moral authority with their own people.

Should it come to invading the Persian Gulf, it will probably not be done by the marines, but by the U.S.' most important client state in the area—Shah Pahlevi's Iran. For several years the U.S. groomed the Shah to maintain order should the Arab-Israel conflict disrupt the steady flow of oil. As the Shah puts it, he will "not tolerate a subversive presence in the Gulf" (*Economist*, 7 July 1973). The Shah demonstrated his ruthlessness in 1970 by seizing three Persian Gulf islands, which were claimed by the Arabs. Exuding humanitarianism, the Shah has made his opposition to the boycott ominously clear:

> "...why are you continuing to shut off oil supplies and reducing production? Oil is like bread. You cannot cut it off during time of peace. Why do you want to look as if you want the world to starve?"
>
> —*New York Times*, 22 November



ECONOMIST

If the boycott goes on long enough, the Shah's army, proclaiming sympathy for a "starving world," will turn the oil spigots back on.

Right now the imperialist powers are temporizing in the belief that the Arabs will back off. And this seems to be what is happening. The Arabs reversed their projected 5 percent cut in December oil shipments in return for official statements by West Europe and Japan supporting the U.N. resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories—statements that could have been forthcoming without the boycott. The main theme of the recent Arab summit was the need for moderation in using the "oil weapon." Mahmoud Riad, Egyptian Secretary General of the Arab League set the tone in talking about using oil "in a judicious way" (*New York Times*, 27 November). For the present the imperialists are banking on the self-liquidation of the boycott. If this doesn't happen, there will be threats and violence.

Who Will Win?

The boycott represents a defeat for European nationalism, particularly Gaullism. The Gaullist officials going around Paris boasting of France's "privileged position" in the Arab world must be well guarded. The Pompidou government appears to have overlooked one small fact—the American companies control the oil distribution. While the Arabs may allow France to have enough oil, the American companies will not; they have cut deliveries to France 10-15 percent asserting that the world shortage must be shared equitably (*New York Times*, 26 November). Moreover if the oil shortage precipitates an economic downturn in the rest of Europe, France will be dragged down too even if the Seine were overflowing with oil. The oil boycott reveals the basic dilemma of Gaullism—how to be a great power through diplomatic maneuvering without the economic and military base.

In a sense, the Arab boycott is based on an over-valuation of the strength and independence of European powers. Nothing that Whitehall or the Quai d'Orsay can *say* will move one Israeli soldier one foot. The Arabs obviously believed that the Europeans and Japanese could pressure the U.S. to change its Near East policy, that the U.S. would rather sacrifice Israel than see its "alliances" strained. This is not true and therein lies the fatal flaw in the "oil weapon."

The present situation is intolerable for *all* parties involved. The U.S. has had its economy threatened, its alliances weakened, while Arab economic power and policy remain intact. The European neutrals have had their economies damaged, have humiliated themselves diplomatically and the Arabs remain dissatisfied that they can't *do* anything about Israel. The Arabs have played their highest card, the oil boycott, achieving only diplomatic gains, while ensuring that all the capitalist powers are determined to eliminate their "oil weapon" one way or another. And Israel faces only more diplomatic isolation and more war.

Within the framework of the imperialist system, there are only two ways out of the present stalemate. The U.S. will line up the Europeans behind it in order to smash the Arabs and ensure the oil supply. Or the Europeans will be drawn into a full-fledged alliance with the Arabs leading to direct conflict with the U.S. Without a revolutionary proletarian solution to the Near East conflicts, there can only be one or another kind of imperialist war.■

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management on the part of our oil industry, abetted by our government" (*Harvard Crimson*, 21 November).

Pro-Zionist Oil Experts vs. Arab Conciliationist Oil Experts

It is virtually impossible to assess the ultimate impact of the Arab oil boycott on the U.S. economy because all relevant information is systematically distorted by rampant partisanship. Even the most elementary facts are hard to pin down, with the U.S. government admitting that it has no independent data on oil supplies, relying on that provided by the oil companies themselves. The 23 October *New York Times* states that Arab oil imports are 1.5 million barrels a day out of a total consumption of 18 million barrels. However, in the 25 November *New York Times* we read that by January imports will be down by 3 million barrels a day.

The major economic forecasting centers, such as at the Wharton School of Business, are making projections by assuming a decline in oil imports of 2 million barrels a day (*Economist*, 17 November). A group of pro-Zionist economists claimed the oil deficit will not exceed 12 percent (*Harvard Crimson*, 21 November), while Nixon is talking about a 17 percent deficit (*New York Times*, 26 November), and a recent Library of Congress study shows a possible 35 percent deficit by next month (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 24 November).

In general, the pro-Zionist spokesmen minimize the impact of the oil boycott, while Arab-conciliationist forces (particularly the oil companies) tend to maximize its importance. A leading spokesman for the "Arab oil is more important than Israel" school is James Akins, State Department official specializing in the Near East, main author of Nixon's April "energy message" and newly appointed ambassador to Saudi Arabia. Akins' article on the oil crisis in the April 1973 *Foreign Affairs* is therefore an authoritative statement of those ruling class elements which believe the necessarily increased dependence on Arab oil requires a sharp change in U.S. foreign policy. Akins' main concern is indicated early in the article:

> "Even King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, who has said repeatedly that he wishes to be a friend of the U.S. and who believes that communism is a mortal danger to the Arabs, insists to every visitor that U.S. policy in the Middle East, which he characterizes as pro-Israel, will ultimately drive all Arabs into the Communist camp."

An important part of Akins' article is his defense of the Nixon administration for not taking a harder line against the oil cartel, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Akins claims a harder line would have been undercut by the other capitalist powers:

> "The general attitude [of the other capitalist governments] was that the U.S. was becoming vaguely hysterical as its import needs grew; the U.S., they thought, worried too much about losing Arab oil. This was something they, the Europeans and Japanese, did not need to think about. Israel was a millstone around the neck of the U.S.; this was the U.S.' choice; the Europeans and Japanese could make their agreements with the Arabs."

Akins believes that Arab oil is economically necessary, the Arab bargaining position strong, the other capitalist powers indifferent or hostile to U.S. interests in the Near East and continued unconditional support for Israel therefore no longer in the best interest of American capitalism.

Akins' arch-enemy is M.I.T. professor M.A. Adelman. Adelman argues that there is no physical shortage of Arab oil, which can be extracted at constant real costs. He blames the "oil crisis" on the collusion of the Arab states with the oil monopolies whom he charges "are now agents of foreign powers" (*Foreign Policy*, Winter 1972-73), a collusion which is condoned by the Nixon administration. He argues that a hard stand by the U.S., lining up the other capitalist powers, would have broken the oil producers' cartel, ending any oil shortages.

However, Adelman is aware that the European powers are more inclined to ally with the Arab states against the U.S. oil companies than vice versa. This small flaw in his grand scheme Adelman blames on irrational nationalism:

> "Hence it would be literally worse than useless for the U.S. to take the first steps, without firm assurance from at least France, Germany, Italy and Japan that they would not try to replace the American companies. These countries are still obsessed with vain notions of getting 'access' or 'security' through their own companies..."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Adelman is unable to discern divergent interests among the imperialist powers. The 1973 Arab-Israel war revealed the state of inter-imperialist relations which has existed since the late 1960's. The traditional (since World War II) subservience of Western Europe and Japan to U.S. foreign policy was not based on rejecting the concepts of "security" and "access" but rather upon the hegemony of the American bourgeoisie. With the erosion of American economic and military power, U.S. imperialism has been reduced to the position of first among equals. The differing interests of the nationally-limited bourgeoisies are now being reflected in increasing (though still muted) conflicts over trade policies, monetary questions and now the Near East and oil. Adelman's writings are basically polemics for the quaint notion of a U.S.-led cartel of oil-

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Notice

The next issue of WORKERS VANGUARD, No. 35, will be dated 4 January 1974.

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Arab Oil Boycott

importing nations. This is why Adelman's critics accuse him of living in the 1950's.

Adelman's views are popular among pro-Zionist liberals since they are simultaneously anti-Arab, anti-oil company, anti-Nixon and anti-Gaullist. Basing themselves on Adelman's analysis, a group of prominent pro-Zionist economists recently issued a statement against submitting to "oil blackmail" (*New York Times*, 21 November). The group includes such important Democratic Party advisers as John K. Galbraith, Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow. Expectedly they argue that there is little connection between the energy "difficulties" (they reject the term "crisis") and U.S. support for Israel:

> "...they believed the fear of the oil embargo's impact on the American economy was greatly exaggerated and that they saw only a 'limited and transitory' connection between the current fuel shortage and Arab-Israel conflict."
> —*New York Times*, 21 November

The analysis and solutions of these pro-Zionist academics (including four Nobel Prize economists) has a large component of wishful thinking. *If* the oil companies had invested so as to meet demand without raising prices, *if* the major importing nations would form a common bloc against the Arabs... then there would be no oil shortage. Well, when pushed against a wall sections of the ruling establishment start believing in miracles. It is ironic and significant that when the workings of the real capitalist economy are not to their liking, even anti-Marxist, "free enterprise" ideologists like Paul Samuelson instinctively grope toward a socialist solution—international economic planning!

However, the working class—which is already being asked to pay the price of the "energy crisis" through layoffs and higher gasoline and heating oil prices—cannot rely on out-of-power bourgeois technocrats to defend it from the oil monopolies. With the oil companies, the government and both pro-Arab and pro-Zionist interests trying to manipulate the "energy crisis" to their own ends, the labor movement must organize to force the *opening of the books* of the monopolies. "Business secrets" are always invoked by the companies when justifying layoffs, plant closings or price rises. And simply in order to preserve its present inadequate standard of living the working class is *forced* to demand an end to this "sacred" right of free enterprise—*or accept defeat* at the hands of the capitalists.

There's Money in the Oil Shortage

To focus solely on different currents within the ruling circles and their academic advisers would give a distorted picture of the contending forces. The interests of the oil companies, which are not the interests of the American ruling class as a whole, are very much a factor in the present "oil crisis." This year's "energy crisis" has been anything but critical to the oil companies' finances.

Since last March prices of domestic crude oil have doubled and profits have risen almost as much; third quarter profits for Exxon increased by 80 percent, for Gulf by 91 percent and for Mobil by 64 percent (*Oil and Gas Journal*, 12 November). The oil monopolies thus have a stake in maintaining a seller's market, as long as it does not provoke a political backlash. On the other hand, since oil is an important intermediate product, large sections of the bourgeoisie have a stake in cheap fuel and don't like the oil companies.

The oil companies' primary concern during the present crisis is *not* producing and delivering more oil. It is making sure that the political reaction does not affect their private property rights or the play of "free market" prices. The oil industry has launched a major campaign to ensure that scarce oil is "rationed" through rising prices and not through physical allocation at current prices or by higher sales taxes.

An editorial in the 12 November *Oil and Gas Journal*, the main industry trade journal, has the refreshingly candid title, "Oil Profits Not High Enough...." The *Wall Street Journal*, which unlike the *New York Times* considers the level of next quarter's profits of the major corporations more important than the long-term interests of American capitalism, is championing the oil companies' cause. Its 20 November editorial has the following to say about oil policy:

> "...no group of bureaucrats is wise enough to take the place of market mechanisms in curbing wasteful use of resources with minimum economic disruption....Shale oil for example might become economically feasible if the price of crude oil reaches $8.50 a barrel, but only if the industry can capture that $8.50....The surest way to cut demand and at the same time to maximize production is to free the price of oil and oil products."

In brief, the oil companies tend to exaggerate the oil shortage both in reality and in public opinion; and to utilize the crisis atmosphere to maximize prices.

Again, as with the question of business secrets it is necessary to pose a class program to the "sacrifices" being demanded by the avaricious appetites of the ruling class. The demand for the expropriation of the oil companies, without compensation, under workers control is clearly the only real answer to continued victimization at the hands of these exploiters. It is doubly necessary to raise this question today when the bourgeois press is trying to blame the whole oil crisis on a few Arab sheiks and Muslim fanatics, thereby absolving Exxon, Royal Dutch Shell, Texaco, *et al* of all responsibility.

The Environmentalists Attack

Much of the doomsday reaction to the oil crisis results from the doomsday predictions of the environmentalists. Whenever serious raw material shortages occur, a section of bourgeois ideologists jump to the conclusion that economic growth is absolutely limited by natural resources. The current worldwide economic boom producing sky-rocketing raw material prices has also produced a vocal school of environmental pessimists.

Environmental pessimism is a classic bourgeois ideology and there is little written today by Dennis Meadows or Barry Commoner that cannot be found in Malthus and Ricardo, who also believed that natural resource scarcity, specifically in agriculture, would lead to zero economic growth. Since zero economic growth under capitalism means zero growth of profits and ever-increasing unemployment, environmentalist austerity cannot be an important political movement. Environmentalism is limited to an academic and journalistic pressure group with a few advocates from the fringes of political power, like Ralph Nader and Kennedy's Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall.

The zero growth professors will have zero political impact...unless they feed into bourgeois economic nationalism. To a certain extent this is now happening. During the current worldwide boom, raw material import prices have risen much faster than that of finished manufactures. Raw material prices have actually doubled within the past two years (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 November). As a result an increasing share of the surplus value generated within the U.S. is going to the owners of foreign natural resources, including not only a *section* of the American bourgeoisie, but also the Persian Gulf sheiks and Latin American juntas.

Both for military-strategic and economic-profitability reasons, there is growing sentiment within the American ruling class that a smaller national product containing a much smaller fraction of imported raw materials would be in its interest. While the zero growth advocates will never achieve political power, an alliance of environmentalist austerity with national economic isolationism could produce policies disastrous for the American working class.

Is the Oil Crisis an Excuse for Nixon Deflation?

Nixon's cutbacks in oil consumption appear *excessive* in terms of the imports reduced by the boycott. Nixon's latest policies are aimed at a current reduction of 1.7 million barrels a day, with more cuts to come. This is slightly more than the reported 1.5 million barrels of imported Arab oil. Some of the Arab oil will be made up by other exporters; Iran and Indonesia have pledged to increase oil exports to the U.S. and some Arab oil is filtering through the boycott (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 November). Gulf Oil President Bob Darley has stated that U.S. reserves are adequate to maintain current consumption levels through the winter, despite the loss of Arab oil, and still have a stock of 55 million barrels on April 1st (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 November). One is forced to conclude either that serious oil shortages would have occurred this winter regardless of the boycott, that Nixon is using the Arab boycott as a politically convenient excuse for deflating the economy or that both of these are the case. Given Nixon's abysmal "track record" so far this year in mismanaging the economy, there are reasons for assuming the latter.

It is no secret that the Nixon administration has pursued a deflationary policy throughout this year, hoping that rising unemployment, slack capacity and unsold inventories would finally curb inflation. Nixon did not want an absolute economic downturn, preferably a period of minimal growth—the so-called "soft landing." Until last week the Federal Reserve has pursued a tight money policy since spring, leading to ever-climbing interest rates and ever-tumbling new housing construction and home-appliance sales. Social security taxes have been raised and if Nixon wasn't so totally unpopular, he would undoubtedly try to raise income taxes. Nixon's oil austerity program may partly be a politically expedient alternative to even higher interest rates, raising taxes or cutting government expenditure.

Even without the help of Nixon and widespread oil shortages, the American economy was headed for a bad year in 1974. The rate of economic growth fell from 8 percent in the first quarter of 1973 to 3 percent in the third quarter (*Economist*, 24 November). In the 20 July *Workers Vanguard* we predicted, "It is fairly certain that the value of output will decline by late this year and that the physical volume of output will decline in the early and middle months of 1974." Nixon oil policies, whether or not justified by the extent of physical shortages, make this prediction virtually certain. Should the economy turn down, an unlimited supply of oil would not in itself overcome it.

It is clear that the ruling class will now seek to blame any layoffs, further inflation, in short any source of economic discontent on the oil boycott. General Motors, which normally shuts down for a period during the winter and whose record sales of last year were clearly unsustainable, says it is closing down several plants for a week *because* the gasoline shortage has reduced sales of larger models. No mention that price inflation and record high interest rates might dampen auto sales. It is important that revolutionary Marxists try to prevent the rampant economic discontent being deflected from the capitalist system and its defenders and channeled into chauvinist hostility toward "Arab aggression." ■

NEW YORK TIMES

UPI

Top: Symbol of National Iranian Oil Company. NIOC may open gas station chain in New York, while Saudi capital invests in North Sea oil. Bottom: cars line up for gas during shortage.

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CHICAGO

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Battle in the USec

in fact generally due to their marginal social weight and/or predominantly petty-bourgeois composition.

According to the USec Majority document:

> "It is through the combination of unity in action and political differentiation that the goal of transforming the bulk of the forces of the new vanguard into a level capable of qualitatively modifying the relationship of forces with the bureaucratic apparatuses can be attained. It is through this combination that the ability to lead much broader mass struggles and more advanced forms of mass self-organization than in the past can be won...."

To the extent that this "theory" is pure impressionism, it contains a kernel of reality. In the years since about 1968, the advanced capitalist countries have certainly witnessed the partial radicalization of strata of young and minority-group workers, sections of the petty bourgeoisie (particularly the students, always a volatile and politically unstable social grouping) and currents moving left from social democracy, New Left Maoism, Stalinist and Pabloist organizations, etc. In this period the Spartacist League in the U.S. has grown more than sixfold, predominantly, though not exclusively, from such strata. But for us, the attempt to intersect these transient opportunities and polarize and recruit from these strata is a tactic (which we, like Trotsky, label regroupment) and not a "strategic" substitution of these volatile and politically unformed strata for the conscious vanguard itself. Most important, any orientation toward revolutionary regroupment must have at its core the intransigent defense of the Trotskyist program rather than, as with the Pabloists, being a cover for abandonment of the fundamental principles of the Fourth International.

For the USec opportunists, the "new mass vanguard" is only the latest in a long succession of Pabloist nostrums, beginning with "entrism sui generis" and including notably "the Red University," which have as their core the attempt to wield social forces other than the conscious and organized industrial working class as a "blunted instrument" of revolution. The "new mass vanguard" is only a reformulation of the Ligue Communiste's previous catchphrase, "from the periphery to the center," which postulates that the mobilization of marginal and petty-bourgeois social layers can magically "grow over" into support within key sections of the proletariat itself.

SWP Bewails Class Collaborationism

The question of popular frontism was raised by a May 28 letter to the Ligue Communiste's Political Committee from the SWP's Political Committee dealing with the 1973 French elections. The letter is a masterpiece of sober Trotskyist orthodoxy in criticizing the Ligue's adaptation to the French CP-SP-left Radical Union de la Gauche, which the SWP letter characterizes as "a projected electoral bloc with bourgeois forces, the ultimate goal being a coalition government."

In its reply dated June 14, the Ligue PB is reduced to all the standard evasions: the SWP is turning principle into "dogma," the SWP is not taking into account the "concrete circumstances" in France. The Ligue insists:

> "We have said that the Union of the Left was not, and could not have been, a new edition of the Popular Front, even if its program, like that of the Popular Front of 1935, was a program for reforming bourgeois society."

It goes on to explain that the objective circumstances have changed since 1935 so that today the Union of the Left leaders are forced to pose (in an admittedly reformist manner) the transition to socialism by stages:

> "They do not say that because they want to; they say it because not only the present social crisis but especially the temper of the masses during this crisis place the question of the transition to socialism on the agenda as a concrete task of the day...."

Truly these people are the legitimate heirs of Michel Pablo and his "new world reality," whereby the impact of the irreversible revolutionary process was such that "Stalinism can no longer betray."

But the real irony resides in the SWP's cloaking itself in sanctimonious orthodoxy, its lecturing the Ligue for its manifest appetite for class collaborationism, despite the fact that since 1965 the central domestic thrust of the SWP has been class collaborationism par excellence in the antiwar movement. This total political liquidation into a series of class-collaborationist antiwar front groups began early on—as both sides in the current fight would like to forget—with the slogan "Stop the War Now," which in no way even implied a demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. Tailing the leftward motion of the antiwar movement, the SWP moved to the social-patriotic "Bring Our Boys Home Now" (the USec Majority—which now gently suggests that propagandistic activity in support of the victory of the other side might have been a good idea—passed this one without demur at the time).

It was only when the bourgeois-dominated antiwar movement had gotten defeatist enough for the SWP's NPAC to manage to corral not merely the usual motley collection of pacifists, Stalinists and miscellaneous petty-bourgeois types but, at long last, a bona fide labor bureaucrat, Victor Reuther, and a real live United States Senator, one Vance Hartke, that the SWP graduated to even the demand "Out Now." But at no time did the SWP attempt to organize opposition to the war on an anti-imperialist, class-struggle basis. And now the SWP's Joe Hansen can criticize the Ligue's popular frontism in France—about as well as for example Gus Hall (in a period of Cuban/Russian friction) could lecture Castro about the virtues of a Leninist proletarian perspective.

More Irony

In the absence of any pole of authentic Trotskyism, the current USec faction fight is centrally characterized by irony. Irony number one is the SWP's Internationalist Tendency. The old Proletarian Orientation Tendency began in 1969 by condemning the SWP majority for tailending Ernest Mandel in refusing to seek to apply the Transitional Program in the labor movement. Today most of the PO leaders are organized into the IT and its West Coast counterpart and uphold the USec Majority whose principal spokesman is, lo and behold, the old PO bugbear Ernest Mandel.

Although SWP-loyalist and deliberately agnostic on questions of program, the old PO had one strength: an impulse toward recognizing the centrality of the organized working class in social revolution. It was this impulse which led the PO into opposition to the SWP leadership. Now the core of the PO is again in opposition, having embraced for this purpose the USec Majority's central strategy of petty-bourgeois guerrillaism and the "new mass vanguard."

The IT is an unprincipled conglomeration, leftist within the SWP spectrum, of some elements resisting the clear degeneration of the SWP into reformism and others bent on pursuing new revisionist appetities which entail the total negation of Trotskyism. An excellent example is the USec Majority position on Vietnamese Stalinism, justified by the argument—which conveniently permits opportunist adaptation to the "anti-imperialist" rhetoric of the Maos, Castros and Ho Chi Minhs so popular among the radicalized petty bourgeoisie—that Stalinism is "a unique historical phenomenon," i.e., unique to the Soviet Union.

Irony number two is the English IMG. Nobody has given a better empirical characterization of the rotten hypocrisy of the SWP than one Clarissa Howard, a leading spokesman of the IMG (reprinted in *SWP Internal Information Bulletin* No. 3, June 1973). But what is the IMG? The IMG gives unconditional support to the right wing of the IRA, preferring the Provisionals' militant terrorism to the Officials' fuzzy reformist projection of Green/Orange class solidarity against the English occupation of Northern Ireland.

And the IMG has just precipitously moved from condemning the British Labour Party as a capitalist twin of the Tories to calling for the unity of all political elements against the Tories—and this moreover in the context of an upsurge in electoral support for the decrepit bourgeois Liberal Party! Beneath the brittle ultra-leftist shell of the IMG is revealed the thinly-disguised hoary reformist scheme of a Liberal-Labour coalition.

Irony number three is the Canadian split. One need merely examine the fruits of the USec supporters', the League for Socialist Action (LSA), maneuverings within the Waffle Caucus of the New Democratic Party. It is clear that the pro-SWP Canadian leadership made a complete botch of the first real opportunity in decades, with the result that some of the left Waffle and some of the former LSA entrists now find themselves in the RMG, aligned with the USec Majority.

But the LSA leadership policy which apparently resulted in these defections was precisely a resolute faithfulness to classical Pabloist deep entrism, the concept of pressure-group work for step-at-a-time polarizations. In order to escape the LSA's orthodox Pabloist entrism tactics, the Canadian leftists have run to the USec European Majority, which accepts the whole methodology of Pabloist tailism, applied however in a different period. These European heirs of classical Pabloism now wish to give only retrospective approval to "entrism sui generis" while frolicking in the greener pastures of the "new mass vanguard."

For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

But the real irony is a bitter faction fight in which all contenders claim the banner of Trotskyism while among all of them no characteristic pole of authentic Trotskyism exists. And this vacuum is no accident. As the history of the Spartacist tendency shows, Hansen and Frank have a real unity at least in the prompt and savage expulsion of bona fide revolutionary Marxists wherever they appear, hoping to deform or destroy them but in any case to get them out of the way.

However much the USec contenders may complain of current violations of democracy, appeal to the guarantees of the original 1963 "reunification" or lecture one another about a federated concept of internationalism, the real test came early, with the SWP's 1963-64 expulsions of the Spartacist tendency for its "disloyal" political views and with Pierre Frank's contemptuous hands-off refusal to consider our 1965 appeal to the United Secretariat.

In a disgustingly hypocritical letter, which thoroughly exposes the current complaint by the USec majority against "SWP federalism" as a fraud, and appears doubly ludicrous in the light of the "Barzman letter," Pierre Frank replied to our appeal:

> "...we call your attention first of all to the fact that the Fourth International has no organizational connection with the Socialist Workers Party and consequently has no jurisdiction in a problem such as you raise; namely, the application of democratic centralism as it affects the organization either as a whole or in individual instances."
>
> —*Marxist Bulletin* No. 4

The USec's trump card has always been the line that even if it's very bad indeed, it's "the Fourth International." The ostensibly Trotskyist forces (by no means numerically insignificant relative to the totality) which have stood outside the USec are well aware that this claim is nonsense, but within the USec the myth is prevalent and has two effects: not only to discourage tendencies from struggling for clarity as soon as they perceive the organizational implications, but also to reinforce political weaknesses in those who do eventually leave, leading them into eccentricities (such as the "Fifth International" position of the former Leninist Faction of the SWP, part of which is now calling itself the Class Struggle League) which if consistently followed do constitute a break from Trotskyism. This enables the USec to frighten the next wave of potential oppositionists with the horrible example of what happens to those misguided leftists who leave the fold.

One of the little ironies enlivening the fight within the SWP is that there are not one but two myths, and these are in contradiction: "if you leave the SWP you have no future"; and "if you leave the 'Fourth International' you have no future." What are the naive and the uncommitted to do now that the SWP and the "Fourth International" seem to be leaving each other?

To the serious would-be Trotskyists in the SWP/USec we say: do not be goaded by the manifest revisionism of those close at hand into embracing its ostensible opponents; do not be tricked by the smooth point-scoring which conceals on both sides a fundamental abandonment of Trotskyism. The United Secretariat is not the Fourth International, and the advanced disintegration of the International Committee and the deep cleavage of the USec represent not an inglorious end to Trotskyism but a most promising condition for its rebirth. Toward this rebirth the authentic revolutionary Marxists must proceed with determination, rooted in Trotskyist principle, to seize the opportunity while the revisionists stand revealed and in disarray. ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

WORKERS VANGUARD

A Falling Out Among Thieves—

Renegades from Trotskyism Battle in the USec

The so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" is currently preparing for its "Tenth World Congress" with a series of national conferences held in each country by the USec's affiliates and sympathizing groups. These national conferences are in accordance with the recommendations of the United Secretariat adopted unanimously on September 19 with the apparent intention of forestalling a split between the International Majority Tendency and the "Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency" led by the USec's fraternal U.S. associate, the Socialist Workers Party. The September 19 recommendations specified an agenda for the "World Congress" of "the world political situation"; Latin American perspectives (Argentina and Bolivia); European perspectives (the "new mass vanguard") and "the statutes of the Fourth International." The recommendations prohibit disciplinary actions against supporters of either side and grant voting rights at the "World Congress" to all USec sections and sympathizing groups. They also urge that "the united moral authority of the Fourth International be brought to bear" to reunify those national sections in which there have already been open splits between the supporters of the two sides.

The September 19 recommendations seem to constitute an attempted détente, giving at least the appearance of seeking to avoid an immediate split prior to or at the "Tenth World Congress." There is a certain objective basis for such an attempted pull-back. A year or two ago, with characteristic over-optimism, both the would-be reformists of the SWP wing and the petty-bourgeois centrist extremists of the USec Majority wing thought they smelled the chance for real influence and even power through the pursuance of their counterposed lines. In Argentina, the USec Majority-sponsored PRT's "military arm," the ERP, was waging an all-out guerrilla campaign against the military government. In contrast, the SWP-endorsed Moreno group (currently the PST) had thrown itself into electoral politics in one of the flimsiest "bourgeois-democratic" edifices ever.

The French Ligue Communiste, mainstay of the international Majority, was saturated with enormous illusions about its early prospects in France. And toward Allende's Chile (although both sides had little achial support within the country) appetites ran rampant. (The SWP's Jack Barnes labors under the misfortune of having said on April 26 that the situation in Chile was "likely to provide [the workers] with a period of relatively favorable conditions to carry on the class struggle. ... As a by-product of this revolutionary class struggle, they can win significant concessions from the ruling classes, including greater democratic rights on the political arena.") With both sides believing that they were on the track of the conquest of power, the freedom to pursue their appetites unconstrained by dissent from factional opponents seemed an urgent necessity.

Marshalls at July 1971 NPAC meeting attacked SL and PL supporters protesting presence of Senator Hartke. UAW's Victor Reuther at the mike.

Only a few short months later, the illusions of instant success stand shattered. The Ligue, having undertaken an adventurist confrontation with the French police in connection with protesting a fascist rally, promptly found itself formally dissolved. The bourgeoisie flicked its little finger and Allende's "Chilean road to socialism" was only a memory. In Argentina, Perón is the uncontested master, with the terrorists and legalist-electoralists alike existing only on the evident (and increasingly problematical) sufrance of the bonapartist regime. These sharp blows, demonstrating that power was still far away, rendered more abstract the clash of perspectives between the two sides.

Compromise Doomed

Yet the collapse of these grandiose expectations appears to have been unable to halt the momentum of the sharpening confrontation. As the exchanges and characterizations indicate, the conflict had already reached a point more consistent with open opponents than a clash of tendencies within a common organization. Thus the discussion was envenomed when the SWP leadership intercepted and published the now-infamous "Barzman letter" of May 15, an extremely embarrassing item which graphically demonstrated the extent of collaboration between the USec Majority and the "Internationalist Tendency" within the SWP, and among other things attributed to a Ligue leader the position that the international Majority is "the real place for discussion, the real international."

Naturally the SWP charged the USec Majority with having created a "secret faction," but also in effect accused the European leaders of bad faith dating back to the original "reunification" whereby the USec was formed in 1963. In its statement of August 17 the SWP-led grouping formally declared itself a faction struggling to oust the USec Majority leadership. The list of signatories to this declaration indicates strong support in the U.S., Canada and Argentina and some lesser support in fifteen other member or supporter sections.

The rather more political reply by the "IEC Majority Tendency" countered by charging the SWP and its international co-thinkers with violating the rights of USec Majority supporters in the SWP, publicly attacking the USec leadership and line, seeking to prevent the holding of the "World Congress" and having a federalist conception of the International. The document appends an expanded list of signatories centering in France and England, but with considerable representation for Israel, Spain, Sweden and the U.S. as well as some support in ten other affiliated or sympathizing groupings.

In six countries (Peru, Argentina, Australia, Mexico, Canada and Spain) the USec sections are already split into publicly competing groups politically allied to the two sides. More significant than the mere fact of six splits is the fact that these encompass almost every country where USec-Majority and pro-SWP wings have polarized over a period of more than a few months. The notable exceptions are England and the U.S.

In England, the SWP's tendency seems to have simply separated itself out while preserving a formal unity, standing aloof from the rest of the faction-ridden International Marxist Group. In the U.S., the oppositional IT and a more cautious grouping on the West Coast remain within the SWP, with the IT teetering on the brink. Thus it is not that "some" splits have taken place in particular countries; rather, *the split on the national plane is essentially an accomplished fact.*

Particularly galling to the SWP leadership must be the Canadian situation: the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière has just experienced the third and final pull-out of USec Majority supporters, all now congregated in the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The Canadian movement has historically been the SWP's playground; thus the emergence of a USec Majority group as an open competitor in Canada is, if not goring the SWP's ox, at least stepping on its tail. In parallel fashion, the SWP had some success in the USec Majority's backyard, helping to rip to pieces the USec's promising Spanish group.

"New Mass Vanguard"

The hot issue of the dispute continues to be Latin America: USec Majority advocacy of exemplary guerrillaist extremism vs. SWP-style legalist-reformist "party building" (see "Guevarism vs. Social Democracy in the USec," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973). However, debate in recent months has also elaborated differences on popular frontism and the European USec leadership's new "strategy" of the "new mass vanguard." According to the Draft Political Resolution of the IEC Majority submitted in September, the "new mass vanguard can be characterized in most succinct fashion as the totality of forces acting independently and to the left of the traditional leaderships of the mass movement." This so-called "layer" is thus a purely eclectic false category defined negatively as whatever manifestations of radicalism are not under the hegemony of the reformist mass organizations (Stalinist or social-democratic workers parties, trade unions, etc.). Their "independence" is

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- This subject index covers those issues of *Workers' Action* (Nos. 7-10) which were produced in New York City, thus reflecting a shift in editorial perspective from previous editions of this publication. *Workers Vanguard*, which incorporated the *Workers' Action* publication, is indexed by subject from issue No. 1 through the end-of-year issue of 1973 (No. 34).
- **The fullest listing is by SUBJECT.** Names, personalities, organizations mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately. No article is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating particular articles.
- **Entries relating to foreign countries** are listed under geographical headings, and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate geographical heads; U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- **Trade-union articles** are listed under the name of the occupation, e.g., AUTO WORKERS, MINE WORKERS, PHONE WORKERS, etc. Articles dealing with trade-union policy, history, etc. will be found primarily under LABOR: GENL. and LABOR: MARXIST HISTORY.
- **Articles dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict** and directly related countries and issues (e.g., Egypt, Palestine) will be found under the major subject head: NEAR EAST.
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